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# HISTORY OF ROME

FOR

YOUNG PERSONS.

BY

MRS. HAMILTON GRAY.

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DEDICATED TO HER CHILD.

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*SECOND EDITION.*

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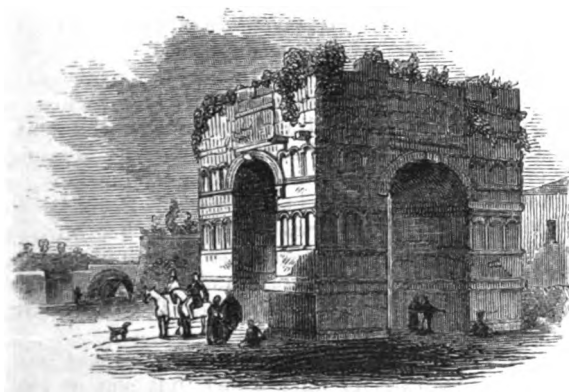
# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

B.C. 1184 TO 753.\*



TEMPLE OF JANUS.

**THE** history of Rome is the most remarkable history in the world, and the knowledge of it is absolutely necessary to every educated person. Rome is now the capital of Italy. It is the chief seat of the Roman Catholic religion,—a form of the Christian faith which has

- Authorities: Livy, i.; Nieb. Rome, i.; Plut. in Rom.

penetrated into almost every nation under heaven, and by means of which Rome is universally known, and exercises everywhere an extraordinary influence. Nineteen centuries ago, Rome was the stronghold of heathenism. She was then the mistress of almost the known world, her conquests having extended even to the distant Isle of Britain, which she kept in subjection for 400 years.

The works of the Romans were all useful, and so solidly constructed that many of their camps and roads, and the foundations of their baths and other buildings, exist in this country to the present day.

The city of Rome was founded 753 years before Christ, by two brothers named Romulus and Remus, who were the twin sons of Rhea Sylvia, the niece of Amuleius, a wicked king of Alba Longa.

Alba Longa means the long white city, and it had been built nearly three hundred years when Romulus and Remus were born. It was the chief town of Latium, a district of Italy. We have no true history concerning it, and only know those traditions which the Latin bards used to recite in their very amusing songs.

According to them, "long before the existence of Alba Longa, Troy, to which it owed its civilization, was a splendid city in Asia Minor; and Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy, sailed to Greece to visit Menelaus, king of Lacedæmon. Helen, the queen of Menelaus, was the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris became enamoured of her, and carried her off from her husband. Menelaus roused the Greek states to avenge his wrongs, and they all espoused his cause under the generalship of Agamemnon, and made war upon Troy to recover Helen."

After a ten years' siege the city was taken and burnt, almost all the warriors were killed, but one of them, named Æneas, lifted his old father, Anchises, upon his shoulders, took the images of his gods in his arms, and made his way to the sea-shore, whence he escaped by ship.

The Latin bards assert, that he with one hundred of his followers arrived in Italy, and landed at the mouth of the river Tiber, where they prepared to sacrifice a milk-white sow as a thank-offering to the gods for their

safety. The sow, however, broke away and ran two or three miles into the interior of the country, where she lay down and produced a litter of thirty little pigs. Æneas was wondering what might be the meaning of this prodigy, when he heard a voice which informed him that he should build a town upon that very spot and dwell there for thirty years. The voice added, that after that period he should build a larger city elsewhere, and that his Trojans should be established in Italy. The ground upon which he landed belonged to Lavinium, the principal state of the Latins; and Latinus, the king, received him kindly, gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and allowed him to settle in the country. When the thirty years had elapsed, Iulus, the son of Æneas, removed to Mount Alba, and built the long white city called Alba Longa, which soon became the metropolis of Latium.

The only part of this story worthy of belief is, that Alba Longa was founded by a colony from Lavinium,—that Iulus was the first king, and that the race which civilized Italy came originally from some part of Asia Minor.

The Greeks were the inventors of the fable of Æneas, to account for the Romans being a brave and polished people at the time when they became acquainted with them; and the Romans were so pleased with the fiction, that they adopted it, and after a while believed it to be true.

The populace of Rome hold the same tradition to this hour, and in the year 1838, an angry Roman told an English lady that she was not to speak proudly to him, for that he was of the blood of Troy.

Upon the summit of Mount Alba, above Alba Longa, a shrine was erected to Jupiter, the chief god of the Latins; and the thirty states of Latium assembled there every year to sacrifice in common as a memorial that they all belonged to the same race.

Their allies joined the meeting to renew their treaties of friendship with them, and the Latin princes sat there in council to regulate the internal affairs of the nation.

Eleven kings ruled after Iulus, until the Alban throne was contested by two brothers, Numitor and Amuleius. The Alban senate elected the former, but

the latter, being the better general, drove him away and usurped the crown.

Amuleius, amongst other acts of violence, captured his brother's daughter, Rhea Silvia, and cruelly kept her in confinement. As she was a Vestal virgin, (that is, a sort of nun, consecrated to the gods,) she could not lawfully marry, yet she became the mother of twin boys, named Romulus and Remus, of whom an oracle predicted future eminence. Amuleius, enraged at their birth, lest they should live to be claimants of the crown, commanded the poor infants to be drowned in the Tiber; but Faustulus, his herdsman, rescued them and restored them to their mother, who had returned to live with her father Numitor. This prince took charge of his grandsons' education, and sent them to Gabii, where they were taught all that was then thought necessary for men of rank to know.

As their own father disowned them, Numitor called them the children of Mars, whom he considered to be the protecting deity of his family, and dedicated them to the service of that god. When they had attained the age of eighteen, Numitor recalled them to Alba, revealed to them the story of their birth, and bade them revenge the injuries which had been heaped upon their mother and themselves.

The two young princes accordingly collected a band of followers, assisted by whom they stormed the king's palace, and after slaying Amuleius, caused Numitor to be elected in his place. They then quitted Alba, accompanied by 1000 young men, to form a colony of their own elsewhere. Alba had already sent forth nine such colonies at different periods. Romulus and Remus now headed the tenth. They proceeded under the guidance of an Augur, who went with them for the purpose of declaring to the towns through which they passed, that they were a sacred band, marching to seek a settlement with purposes of peace and not of war.

In pictures and upon coins, Romulus and Remus are always represented as little children suckled by a wolf. The reason of this is, that the wife of Faustulus was named "*Lupa*," which is the Latin for a she-wolf, and it was by her that the twins were reared. The bards who

called Romulus and Remus the children of Mars, also called Lupa a wolf, and asserted that a woodpecker (the bird of Mars) brought the children food when the wolf was absent.

According to the popular lays, the twins were cast ashore under the Ruminalis fig-tree which grew upon the Palatine Hill, and the wolf and woodpecker nursed them alternately, until one day Faustulus shot the wolf with an arrow and took the children to his home. Here he trained them as common herdsmen, and kept them to tend the cattle of king Amuleius. They bravely defended these cattle against the herdsmen of Numitor in an affray, and their bold conduct brought them under the king's notice, and caused an inquiry to be made which brought to light the secret of their birth and preservation.

Before proceeding with the narrative concerning Romulus, we will pause to give a short account of the state of Italy at this period.

Italy is a romantic and beautiful country, bounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by the Alps, a chain of lofty mountains which separate it from the rest of Europe. In the days of Romulus it was inhabited by a number of different nations, speaking different languages, and worshipping a variety of gods; but all these nations had many laws and customs in common.

The country on each side of the Po, or Padus, belonged to the Etruscans, who were divided into twelve states, united together by a league resembling that of the United States of America. South of these lay Etruria Proper, between the Tiber and the Turrhenian sea — divided also into twelve states, and inhabited by the oldest portion of the Etruscan nation. A third league of twelve Etruscan states occupied the country about Naples, Capua, and Salernum, but we are ignorant of its boundaries.

The nation of Umbria was situated between Etruria Proper and the Adriatic. South of Umbria and stretching across Italy lay the Sabini with their colonies of Samnium and Lucania.

Between Lucania and Etruria lay the nations of Latium, of the Volsci, the Ausonii, and the Opici or

Campania. All these countries were divided into a number of states, each of which was governed by its own king. The states belonging to the same race were united together by one common league, and had one common place of council and sacrifice.

**Kings.** The Italian kings or chiefs were absolute in all points not determined by law, but they were bound to keep and obey the laws of their respective nations, which they held as sacred, and believed to have been ordained by the gods themselves, or to have been delivered to them by means of deified heroes whom they called "Lares," or genii. Each powerful family had its own Lar, who was supposed to be the ancestor of the race, and who was worshipped in common by all the branches of the same house, or *gens*.

The kings were not hereditary, but were elected by the Senate, or parliament of each state, out of the whole body of the nobles. They were distinguished by wearing crowns of gold and mantles of purple, the borders of which were embroidered with golden palm-leaves. These mantles were made of linen or woollen, and were fastened by chains of gold which extended from one shoulder to the other, and terminated in a large clasp called a *Fibula*. They bore in their hands ivory sceptres headed by a vulture, or an eagle, made of gold. They wore bracelets upon their bare arms, and rings upon their fingers, and they carried short broadswords by their sides. An attendant walked behind them, bearing two spears, and when they appeared in public twelve men named "Lictors" preceded each.

**Lictors.** The Lictors were officers of justice who carried the fasces before the king. The fasces were bundles of twelve rods bound together, with an axe in the centre, the iron head of which projected beyond them. Their number was twelve, because that was the symbolical number of the Etruscan states by whom this ensign of authority was first used.

The young nobles and ladies of rank wore an ornament in front of their dresses called a *Bulla*. **Bulla.** This was a small ball of gold which held perfume, and was considered as a charm against evil. An Italian peasant at Chiusi once asked a lady to look at a gold watch which he had found in an Etruscan tomb there.

As watches are a modern invention, she thought that some one had been deceiving the poor man, but when he produced his watch, she saw that it was a golden bulla which he had mistaken. The bulla was fastened round the neck by a thick worsted cord, or in some instances by a chain.

The ancient Italians being heathens, worshipped many gods. They held that one of these was supreme, Gods. but they believed that many others were little inferior to him in power, and they called them his counsellors.

The Etruscans had nine great gods, and the Latins twelve; besides a host of inferior ones. The former were distinguished from the latter by the prerogative of controlling the lightning and hurling the thunder. The three principal deities were named Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

The chief gods of the Latins were Dianus and Diana. It gradually, however, became the practice for the supreme divinity of every Italian people to be styled *Jupiter*, whatever might be his local appellation. The Latins, the Etruscans, the Sabines, and many other tribes, all worshipped together the "*Jupiter good and great*" of Alba Longa.

A Vestal virgin was a woman of rank devoted Vestal. from her childhood to be the priestess of some god or goddess. The Roman Vestals were dedicated to Vesta. They were endowed with high privileges, and were revered as pure and sacred persons. They were not allowed to marry before the age of thirty, and their duty was to keep the holy fire burning day and night in the temple of their divinity, and to educate their successors. They were always clothed with a long veil.

"Senate" was the Latin name for a Parlia- Senate. ment, or rather for a House of Lords. It was the great council of the sovereign, without which no monarch could govern, and no laws were valid. It consisted of a hundred of the chiefs from each large tribe. If, therefore, a nation consisted of two tribes, the Senate was composed of 200 members, and if of three tribes, the Senate would amount to 300. When vacancies occurred they were filled up by the king. After the death of a



monarch, the Senate always chose his successor, and the ten principal senators ruled in succession five days each, until the new sovereign was elected.

The first settlers, who were fathers of families in every state of the Latins, were styled "Patres and Patri-  
 cians," or "Fathers." These chiefs resembled  
 Patricians. the Highland chiefs of Scotland in former times. They were the heads of clans (termed in Latin *Gens*, *Gentes*,) and their families and immediate descendants were Patricians also.

The free possessors of land incorporated with them, who did not form part of the first colonists, but who were adopted or conquered by them, were called "*Plebeians*,"  
 or "*Plebs*." Every state in Italy had its Patri-  
 Plebs. cians and its Plebs.

Both classes were landed proprietors and divided into tribes. No man in Italy ranked as a free citizen, unless his family possessed land in either the Patrician or Plebeian tribes, to each of whom peculiar districts were allotted.

The whole of the young men who accompanied Romulus and Remus were Patricians, and all considered themselves as equals by birth.

The Augur was the most powerful person in  
 Augur. the state, being regarded as the representative of the gods, and the interpreter of their will. He was always a Patrician, and was obliged to know the sacred books by heart, and to be well acquainted with geometry, astronomy, and many other erudite sciences. No man was eligible to the office before the age of twenty-five, and it was part of his duty to go forth as a guide with every new colony.

All the Italian states had Augurs. The most celebrated and best educated were those of Etruria. It was their province to give a religious sanction to all the ceremonies connected with public affairs. They portioned out land for tribes, consecrated areas for temples, superintended the founding of cities, and explained the meaning of unusual events, such as storms and floods, earthquakes and pestilences, prodigies on earth or portents in heaven. They also interpreted dreams, and were acquainted with the science of drawing down lightning from the clouds.

The Augur was so universally revered, that no tribe or chief would presume to harm any company under his protection.

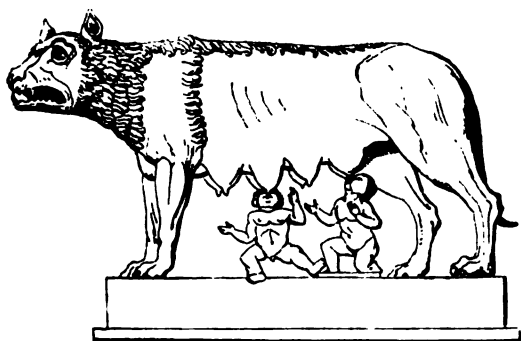
Besides the king and the Augur, the Italians had another magistrate invested with despotic power, who was called a "Dictator," or "Embratur." From the former of these titles is derived our word <sup>Dictator.</sup> "dictatorial," and from the latter our word "Emperor."

The Dictator was elected by the princes of a state upon extraordinary occasions to be their temporary head, and during his rule the authority of every other magistrate was suspended. He was irresponsible, and might put to death without trial. He was head of the army, but not permitted to leave Italy. As part of his official dignity, he was permitted to traverse the city, driving in a chariot, and he could not ride through the streets unless he first obtained leave of the Patricians. In the latter times of Rome his power was limited to six months. He was nominated by the chief rulers of the state, and his election took place in the middle of the night when all was quiet. The slightest noise annulled the whole proceedings.

## CHAPTER II.

## ROMULUS.

B.C. 753 TO 716. Y.R. 1 TO 37.\*



THE WOLF AND TWINS.

ROMULUS and Remus proceeded with their little colony one day's march from Alba. They passed through four small towns on their route, some of whose inhabitants joined them, and the whole company advanced in the military order of that period, being divided into ten bands called "maniples." Each manipule had a standard-bearer, who carried the ensigns at its head. Romulus's standard was a long staff, surmounted by a bunch of grass. Such an emblem of authority is generally used by the Italian

\* Authorities: Livy, i.; Nieb. i.; Plut. in Rom.

common people in their religious processions at the present day.

The colonizers advanced westward until they reached a spot where the Tiber, or, as it was then denominated, the Rumon River, makes a bend on its way to the sea. This was the boundary of the Alban territories. They could not cross it for want of a bridge, and they found themselves arrested in the midst of seven small hills, named Quirinalis, Saturnius, Viminalis, Palatinus, Esquilinus, Aventinus, and Lucerum. The three first belonged to the Sabines, the three next to the Albans, and the last to the Etruscans. Upon the Aventine there was a shrine at which these confederate nations met together for sacrifice. In Quirium,—(the city upon the Quirinalis) was an asylum, within the precincts of which slaves and debtors were free.

Two chiefs, named Potitus and Pinarius, who were priests of Hercules upon the Palatine, offered the colonists a settlement upon their hill; for the Augur's sacred band was supposed to bring along with it the blessing of heaven; Romulus was inclined to accept the offer, but Remus preferred the Aventine, and insisted that the new city should be founded there. As neither brother would yield to the other, they agreed to refer the matter to augury, by which means the gods would decide.

Remus's Augur at break of day saw six vultures flying in the sky, but when this was related to Romulus, his Augur declared that he saw twelve vultures, and it was the rule of augury that the lesser sign should yield to the greater.

The Augur announced that Romulus's twelve birds foretold twelve centuries destined by the gods to his colony, during which it should increase and flourish; whilst Remus's six birds only predicted half that period, though, inasmuch as the sign was doubled, the first six centuries should be more prosperous than the latter.

As Romulus had gained the contest, he proceeded to mark out a square upon the Palatine within which to build his city. He yoked a bull and a cow to a large plough, with which he traced a furrow where his walls were to be raised. In the intervals for gates the plough was lifted over, because wherever it touched, the ground was sacred, and might never again be trodden upon. He

also consecrated a portion of ground both within and beyond the walls named Pomerium. It was dedicated to the taking of auguries, and could neither be dwelt upon nor tilled.

Romulus commenced this undertaking 753 years before Christ, on the 21st of April; and this day is still observed with bonfires and dancing by the Roman artists and by the common people as the birthday of Rome.

As Romulus was beginning to raise the walls, Remus in derision leaped over his furrow and said, "Thus will the enemy leap over these barriers." Celes, the Etruscan, who superintended the works, struck him to the ground and answered, "And thus will our citizens repulse the enemy." Remus was taken up dead, and Romulus buried him on the Aventine, and called part of it in memory of him Remuria.

Romulus erected in his city a fort, a market-place named "the Forum," and a number of small temples. He occupied nearly three years in the construction of these works, and called his city Roma, and his subjects Ramnes. Hence the name Romans.

His neighbours, the Sabines of Quirium and Saturnia, were hostile to the newly-established colony, and would neither allow their people to trade with them, nor their daughters to marry them. Romulus considered this an unpardonable affront, and determined to win for his followers Sabine wives by force, if he failed by treaty.

Between the Palatine and Aventine, beneath the cliff on which the ruins of the Cæsars' palace now stand, there was an altar dedicated to the Etruscan god, "Consus," or Neptune, which had been covered over with earth. Romulus uncovered it, and announced his intention to celebrate a great festival in honour of this god, at which he should exhibit a variety of games; and to these he invited the young Sabine ladies, a number of whom accepted his invitation.

The games commenced, and whilst the fair spectators had their attention fixed upon them, the Romans suddenly seized as many as they could, and bore them away. Amongst them there was only one married woman, and she was seized by mistake. This outrage is called "the Rape of the Sabines," because the young women were carried off without their own consent. Their number

was not great. Some authors say only thirty, but the violence used towards them was an abominable crime, and was the more atrocious because perpetrated under the mask of religion.

The Sabines were furious in their resentment, and the small states of Antemnæ, Crustumerium, and Cenina, to which some of these virgins belonged, joined the insulted Tatius, king of Quirium, with their contingents, and declared immediate war. Romulus was not backward to meet them, and when the adverse forces closed in battle, he fought hand to hand with Acron, the petty king of Cenina, and killed him. According to the custom of the times, he stripped the body, and caused the armour and royal apparel of Acron to be carried before him into his new city, and displayed upon an oak. These trophies were named "*Spolia Opima*," and were dedicated in a small shrine to "*Jupiter Feretrius*," or the *Smiter*.

Romulus was at first successful, and gained possession of the Tarpeian fortress, which was the citadel of Saturnia. But Tarpeia, the former governor's daughter, remained there at liberty, and being a Sabine, she offered to open the gates to the Sabine troops if they would reward her by giving her what they wore upon their left arms, meaning their broad golden bracelets. They consented, and when within the gates, Tatius, who was the first to enter, threw her not only his bracelet, but his heavy bronze shield also. Those who followed imitated his example, so that Tarpeia was speedily crushed by their weight, and fell a victim to her own treachery and covetousness. She was buried in the hill, and part of it has ever since borne her name. The citadel was easily retaken, and most of the Romans were slain.

Tatius, now triumphant, attacked his foes at the foot of the Palatine, near the site afterwards covered by the Colosseum, where there was a small stagnant lake or morass. As it appeared dry, neither party was aware of its dangerous nature, and Curtius, a noble Sabine, having plunged his horse into it, had much difficulty to escape with his life: from him it was named "*the Curtian Lake*." It is now the "*Meta Sudans*;" and it became much more famous afterwards from another Curtius, of the same gens, throwing himself into it in order to save his country.

In this early battle the Sabines were at first successful, and the Romans fled. Romulus, in great distress, vowed to the gods, that if they would grant him victory he would build a temple to Jupiter Stator on the spot where his people stayed their flight. As he concluded his prayer, the Romans rallied, and in their turn drove back the Sabines to the site of the present temple of Vesta. Here the struggle became desperate, when suddenly the Sabine ladies, who were the cause of the quarrel, ran in between the combatants with their children in their arms, and forced them to forbear. They entreated each party to be reconciled to the other, representing that they must suffer whichever side was victorious, because in the one army were their fathers and brothers, and in the other their husbands and the fathers of their children. They had been treated kindly by the Romans, and had no desire to be separated from them, and they besought king Tatius to listen to their petition and to grant them peace.

Tatius yielded to their prayers, and conceded to the Romans those rights of trade and marriage for which they fought; but he insisted that they should adopt the gods and laws of his people, the Quirites, and that he and Romulus should reign together. When one of them died, the survivor was to be sole king of the two tribes, and they were henceforward to be governed by a Latin and a Sabine chief alternately, the Senate of the one nation choosing the king out of the other.

These terms being settled, the two kings proceeded together along a road called the Via Sacra to the great temple of Saturnia. Here they swore mutually to observe the peace, and offered up thanksgivings. Portions of the Via Sacra may still be seen in Rome near the ruins of a temple called Roma and Venere.

The Saturnian Hill is now the Capitol or Campidoglio, and the side of it, opposite to the great temple, is called the Tarpeian Rock.

Tatius and Romulus agreed to build a temple to Janus, the god of highways and gates, who is always represented as having two faces, the one looking backwards and the other forwards, emblems of a power which regards both the past and the future. The temple of this divinity was situated in the vale between

the Saturnian Hill and the Palatine, so that the two nations could not communicate with each other without passing through it. The gates were to be open during war, that the Sabines and Romans might assist each other, and were to be shut during peace to avoid occasions of quarrel. It is said that after Tatius's death they were only closed twice in seven hundred years.

The two kings reigned conjointly for five years. At last the people of Laurentum complained of an inroad made upon them by the Quirites, which they called upon Tatius to punish, but as he disliked all the Latins, he gave them no redress. When he afterwards attended the great Latin assembly in this city, and was sacrificing with Romulus, the Laurentines fell upon him and slew him.

Romulus affected to consider that all cause of complaint had ceased with Tatius's death, and was glad to reign alone. He united the two senates of the Ramnes and Quirites into one, and naming the latter Tities, after their king Tatius, he associated with them the Etruscan Luceres who dwelt upon the hill Lucerum. His little principality thus consisted of three tribes, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. Each tribe was under an officer of its own called a "Tribune," and had its own *Ager*, or augury ground. The three tribes were subdivided into thirty *Curie*, or districts, each of which had also its superintendent; and the names of which are said to have been those of the thirty virgins whom the Romans carried off.

Romulus selected his own body-guard of three hundred men (*i.e.* one hundred from each tribe) out of the Patricians; and as Celes, the Etruscan, was their captain, they were after him named Celeres.

The *Tribunus Celerum* was a magistrate second in authority only to the king and the governor of the city.

Romulus required each of the three tribes to furnish him with a legion of fighting men, to consist of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. This was the nucleus of the first Roman army, and as that celebrated force owes its constitution to him, he has been considered as a great prince and a great warrior. But Romulus's dominions never extended beyond the seven Roman hills



and a strip of land which stretches along the southern bank of the Tiber towards the sea, neither was he engaged in any wars excepting those with Tatius.

Romulus became an Augur after he was five-and-twenty, and his *Lituus*, or divining rod, was long preserved by the Romans as a holy thing. To try his strength, it is said that he once shot an arrow of cornel-wood from the Aventine to the Palatine, which struck the ground near his own residence, where it took root and became a tree. The Romans considered this an omen that all the institutions of Romulus should flourish like his tree, and they tended it carefully for many hundred years.

Romulus died after a useful reign of thirty-seven years. The manner of his decease is doubtful; but there is reason to believe that he was murdered by the senators as he was reviewing his troops at the Palus Capræ, a marsh near the Tiber. Whilst thus engaged, a total eclipse of the sun took place, which terrified the people. When it was over the king was missing, nor was his body ever more seen; but as strange reports got abroad in consequence, one of the senators, Julius Proculus, declared that he had met him in a wood with an aspect bright and immortal, and that he was changed into a demi-god.

Proculus added that the glorified prince had commanded him to announce to the people that he would always protect them, and that they must build him a temple on Mount Quirium, and worship him there under the name of Quirinus, the Sabine god of war. The Romans were satisfied when they heard this message, and made no further inquiry about the death of their king.

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## AFTER CHAPTER II.

FEW of the traditions concerning Romulus are worthy of credit; but it is necessary to be acquainted with them, because they live, not only in poetry, painting, and sculpture, but in the hearts of the Italians. In Rome strangers are studiously shown the different spots upon which the

different events are said to have occurred, and it would not be pleasant to be ignorant of them. The site of the temple of Jupiter Stator is pointed out to strangers at the foot of the Capitol, and they are informed that Romulus there arrested the flight of his soldiers; yet it is certain that no such temple was built for many hundred years after Romulus.

The story of the Sabine ladies rushing in between two exasperated armies is most improbable, for the ancients did not fight, like the moderns, at great distances from each other with cannon and fire-arms, but hand to hand with swords and spears, and personal collision roused their passions and rendered them immeasurably more ferocious. The union, however, of the Romans with the Quirite Sabines as one people is an authenticated fact, and may have been owing to the mediation of the Sabine women. All the laws and decrees of Rome to this very day are published in the name of the "*Populus Romanus et Quirites*."

Many peculiarities in the marriage ceremonies of ancient Rome may be traced back to the rape of the Sabines. A Roman bride never walked into her husband's house. She was always carried over the threshold as if compelled to enter it, and this was done in memory of the force used towards the Sabine virgins.

The bride's hair was parted by the point of a spear, because the Sabines assumed to themselves the title of the nation of the *Quiris*, or spear. This weapon was the emblem of authority amongst them, and their great goddess Juno, the patroness of married women, was always represented with a spear in her hand. The bride was crowned with flowers and mantled in a yellow veil, and she wore a straight tunic, fastened by a girdle, which her husband only was permitted to unloose. A Roman marriage took place in the evening, because the day was far spent when the Sabines were carried away. Upon the bride's entrance into the house, her husband presented her with two vessels, the one containing fire and the other water, saying, "Partake thou of thy husband's fire and water," meaning that she was to share all his goods. He also delivered to her the keys of his house.

After she was installed as mistress, she received her

friends in one room and the bridegroom his in another. The guests were feasted to the sound of music, and entertained with the recital of verses, the chorus of which was, "Talasio, talasio," a sort of hurrah! in which every one joined, to express their good wishes for the prosperity of the newly-married couple. The meaning of talasio has never been ascertained. It is only known to have been first used as a by-word at the rape of the Sabines. Some Roman authors assert, that it insinuated to the young bride that she should spin diligently like Talassia, a beautiful Sabine whose marriage had proved particularly happy,—whilst others are of opinion that it conveyed an exhortation to the bridegroom to treat his wife kindly like Talassius, a handsome Roman, who had made the best of all the Roman husbands.

During the wedding-feast the bridegroom threw nuts about the room, for which the young people scrambled. Hence, "To throw away one's nuts," was a Latin proverb, which meant to put away boyish habits.

A wife was never allowed to forsake her husband, nor might a husband divorce his wife, excepting for infidelity, drunkenness, or counterfeiting his keys. In proof that these vices were very rare in early times, and that Roman domestic life was usually happy, we have the fact that no Patrician divorce occurred in Rome during a period of 520 years. A Patrician matron was exempt by law from all servile work, excepting spinning and weaving for her husband.

The Romans, like the Scotch, would never marry in May, and preferred June to all other months for that ceremony. The Scotch object to May because it was the wedding month of their unfortunate Queen Mary, but we are ignorant as to the origin of the Roman prejudice, for the rape of the Sabines took place in August.

The seven hills of ancient Rome still lift themselves above the Tiber, but they are inconsiderable eminences, and as the valleys about them have been filled up, they look much lower and flatter than they did in ancient times. The two named Saturnia and Lucerum are now the Capitol and the Cælian.

The remaining five, and two others situated on the opposite bank of the Tiber, named Vatican and Janiculum, still preserve their ancient designations.

Italy, in the days of Romulus, was filled with an incredible number of small towns, which rendered it one of the most populous countries in the world. They lay so close to each other, that the longest distance between those near Rome did not exceed four miles. They were fortified to secure them against the dangers of war, but they could not have existed at all had not the country been peaceful, fertile, and well governed. The ruins of many, if not of most of them, are visible to this day.

It gives us some idea of the high state of civilization among the human race at the time of Rome's foundation, to consider that that event occurred during the greatest glory of the Babylonian and Egyptian empires, and in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, and Jotham, king of Judah. The latter was the grandfather of king Hezekiah, and the prophet Isaiah flourished through his and the two succeeding reigns. Northern Palestine was remotely connected through Tyre, and the Phœnician merchants with all the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea.

## CHAPTER III.

## NUMA.

B.C. 716 TO 673. Y.R. 37 TO 80.\*



GROTTO OF EGERIA.

**AFTER** the disappearance of Romulus, the Ramnes or Romans were bound to choose a king from among the Tities or Sabines ; but before doing so, they observed an interregnum of some months.

The 200 members of which the united Senates consisted, were divided into tens, one of whom was chief over the other nine, and held higher rank. The first ten of these were styled "princes of the Senate," and they were Inter-reges in turn. An Inter-rex is a person who holds

\* Authorities: Livy, i. 18 ; Nieb. i. Rome ; Plut., Numa.

the supreme authority between the death of a king and the election of his successor. Each Inter-rex ruled for five days, and was attended by the Lictors bearing the rods and axes.

At length the Romans chose the Sabine, Numa Pompilius, whom they considered as having been marked out for them by the gods, because he was born upon the day when Rome was founded. He was renowned for his wisdom, his suavity of manners, and his love of justice.

The election of Numa was duly proclaimed to the people, after which a public assembly was convened; and one of the Augurs, without whose consecration no reign could be lawful, led the newly-chosen monarch up the Via Sacra, to the temple on the Saturnian Hill. There Numa seated himself upon a stone, with his face towards the south, looking over the lands of Latium, and towards the Mediterranean Sea.

The Augur placed himself upon the king's left side, having his head covered with his mantle and holding in his right hand a lituus, or divining-rod. This was a long crooked wand, free from knots and curved at the end. The Augur waved it in the air whilst he surveyed the country as far as his eye could reach. He then passed the lituus into his left hand, and laying his right upon the candidate's head, he prayed that if this person were the destined sovereign, the gods would be pleased to give tokens of their approval.

The expected sign having presently appeared, the people acknowledged Numa as their divinely appointed king. All the commands of a man so elected bore with them the stamp of sacredness, and resistance to him was regarded as a crime little inferior to rebellion against heaven. An Augur when officiating might name the sign by which he would be answered, and he usually selected either birds or lightning. The latter he interpreted by fixed rules, according to the direction in which it flashed across certain lines which he traced with his wand.

Numa was the most venerated and beloved of all the Roman monarchs; and this is an evidence that the Italians knew how to appreciate what was intrinsically excellent, and that they could discriminate between true and false glory. Had they estimated a warrior to be the highest

of human characters, they would have chosen some proud and ambitious soldier to be their ruler, and not a man who was only distinguished above his fellows by his superior wisdom and judgment.

Numa fixed the limits of the Roman territory, which Romulus had purposely left undetermined. The boundary upon the Alban side was the Fossa Cluillia, a wide ditch six miles from Rome which had been excavated by one of the kings of Alba, to drain that portion of his kingdom in former times. The border land was consecrated by the Augurs to the use of the Roman Curia, and therefore all the Patrician families held it in common, as grazing land for their cattle. Numa placed it under the protection of Terminus, the god of boundaries, and had the frontier lines marked by large stones placed at regular intervals from each other, and all numbered. To watch over these and preserve them uninjured, he appointed twelve Patricians, called "Fratres Arvales." This brotherhood went round them once every year, singing a particular hymn, which is still extant, but which is written in a Latin so ancient, that no one now understands it.

**Arvales.** The Arvales were gaily dressed and adorned with flowers. They were accompanied by musicians, and they concluded with the ceremony called "Suovetaurilia," i.e., the sacrifice of an ox, a sheep, and a pig. The Arvales observed these rites for upwards of a thousand years.

When the king desired to make a new law, he proposed it to the Senators, who were at liberty either to accept or reject it, but if once accepted, it became binding upon the state. Numa feared that the Senators would not agree to several of his laws unless he could claim for them a divine sanction. He therefore frequently left the city, and retired mysteriously to a grotto in the vicinity, near the Porta Capena. When he re-

**Egeria.** turned, he always asserted that the nymph Egeria had appeared to him, and that she had brought him those laws from heaven.

The Romans had great faith in visions, and as they perceived that whatever Numa proposed was uniformly for the public benefit, they were willing to believe in his inspirations. In obedience to the counsels of Egeria, they consented to an equalization of rights amongst the

three Patrician tribes which composed the Roman nation, and to an abolition of all invidious distinctions among those who were not Patricians, but who gained their bread by trade. These latter, Numa divided into nine guilds or companies, each of which chose a *Lar*, or patron saint, to whom they devoted a feast-day and erected a shrine, but of whom they had no image. The guilds consisted, (1.) of musicians, (2.) goldsmiths, (3.) masons, (4.) dyers, (5.) curriers, (6.) tanners, (7.) braziers or coppersmiths who made armour, (8.) potters, and (9.) every other kind of trade practised in Rome.

Numa further propounded as the teaching of Egeria, that a nation should be splendid in all its public acts and works, but frugal and self-denying in private life. To enforce this, he took care that when the Senators came to his house unbidden, they should find him with ordinary food meanly served, but when he invited them, he gave them a magnificent banquet served up in gold and silver.

Rome being afflicted with pestilence, Numa announced that Egeria had bestowed upon him an ingeniously embossed bronze shield, which she desired him to hang up in one of the temples where it would cure the people. He added, that he dared not trust it in public, lest the neighbouring tribes should steal it. Therefore he caused eleven others to be made exactly similar, so that no one could distinguish which was the true celestial shield. He then instituted an order of priests, called "Salii," twelve in number, whose office it was to guard the shields, and to bear them in procession every year in the month of March, dancing in honour of Mars, to whom they were dedicated.

These shields were called "Ancilia," and were manufactured by an Etruscan settled in Rome, named Veturius Mamurius. The people took a lively interest in them, because they believed in their efficacy, and as their hopes revived, their spirits returned and they recovered.

Numa built a circular temple to Vesta, the goddess of the earth, and appointed four virgins, hence called "Vestals," to preserve the sacred fire in the temple from ever being extinguished. They were consecrated to the worship of this goddess, and exempted from all control excepting that of the "Pontifex Maxi-



mus," or chief priest, a dignity which was appropriated by all the kings of Rome.

The office of priest was not usually hereditary, but Numa appointed three pontiffs, whom he named *Flamens*. "Flamens," in whose families the office was always to continue, their wives being priestesses and sharers of their honours. They were dedicated to the worship of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, and were distinguished by wearing tufts of flame-coloured worsted in their caps.

Numa persuaded the Etruscans of the Vatican and the Janiculum to make a league of amity with the Romans, and to permit him to throw a wooden bridge across the river. It was named "Pons Sublicius," and was considered an extraordinary work, being the first that ever spanned the Tiber. It was significantly dedicated to the Etruscan god Janus, who with his two faces guarded the road in either direction. An annual feast was observed upon this bridge with great solemnity.

*Kalendar.* Numa reformed the Roman kalendar. He ordered that the thirty days following the month of December should be dedicated to Janus, and called January; and that the Roman year, which before his reign had commenced in March, and had consisted of only ten months, should henceforth begin in January, and be divided into twelve. The interval between January and March he named February, and dedicated to the spirits of the dead, and to Typhon, the Tuscan god of evil.

The Romans had two sorts of years, the civil and the sacred. They began at different times, and were computed in different ways. The Roman months before Numa's time were Mars, Aprilis, Maius, Junius, Quinctilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, and December.\* The year consisting of ten months, was used for treaties, mourning, mercantile, and financial transactions. The year of twelve months was employed in all other cases.

*Fides.* Numa built a temple to Bona Fides, or Good Faith. He taught the Romans to be as

\* Of these months, Mars was devoted to the patron divinity of the Romans, Aprilis is derived from *Aperire*, to open, Maius from *Majores*, the elders, Junius from *Juniores*, the younger, and the remainder are numerals in order.

tenacious of their simple word, as of an oath ; and when a Roman pledged himself by the expression "*Medius Fidius*," *upon my honour*, every such pledge was sacred. Copies of all public treaties were hung up in the temple of *Bona Fides*.

This king permitted no images to be introduced into his temples, and prohibited the shedding of blood in sacrifice. During his days Italy was at peace, and the temple of Janus was shut. He encouraged amusements amongst the common people, and insisted upon the Patricians allowing their clients (or clansmen) and slaves every year to celebrate the Saturnalian games. Upon this occasion they made holiday, and feasted for three days, and the slaves were waited upon by their masters and mistresses. The carnivals of the present time in Germany and Italy, are the remains of these games. For a few days, early in the year, all classes amuse themselves together, and the distinctions of worldly rank are laid aside. Though much of this is done in masquerade, the Italians have so nice a sense of propriety, that instances of rudeness either in speech or action are almost unknown.

Numa caused his laws to be written down, and appointed an officer to superintend the priests, whose duty it was to teach them to the people. He reigned forty-three years, beloved, honoured, and prosperous, and died at the age of eighty-two, being the only one of the Roman kings, excepting Ancus Marcius, whose career was not closed by violence.

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### AFTER CHAPTER III.

IN compliance with his own desire, Numa was buried at the foot of the hill Janiculum, with the funeral rites of the Etruscans. His bier was carried by the Senators, and followed by the chief Patricians, marching or riding in procession. The princes of the neighbouring tribes, with whom he was in alliance, joined in celebrating his obsequies ; and so universally was he lamented, that even the women and children followed the train, bearing per-

fumes and nosegays of flowers, which they deposited at his grave. His body was laid in a huge stone sarcophagus, and placed in a vaulted tomb excavated out of the rock. A number of different articles were arranged within this tomb ; amongst others, twenty-four books, or treatises upon religion and government, written by Numa upon papyrus, or palm-leaves, and which he desired should be buried with him.

Books similar to these may be seen in the British Museum, written by the Egyptian scribes, upon papyrus, nearly a thousand years before Numa's time, and still looking quite fresh and undecayed. The Etruscans brought this paper, as well as ivory, and many other valuable things, from Egypt, and the ports on the coast of Africa.

The Italian kings of this period were buried in robes, which were covered with flowers of gold, and ornamented with chains and brooches of the same precious metal. Shields wrought in fantastic devices, javelins, arrows, and other weapons made of bronze, were hung round the tomb. Near the sarcophagus, or body, were placed small images of burnt clay representing the ancestors of the deceased.

Amongst many amusing legends of Numa's sagacity and presence of mind, is one of a strife between him and Jupiter. When he was Augur, he one day brought down lightning from heaven without a sufficient number of previous ceremonies and incantations. The god in great wrath bade him make a charm of "*heads*." "*Of onions*," quickly answered Numa. "*Human*," shouted Jupiter. "*Hair*," replied Numa. "*Living*," thundered Jupiter. "*Pilchards*," persisted Numa ; whereupon the god, amused with his wit, forgave him, and permitted him to conjure lightning for the future with an ointment of his own devising, composed of heads of onions, human hair, and living pilchards. Numa testified his gratitude by erecting a shrine upon the Aventine to Jupiter Elicius, the god of lightning.

## CHAPTER IV.

## TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

B.C. 673 TO 641. Y.R. 80 TO 112.\*



ANCILIA.

**AFTER** the death of Numa, there was an interregnum, until the Tities or Sabines had chosen Tullus Hostilius, a Roman, to be the new king. Tullus reigned thirty-two years. Fifteen of these he lived in peace ; but the latter half of his reign was disturbed by continual wars with his neighbours, the Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans. He made, however, no lasting conquests, and at his death the Roman dominions did not extend beyond the limits fixed by Numa.

There are several beautiful legends connected with

\* Authorities: Livy, i. ; Nieb., Rom. i.

this reign, the most remarkable of which is the story of the destruction of Alba Longa, a fact which occurred in the year of Rome 100. Unfortunately, as all the annals of the Latin and Tuscan states during this period have perished, the knowledge that we possess of their histories is drawn entirely from the Roman authors.

These writers being exceedingly prejudiced, and zealous for the glory of their own small state, generally relate all those transactions in which their countrymen bore a part, in terms which imply that they alone decided every event by their superior consequence, wisdom, or valour, though their real share in the affair may have been merely that of auxiliaries or allies. That this was the case with regard to the war against Alba is evident; but partial and unfair as that account is, we have no other.

The legend relates that a quarrel arose between some Roman and Alban peasants, in which the latter were wounded. The Senate of Alba despatched *Feciales*, i. e. ambassadors, to the Romans, to demand redress. The two cities were not more than eighteen miles distant from each other, and therefore it was easy to exchange messages between them.

When the Albans arrived at Rome, Tullus, guessing their errand, received them in the most flattering manner, promised to hear them in the Senate, and begged them to rest after their journey. In the meanwhile he hastened the departure of his own *Feciales* for Alba, and ordered them to march at once into the Senate-house, where they were to require satisfaction for the insults offered to their countrymen from Cluillius, the king.

Tullus was anxious that the Albans should be the first to declare hostilities, because the Italians considered war to be so great an evil that they believed the vengeance of heaven would pursue the people who first provoked it. When the Roman *Feciales* entered the Alban Senate, Cluillius told them that his heralds must have arrived in Rome before they could have left it; therefore it was for the Romans first to give an answer. From the appearance of the Roman ambassadors in his city, he supposed that their king sought to throw all the blame upon his people, and that if such were their intention, he must appeal to arms. He added that the

Albans had sustained much injury, and had not been the first aggressors.

The Feciales returned to Rome, and reported the king of Alba's answer. Upon this Tullus summoned the Alban ambassadors, and bade them inform their sovereign that he took the gods to witness which of the states had *first* refused satisfaction to the other, and he prayed that they would visit upon that state all the dire calamities of which its injustice was the cause.

As soon as the Albans had departed to their own city, Tullus assembled his army and marched to the Fossa Cluillia, where he found Cluillius encamped to prevent his further progress. No battle took place, but each general kept his own ground, and after a short time Cluillius was found dead in his tent. The Roman Augurs treated this as a good omen, saying, that the gods had commenced by taking vengeance on the leader, and would end by chastising the people.

As soon as the death of Cluillius was known, the Albans elected Mettius Fuffetius to be his successor. This king fought no battle, but kept his ground. At length he sought an interview with Tullus, and endeavoured to persuade him to be reconciled, and to make common cause against other enemies by whom they were mutually threatened. He warned him to beware of the Etruscans of Veii, whose troops had appeared upon the Alban hills, and whom he represented as equally dangerous to Alba and Rome. Both cities, he said, were obnoxious to them, and when they had destroyed the one, they would fall upon the other. It is supposed that Mettius and Tullus mutually aspired to the Latin dictatorship against the Etruscans, for the former not only besought the king of Rome to help him, but to serve under him, asserting that the Latins could only acknowledge one head, and that Rome was merely a colony of Alba. Tullus indignantly rejected the proposal, but offered to refer the claims of the two states for superiority to the gods in the usual shape of an appeal to single combat between chosen warriors. According to his suggestion, three champions were selected out of each host to fight for their respective nations, and the conditions agreed upon were, that the vanquished should submit to the victors.

It so happened that there were three brothers of the Gens Curiatia amongst the Albans, and the same number of the Gens Horatia amongst the Romans, and they were first cousins. They were all men of renown, distinguished for their courage and beauty, and Horatia, the sister of the Horatii, was betrothed to one of the Curiatii.

These young warriors being chosen, willingly came forward to support the honour of their country, and did not deem their lives too great a sacrifice to reconcile the contending states, and to rescue both from falling a prey to foreign enemies through domestic dissensions. They stepped boldly forth, embraced each other in the presence of both armies, and swore over the same altar to observe good faith and to deal fairly and truly with each other in the important contest they were about to wage. The two armies also bound themselves to the same conditions for their respective nations, according to a solemn form of words then in use amongst the Italians.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the cousins engaged hand to hand, armed with swords and daggers. The first Horatius soon fell mortally wounded. Ere long the second lay dead also. Only one now remained ; but he was unhurt. The three Curiatii were all wounded, but united together they were more than a match for their foe. Horatius, therefore, took to flight to separate his enemies, and to prevent their attacking him by more than one at a time. Soon the first of the Curiatii fell an easy conquest, being exhausted. The second was vanquished with almost equal facility, and now the two remaining warriors struggled together desperately, furiously, and long, until Horatius, disengaging his arm, drove his sword through his opponent's body. The contest was now decided. Horatius and the Romans raised a shout of victory, and Fuffetius advanced and saluted Tullus Dictator on the field, asking his commands. Tullus bade him keep his men under arms to watch the Tuscans, whilst he visited Rome to celebrate his triumph, and to see that all due honour was paid to the hero who had gained for his people so memorable a superiority.

Horatius also returned to Rome, and entered the city by the Porta Capena, displaying on his shoulders, as the spoils of war, the robe which had been worked by his sister for her betrothed husband, whom he had just slain.

Horatia came out to greet him, but on seeing the robe, broke out into the most injurious reproaches, calling him a fiend, a savage, and a murderer. Horatius, who was elated by the honours he had obtained, in a rage struck her to the earth, and exclaimed, "So perish all the enemies of Rome." She was killed, and Horatius was brought before the king for judgment; but Tullus, thinking that his merits outweighed his offences, would not condemn him; and the Patricians in their Curiae, to whom the matter was referred, only sentenced him to pass under the yoke, and his family to offer expiation for ever to the manes of his deceased sister.

The Curiae were the districts into which the three Patrician tribes, the Ramnes, the Tities, and the Luceres, were divided. They alone were considered to form "the Roman Populus." Each Curia consisted of one hundred households, and there were thirty Curiae in all.

To pass under the yoke signifies to pass under a spear laid across two others, which were raised upright on the ground like a doorway. It was the punishment of the vanquished in war, and implied degradation.

The states, both of Alba and Rome, erected tombs to the fallen champions. The Albans were buried within the Fossa Cluillia, and the Romans without. The Roman tombs of that age were built of stone and shaped like a sugar-loaf. Those of the Horatii and Curiatii have long since disappeared, though some antiquaries believe that a large and ancient building with five cones, which stands near the gates of Albano, is the tomb of the Horatii.\*

When Tullus returned to the camp and resumed the command over the assembled Latin tribes, he found that Fuffetius was unable to forgive the indignity of having been obliged to surrender his claims to the chieftainship. In consequence of his bitter feelings, when the armies of the Latins and Tuscans closed in fight, Fuffetius, instead of taking up his proper position, withdrew with his Albans to a neighbouring hill, and stood aloof until he perceived that Tullus had gained the day, notwithstanding his defection. He then came down and complimented his commander upon the victory. Tullus had him

\* It is more probably the tomb of Aruns Porsenna.



instantly seized, and his treachery being undeniable, the Latin princes condemned him to suffer a traitor's death. He was fastened to two chariots which being driven opposite ways, tore him asunder.

The troops of Fuffetius having joined those of Tullus, Alba was left utterly defenceless. In this condition she was attacked by the Latin cavalry, and completely destroyed. Her stately walls were levelled with the ground, and have never been rebuilt. From her foundation to her destruction, a period had elapsed of four hundred years.

The legions of the various states engaged in this war now returned to their homes, and the thirty cities over which Alba had ruled either became independent or were divided amongst the Latin confederation. As the Romans and Albans had mutually enjoyed the rights of citizenship in each other's countries, six of the Alban gentes, or houses, were received into the Roman Senate, and had dwellings assigned them on the Lucerine Hill. Tullus, by receiving fugitives from Alba, doubled the number of his soldiers; and his army being thus augmented, he was not afraid to engage in fresh wars with the Latins and Sabines. He was at one time in danger of losing his crown by an ambitious attempt to substitute Rome for Alba as the place of sacrifice to all the Latin nation; whereupon the princes of Latium angrily declared that the youngest of all the colonies of Alba, so lately erected into a principality, should never usurp the place of that city which had ruled them so long, and had been the chief of so many towns, as well as the mother of so many states. Tullus withdrew his pretensions, and worshipped with his brother princes at the shrine of Feronia, situated in a spot now called San Marino, near Rome.

Towards the close of his reign he was seized with remorse, because he had shown contempt for the religion which Remulus and Numa had established. He therefore began to study the books of the latter sovereign, and to reform many abuses. Being told of prodigies on the volcanic mount Alba, and of a shower of stones that had fallen there, he ordered sacrifices to be offered to the nine great gods who rule the thunder, and he re-established the feasts of Jupiter which used to be annually celebrated in a temple on the summit of the mountain. Finally, he

presumed to attempt drawing down lightning from heaven as Numa is said to have done; but not knowing how to direct the spark, it burnt him and his palace to ashes. The priests announced that the gods had struck him dead in their wrath; therefore he was regarded as impious, and denied a public funeral.

Tullus built a Senate-house, which was named after him the "Curia Hostilia." He was contemporary with Manasseh, king of Judah.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER IV.

THE Italian ambassadors, called *Feciales*, were a sacred order of men appointed to settle the differences between one nation and another, and if possible to prevent war. No one could be their chief who had not both a father and a son living. The chief Fecial was styled "*Pater Patratus*," and was chosen by election.

When a dispute arose between two Italian states, a Fecial was despatched to the frontiers of the offending power, and there, in a loud voice, proclaimed the wrongs which had been committed, and for which he demanded satisfaction. This he repeated three times as he advanced through the country and city, on his way to the Senate-house.

In the supreme court he reiterated his complaints to the king and Senators. If he failed in his endeavours to obtain redress, he granted to the aggressive state a truce of thirty-three days, during which time they might repent, whilst he returned to his own people. His next step was to render an account of his mission to the Senate by which he had been despatched; and his king took the votes of the Senators in succession, as to whether war, under such circumstances, was justifiable or not. Supposing the votes to be affirmative, the Fecial, at the expiry of the truce, returned to the frontiers, and threw into the enemy's ground a spear dipped in blood, saying, "By this token we declare war."

If, on the other hand, a treaty was concluded between the nations, the terms of it were written with an iron

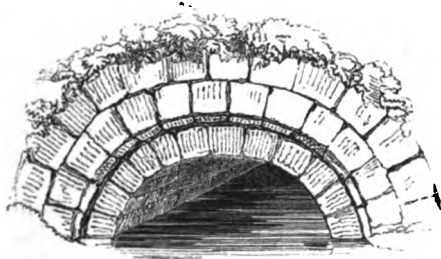
pen upon wax, which was smeared over tablets of wood. The Pater Patratus read this aloud, and the representatives of the contracting parties swore to observe it. The rites were sealed by the Fecial killing a pig, which he struck upon the head with a sharp flint, saying, "From these conditions I and my nation will not be the first to depart. Should we do so, do thou, O Jupiter, strike us as I strike this swine; and so much the heavier, as thy strength and power are greater."

Religion entered into all the public transactions of the ancient Italians, and was the foundation of everything great and noble in the characters of their public men.

## CHAPTER V.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

B.C. 639 TO 615. Y.R. 114 TO 138.\*



CLOACA MAXIMA.

**AFTER** the death of Hostilius, the Inter-reges exercised the government until the Ramnes had chosen the next king. They selected Ancus Marcius, a Patrician of wisdom and piety, who was called the descendant of Numa. He immediately restored all the institutions of Numa, and caused those parts of his books which were of general application to be written out upon whited tables and hung up in the Forum, that whoever pleased might read them.

This proves that reading and writing were then common amongst the Italians.

After Ancus had governed a few years in peace, the Latins believing him to be an unwarlike character, com-

\* Authorities: Livy, i. 32; Nieb. i.

mitted depredations upon his subjects, and when the king sent to demand redress, they set him at defiance. Ancus attacked them without delay, and was so successful as to possess himself of three small towns in the neighbourhood, from which he carried off a number of prisoners, whom he made Roman citizens. He was also forced into hostilities with the Sabines, the Volsci, and the Tuscans of Veii and Fidenæ, but he defended himself bravely, and repulsed them all.

The Italians of this age had a custom of state hospitality and intercommunion known by the names of *Iso-politia* and *Municipium*. They made special treaties both with each other and with foreign cities, in virtue of which the natives of each might settle in the territories of the other, and continue to hold there exactly the same rank which they had enjoyed at home. Thus they became the subjects of the new state, though they were not permitted to take part in its government, unless they were also elected into one of its tribes.

In consequence of this custom, it happened that a Lucumo, or chief of Tarquinia, came to Rome in the eighth year of king Ancus, with Tanaquil his wife. The father of this Lucumo is said to have been a noble Corinthian, named Demaratus, who being driven out of his native country by a revolution, took refuge as an Isopolite in Tarquinia. According to the legend, he there married a noble lady, and had by her two sons, Lucumo and Aruns. These, however, were not their proper names, for they are Etruscan titles, and import the elder and younger branches, or sons, of a powerful family.

Lucumo and Aruns both married Tarquinian women of rank, and the latter died, leaving a son, Egerius, under his brother's protection. Lucumo stood candidate for some dignity in the state, which was refused him on account of his foreign extraction; and his ambitious wife, Tanaquil, not able to brook the insult, persuaded him to leave Tarquinia, and to try his fortune at Rome. There, she said, no old families could stand in the way of his advancement; and there his rank, abilities, and riches, would exercise their proper sway, and secure him the position to which his merits entitled him.

He took her counsel, and left Tarquinia with a large retinue. When he arrived at the Janiculum, an eagle

hovered over him, took off his cap, and soared up with it towards the clouds. It then swooped down again and replaced it upon his head. Tanaquil, who sat in the chariot by his side, and who was a priestess skilled in augury, embraced him, and exclaimed, that this eagle was a sign sent by the gods to predict to him that he should be king in that very place.

From the Janiculum, Lucumo and Tanaquil proceeded into the city, and had their arrival announced to king Ancus. They brought with them their whole gens, or clan, and they were as rich as they were noble, and as courteous and polite as they were rich.

Ancus, after a short time, caused the Lucumo to be elected into the Roman Senate and changed his Etruscan title into the Latin name of Lucius. Hence he is known as Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Ancus gave him a command in the army, and at length created him "Tribunus Celerum," or captain of the guard of nobles.

Tarquin henceforth assisted king Ancus in all his wars, and not only defeated the Latins and Sabines, but took the strongly fortified city of Fidenæ by boring a mine within the enemy's walls. Fidenæ was a colony of Veii, and only six miles from Rome.

Tarquin also conquered from Veii a district called the "Septem Pagi," and a considerable tract of land at the mouth of the Tiber, where king Ancus established salt-works, which endure to this day. He built there a small town named "Ostia," or "the Havens," which was the oldest colony and first seaport of the Romans.

Ancus erected a stone prison near the Forum, which was called the "Mamertine prison," and consisted of one vaulted chamber without any light, excepting what came from an opening at the top, through which the prisoners were let down. He also constructed an enormous drain, called the "Marrana," to drain away the stagnant waters which made the country unwholesome. When Romulus first settled on the Palatine, all the seven hills were separated by swampy valleys, and this Marrana was the first attempt made to redeem them. Several of the valleys in winter were small lakes. King Ancus died after a useful reign of twenty-four years. He commended his family to Tarquin's care, and left all the power of the state in his hands.

## AFTER CHAPTER V.

ANCUS MARCIUS is considered as the father of the Roman Plebs, because he incorporated the conquered Latins into his little state, and assigned to them the Aventine Hill to be their freehold, where they might settle and build as Romans, though they were not obliged to dwell in Rome, if disinclined. They elected their own officers, and the quantity of land required for a voter in their elections was only half an acre. The lands of the Plebeians were sacred to them, and could not be sold to the Patricians.

In Latin and Greek histories of Rome, the Plebeians are mentioned in every reign, even under Romulus and Numa; and we are told of their frequent poverty, and that the kings divided amongst them the conquered lands. But the kings could not divide the lands before they possessed them, and under the three first reigns the whole Roman dominions were not so large as the private estates of many English gentlemen.

This insignificant territory was divided amongst the three Patrician tribes, into thirty *Curiae*, or districts, ten for each tribe, and the land between the walls of Rome and the *Fossa Cluillia* was Patrician pasturage. The Romans possessed nothing beyond the Tiber; and when a stranger in Rome now wanders over their old ground, he finds it difficult to take a morning's ride in any direction without transgressing upon the limits of some other nation.

The Sabines came up to the Mons Sacer, within three miles of Rome; the Latins and Albans to the *Fossa Cluillia*, within six; and the Tuscans were only separated from them by the Tiber, and for more than a century regarded Rome as their principal fortress towards the east, and as a bulwark against the other Italians.

The towns which Ancus vanquished lay about thirteen miles from Rome. Their names were Tellene, Ficana, and Politorium, and the places where they once

stood are now called Fosetta, Dragoncelle, and La Giostra.

I have mentioned that Tanaquil was a priestess. The priestly office in Italy was entirely confined to persons of rank, and it was generally necessary that they should be Patricians, i.e. of the ruling tribes in the country. The priests were not clergymen; they did not teach the people and visit the poor, like the Christian priests; for they were not the ministers of truth and mercy, but of superstition, and often of cruelty. Their duty was to keep the sacred books of man's invention, to write out the national annals, to offer up sacrifices, and to learn by heart the customary rituals. The princes of the Senate and all the kings were priests. Priests.



## CHAPTER VI.

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

B.C. 615 TO 577. Y.R. 138 TO 176.\*



CIRCUS GAMES.

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS was chosen by the thirty Curiae to be the next king, after having been for sixteen years at the head of the nobles. Before his time only two of the Patrician tribes, the Ramnes and the Tities, sat in the Senate. He added to them one hundred nobles from the Luceres, so that henceforward the Senate consisted of 300 members. He also increased the numbers of the four Vestal virgins to six, two for each tribe.

He made war upon Appiola, a Latin town ten miles

\* Authorities : Livy, i. ; Nieb. i. ; Gell. Environs of Rome.

from Rome, upon the Alban road; and having taken it, he dedicated its rich spoils to adorn his city with great public works. He drained the swampy vales of the seven hills; and his largest drain, the Cloaca Maxima, is still to be seen opening into the Tiber. He also built a magnificent Circus, in which all the people might every year witness the races and great games. He drained the Forum between the Palatine and the Saturnian hills; and as this valley belonged partly to the Patricians, and partly to the Plebeians, he insisted upon both giving their aid to the work.

None of the Romans, rich or poor, liked the taxes and the labours which these improvements entailed upon them, and they were happy to abandon them for another war.

The Latins being angry with Tarquin for plundering Appiola, allied themselves with the Sabines, and attacked him with a large army. They defeated him, because they had superior cavalry, and this defect in his army Tarquin resolved to remedy. The Roman cavalry consisted entirely of Patricians, each of the three tribes contributing 300 men, whom they furnished completely with horses and arms. Tarquin thought that if he could create three more Patrician tribes, they also must furnish him with three regiments; and that in this manner, he should increase his friends and secure as many horsemen as he required. He proposed this plan to the Senate, but one of the Augurs named Attius Nævius vehemently opposed it. He affirmed that the number of the Patrician tribes having been fixed by augury, no human power could increase them, for it was against the will of the gods. "Do you," said Tarquin, "pretend to know so accurately the will of the gods? You, who cannot even read the thoughts of man? Do you know what I am thinking of, and can you tell me whether my thought is possible or not?" "Yes," answered Attius Nævius, "it is possible." Tarquin smiled: "I was thinking, O Augur, if thou couldst cut this stone through with a knife." The Augur cut it through, and the king had the good sense to yield. He said that he would not augment the number of the tribes, but he must increase his cavalry. The Curiae therefore agreed to double the number of their own houses, and then to

furnish him with double regiments, under the old names of Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. The old and new were to be distinguished from each other by the terms of *major* and *minor*; and this it is necessary to remember, when we read of the "major and minor houses." Tarquin brought his augmented cavalry into the field, and being everywhere victorious, his enemies sued for peace. He granted it upon condition that the people of the conquered places should become Romans, and that the Latins should admit Tarquin to be their Dictator in turn with their own princes.

One of the towns which Tarquin conquered was Corniculum, now Monte St. Angelo, fourteen miles from Rome. It is said that Tullus, the prince of this place, fell in battle, and that Tarquin took prisoner his beautiful wife Ocrisia, whom he presented as a slave to his queen. Tanaquil freed her, and treated her as a friend, and she had a son born in the palace, who was named Servius Tullius.

Whilst this infant slept, flames of fire were seen to play round his head, and when the servants ran to extinguish them, Tanaquil bade them forbear, for the flames would burn out of themselves. When he awoke, Tanaquil said to her husband, "This child will be a light to us in gloom, and a support to us in peril." Tarquin, with this impression, protected and educated him, in due time married him to one of his daughters, and raised him to the first dignities of the state.

Tarquin was at variance with the Tuscans for nine years, his chief adversary being Celes Vibenna, a prince of Volsinii, who had long kept the whole Etruscan league in a state of distraction. Celes having allied himself with the Sabines, Tarquin took the Sabine city of Collatia, and bestowed it on his nephew Egerius, changing his name to Tarquinius Collatinus. The Roman monarch defeated the Etruscans near Veii and Cære, and when he ended the war was lord of the whole coast from Ostia to Terracina. He was admitted amongst the kings of Etruria, and was presented by the Etruscans with a golden crown set with carbuncles, a purple robe worked with a golden border of palm-leaves, an ivory sceptre, and a throne. These he exhibited in his triumph as he went to return thanks to the gods, when he drove in a

chariot drawn by four horses, and was attended by the Lictors with their fasces. He never after laid his ensigns of sovereignty aside. He was afterwards forced to make peace with Celes, and to divide with him his power, surrendering the Lucerine Hill, where Celes settled with his army, and where he died and was buried. In memory of his interment, the name "Lucerum" was changed to "Cælian," and the hill is so called to this day.

Tarquin was remarkable for the justice of his administration. He appointed two Patrician officers, called "Quæstors," to attend upon the camp in every expedition, that the booty taken might be valued <sup>Quæstors.</sup> in their presence, and that each claimant might receive the proportion which was his due. It was also the Quæstor's duty to attend to all ambassadors, and to provide them with suitable lodgings and proper entertainment at the public expense.

Tarquin embanked the Tiber, and completed the common sewers of Rome. He erected ranges of colonnades in the Forum, and adorned it with <sup>Public</sup> shops and mercantile halls, also with courts for <sup>works.</sup> justice, and schools for education. He caused an enormous quantity of stone to be hewn and prepared in order to build a wall round Rome like the Tuscan walls at Cortona, Aretium, and Fiesole. He also erected for himself a palace, with a magnificent portico, near the Temple of Jupiter Stator.

Tarquin collected together all the materials necessary to build a temple, which he had vowed during his wars to the great Jupiter of the Etruscans; and his last work was to choose the ground, and to have it levelled for this purpose. Before he fixed upon the situation, he once more asked the advice of the Augur Attius Nævius. Attius replied, that the chief temple of the Romans and Quirites must always stand upon the Saturnian <sup>Capitoline</sup> Hill. The king remonstrated that there was <sup>Temple.</sup> not space, but Attius assured him that all the gods were willing to move for Jupiter, excepting Juventus, or Youth, and Terminus, the god of boundaries, and that the shrines of these two should be enclosed within the walls of the new temple. "Rome," he said, "should be always young, and her boundaries must never be vio-

lated." Upon this, the ground was marked out according to his word.

Tarquin caused a Vestal virgin named Pinaria to be put to death for breaking her vows. He had her walled up alive in a small cell, to which she descended by steps. Along with her were buried a lamp, a cruse of water, and a loaf of bread. Some say that this was as a sacrifice to the gods of the shades, and others that it was because no man might shed the blood of a consecrated virgin.

King Tarquin at length grew old, and the kinsmen of Ancus Marcius hated him, and were irritated at the honours which he heaped upon Servius the foreigner. They could not claim the crown for themselves, but they thought that if Tarquin were removed, they should have a chance of the succession, and with this view they determined to murder him. They sent two of their clients to quarrel before the Senate-house, and to appeal to him in person. These men had hatchets in their hands when they were introduced into the king's presence, and they placed themselves on each side of him. In feigned anger they talked loudly together, till the Lictors commanded that one only should speak, else the king could not hear. When Tarquin turned himself towards one of these men, the other struck him with his hatchet on the head and stunned him. He fell bleeding, and whilst the Marcian clients were seized and despatched, he was carried into the palace, where he died.

Queen Tanaquil sent for Servius, and bade him avenge the king's death, and possess himself of the government in Tarquin's name. She assured the people that the king was better, and told them to bring their complaints and causes to Servius, for that all affairs were intrusted to him until Tarquin's recovery. Servius followed her advice for a few days, and then ventured to announce the fatal event. Continuing to exercise the sovereign power which he had already wielded, he seated himself on the vacant throne.

Tarquinius Priscus reigned thirty-eight years.

## AFTER CHAPTER VI.

TARQUIN was the most glorious of all the kings of Rome. When he left Tarquinia and first appeared before the Janiculum, the Roman dominions did not extend sixteen miles from one boundary to the other. When he died he was possessed of several towns and forts in the Sabine district, he was head of the Latin confederacy, and one of the acknowledged members of the powerful Etruscan League. The kingdom of Rome now extended eastward to near Bovillæ, south and westward to Terracina, and northwards to the frontiers of Tibur, now called Tivoli. The dominions of this increasing state, from not having occupied as much ground as is now covered by London, had suddenly grown to the size of the county of York. The city, when Tarquin first settled in it, was a collection of small ugly towns on rising grounds separated by swamps. He left it drained, united, remodelled, and full of colossal and magnificent works. His great drains remain to this day; but, being under ground, they are invisible. They terminate in the Cloaca Maxima, or great sewer, which strangers are always taken to see, and which will be described in the reign of a later Tarquin, who finished it. The Forum still stands upon the same spot which Tarquinius Priscus drained, and embellished with courts and arcades, though its appearance has long since been changed. Of the Circus Maximus there are no remains, excepting a ridge which shows the line of its ancient enclosure, and which is visible from the palace of the Cæsars.

The ground occupied by the Circus was an oval three furlongs in length, and one and a half in breadth, surrounded by a low wall and deep ditch. It had a range of stabling at one end, called the "Carceres," from which the chariots and horses started for the race, and pillars at the other called the "Metæ," opposite to which was a triumphal arch, where the victors received their prizes. At each side of the Carceres there were ranges of seats one above another,

covered in from the weather. The first row was appropriated to the Senators and Vestals. Behind them sat the knights ; further back the people, and the uppermost row was reserved for the ladies and the women who came to the games. In the centre of the Circus an altar was raised to the presiding god ; and at a small distance on each side, a stage was erected, upon which a herald stood to mark and announce the progress of the solemnity. In the races, each chariot or horse had to make seven rounds, therefore when they started, an egg, or egg-like ball, was hoisted, and when they rounded the *Metæ*, a metal dolphin was placed upon the raised stage.

When the heralds had marked the seven eggs and seven dolphins, the course was terminated. The dolphin was a sign that the games were invented by a maritime people, and one of the gods always honoured in them was Neptune. The Circus Maximus was erected to contain upwards of a hundred thousand persons, and was the boast and glory of the Romans, and the model from which all their other circuses were afterwards built.

Amongst the towns which Tarquin conquered, *Ficulea* was and is remarkable for its excellent figs, and *Crustumium* for its pears. The site of the first is now called "Torre Lupara," the second is "Monte Rotondo," or the round mount, a translation of the Sabine word "*Crustumium*."

Servius gained one victory for Tarquin, by tossing his standard into the ranks of the enemy. His soldiers rushed after it, and fought for its recovery with the fury of desperation.

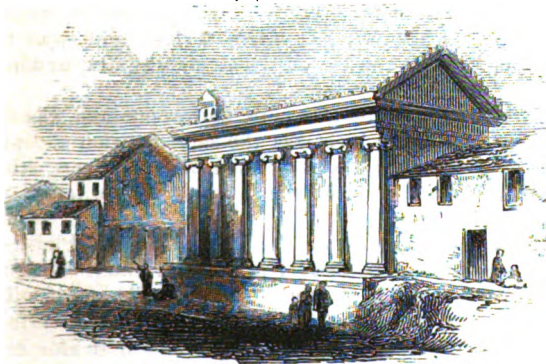
The standard was regarded by all the Italians with deep religious reverence. They looked upon it as a sort of protecting divinity. They wreathed it with flowers, and offered prayers to it, and they never, as long as they had life, would suffer it to fall into the hands of a foe. When the standard was lost, the regiment to which it belonged was understood to be destroyed.

Tarquin is said to have left two sons, Lucumo and Aruns, married to the daughters of Servius Tullius, and two daughters, the one married to Servius Tullius himself, and the other to Junius, a Senator of the Ramnes tribe, whose ancestor came with Romulus from Bovillæ to the Palatine.

## CHAPTER VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

B.C. 577 TO 533. Y.R. 176 TO 220.\*



TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS.

SERVIUS TULLIUS mounted Tarquin's throne without any interregnum or election, which incensed the Patricians ; but he did not concern himself about their favour. Some authors say that he was not a Latin prince, brought up in Tarquin's palace, but an Etruscan warrior, named Mastarna, who had accompanied Celes Vibenna, and who succeeded him as chief of the Tuscans when they were settled on the Cælian Hill. In any case, he

\* Authorities : Livy, i. 40, &c. ; Nieb. i., in loco.



was a Plebeian amongst the Romans, for he was neither of the Ramnes, nor of the Tities, nor of the Luceres, and the citizens not belonging to these tribes were called Plebeians. The Patricians alone had a right to the dignities of the state, or could make use of augury ; and they arrogated to themselves the title of the "*Populus*," or Roman people, considering all others as in every respect their inferiors.

Servius, during his whole life, patronized the Plebeians, and secured to the noble and wealthy amongst them a share in the government of their common country. The Plebeians originated with the conquest of Alba, and were much increased from the various towns subdued by Ancus Marcius.

As the Patricians were divided into *thirty Curia*, and were called together to confirm the decisions of the Senate, under the name of "*Comitia Curiata*," so Servius divided the Plebeians into *thirty Tribes*, and assembled them together to confer upon their own affairs, under the name of "*Comitia Tributa*."

Here every man had a vote, and every man was subject to a poll-tax, which was the same for rich and poor. To each tribe Servius appointed one chief magistrate, called a "*Tribune*," and the tax paid by the tribes was named "*Tribute*."

Servius pitied the debtors, who were all Plebeians. He desired them to deliver in a list of their debts, and when the list was presented, he paid it off himself. This enraged the Patricians, which is the more surprising, as they were the creditors ; but when a debtor could not pay, they were allowed to seize his person and all his possessions, excepting his land, and to convert him into either a client or a slave.

The land of the Plebeians was sacred to their tribes, and could never be sold nor come into the possession of the Patricians. It was measured out with ridges, and marked all round with boundary stones, which were numbered, and a description of it was written down in the government books, and there preserved.

Servius forbade the Patricians to seize the persons of their debtors, and only allowed them to take their goods. He had also compassion on the slaves, a wretched class of men, consisting either of debtors who had sold them-

selves, called "Addicti," or of captives taken in battle. He provided for the recovery of their freedom, and ordered that twice a-year they should observe a festival during which their masters should give them no work. All these measures being intolerable to the Patricians, they invited the Lucumony of Veii to make war, in order to distress the king and arrest his innovations. Servius defeated the men of Veii three times, and triumphed over them. He then called the thirty Curiae together, and punished them by obliging them to proclaim him king.

Servius, after this, assembled the thirty princes of the Latins, and proposed to them to erect a temple on the Aventine to their common goddess, Diana,  
at whose shrine they should every year keep a <sup>Diana</sup> joint festival of some days. The princes con-<sub>Aventina.</sub>sented to the erection of the temple, but said that if it was common to their states, it must be built at the common expense, and therefore that each state should contribute its share.

When this building was finished, it happened that a heifer of uncommon beauty, with large horns, attracted public attention in the land of the Sabines; and the chief to whom it belonged took it to an Augur, in order to ask if any fate was connected with it. The Augur answered that whoever offered it to Diana should govern Italy. The Sabine forthwith conducted it to the new temple on the Aventine, and seems to have forgotten that the Roman priest in his own country would necessarily be the first to offer up the sacrifice. "Do you bring your offering," said the pontiff, "with unwashed hands?" The Sabine went down to the Tiber to bathe his hands in the water, and when he returned, the Roman had slain his heifer, and accomplished the oracle. In remembrance of this legend, the horns long adorned the front of Diana's temple. Cows' horns were a symbol of the heathen goddesses, Juno, Diana, and Isis.

Servius had the laws which were to be observed at the festival of Diana engraved on a pillar of bronze, which endured until the time of our Saviour's birth; but the writing was in a language which the Romans of later days could not read, and the characters were

Etruscan, which the Romans called Greek, from their strong resemblance to the Greek character.

There are still tables extant in Italy similar to those of Servius, containing laws and prayers for religious feasts, at which many Italian tribes assembled. Those used by the Umbrians and Etruscans at Ikuvine, a town now named Gubbio, were engraved upon bronze tablets which had been nailed to the walls of the Temple of Tina, or Jupiter, there. They are written in both Latin and Etruscan characters, and are older than the days of Servius.

Though Servius was anxious to exalt Rome and to establish himself in the favour of the Latins, Diana was not his favourite goddess. He preferred Nortia or Fortuna, the Etruscan patroness of Volsinii, and he filled Rome with her temples and shrines. One of these, named "Fortuna Virilis," exists now at the church of Santa Maria Egiziana, and, though not exactly the same building, stands on the same spot, and perhaps upon the old foundations. In one of these temples Servius placed a wooden statue of himself, gilt; and when he wanted to enact any laws which he knew to be obnoxious to the Patricians, he said that Fortuna was his Egeria, and that she inspired him as the latter had inspired Numa.

During the intermission of his contests with Veii, he erected the *Agger* and wall, which still bear Agger. his name; and he enclosed within them the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Quirinal Hills, and added them to the city. Servius's wall was the first that was built of stone at Rome, and it had at intervals gates and towers. It was seven miles round, and was never enlarged until the days of Aurelian. There are portions of it remaining in the gardens of Sallust. The *Agger* still exists in the grounds of the Villa Negroni.

The *Agger* was a mound of earth which connected together Servius's stone wall, and was the more magnificent work of the two. Its length was nearly a mile, and it rose out of a fosse thirty feet deep. It was sixty feet high and fifty broad, and was faced towards the fosse with a skirting of flag-stones, which were protected by towers. The lapse of so many hundred years has filled up the fosse and lowered the mound; but to this

day it looks as fresh as the walls of the finest Roman encampments in Britain, which are at least seven or eight hundred years more recent.

Servius had peace for the last twenty years of his reign, and he employed himself to reduce the power of the Patricians and to exalt the Plebs. He passed a law, which continued ever after to be the law of the Roman state, that the infantry should consist entirely of Plebeians. He ordered an exact account to be taken in writing of every member of the thirty Tribes, of the places of their abode, and the value of their property. He dedicated temples entirely to the use of the Plebeians, and ordered that a tax should be paid on every birth in the Temple of Juno Lucina, on the attainment of youth in that of Juventas, and on death in that of Libitina. The Temple of Juno Lucina stood on the spot now covered by the magnificent church of Santa Maria Maggiore.

For those who lived in *pagi*, or villages, at a distance, Servius commanded yearly feasts to be observed, called "Paganalia," where the men had to pay one kind of money, the women another, and the children a third; so that Servius knew precisely the numbers and means of all his Plebeians. As soon as he had obtained the necessary information, he divided them into six Classes, according to their property; and he said they should no longer be assembled in their thirty Tribes and be taxed to the same amount whether rich or poor; but that they should assemble in classes, and that the number of their votes should be regulated by their class. The first class consisted of the rich only, worth 100,000 pieces of bronze called "Asses," or more; the second consisted of those worth 75,000; the third, 50,000; the fourth, 25,000; and the fifth, 11,000. Below this he did not allow the people to vote, or to offer themselves for soldiers, because the fighting men were required to provide their own arms, and he believed that a man who had nothing to lose would not fight so well as one who had property to defend.

Servius divided his classes into so many regiments or bands, which he called "Centuries," and which sometimes had a great many men in them, and sometimes very few. Their number altogether was one hundred and ninety-three. Of these he placed ninety-

Plebeian  
Classes.

Centuries.

eight in the first class; twenty in the second, twenty in the third, twenty in the fourth, thirty in the fifth, and only one in the sixth. When the *Comitia centuriata*, or Council of Centuries, was called together, the majority of votes decided; and as ninety-eight, the number of votes of the first class, is more than the half of one hundred and ninety-three, if the rich first class were agreed upon a measure, there was no occasion to collect any more votes. If they disagreed, the suffrages of the second class were counted; and during the whole time of the Roman republic, votes of the lower classes were scarcely ever taken.

The Roman government, whether wielded by Patricians or Plebeians, was never that of the poor and ignorant, or of the multitude; but always that of the old families or of the rich landholders. For three hundred years none but a landholder could have any vote in Roman affairs, and the produce of the land (that is, corn and cattle) was the test of the value of money.

Servius again divided his first class into two different parts,—eighty centuries of rich Plebeians, and eighteen centuries of Knights.\* The knights composed the

Equestrian order. Equestrian order, and were now first instituted with special privileges. They were the noblest and richest of their day; and Servius assigned to them the Cælian Hill as a possession, and advanced them as nearly as he could, to an equality with the Patricians, by bestowing on them hereditary rank. They served in the army on horseback when they could afford it, and on foot if they had become poor; and they held a middle rank between the Patricians who had a *right* to every great employment and the other Plebeians who had a *right* to none.

Servius again divided his six classes into Senior and Junior. The juniors included all the young men fit to bear arms, from seventeen to forty-five years old, and the senior those from forty-five to sixty. The state never required the services of any Plebeian after he was sixty,

\* "The eighteen centuries of knights included the three Patrician Tribes, divided into Major and Minor, with their clients, under the title of *Sex Suffragia*. These six suffrages voted first upon all occasions, and were followed by the twelve centuries of Plebeian knights."

nor before seventeen. The knights and Patricians, on the other hand, served until death. Servius also abolished the poll-tax, and laid the taxes which the state required upon the Century, and not upon the person; so that each individual contributed only a small share.

When all these arrangements were completed, Servius, having collected his six classes together, reviewed them in the Campus Martius, or field of Mars, a piece of ground between the Quirinal and the Tiber. He found the amount of their numbers to be 70,000, which is evidently a very exaggerated calculation, implying a population of four millions, which is double the number of inhabitants in the enormous city of London.

The Italian kalendar was reckoned in periods of five years, called "Lustra," and on the expiration of every one of these, the Dictator or king had the new lustrum proclaimed. In order to mark its commencement, <sup>Lustrum.</sup> he drove a large square-headed nail into the door-post of some particular temple, in the presence of the people. Servius celebrated these epochs by having an altar erected in the Campus Martius, on which sacrifices were offered to the goddess of Lustra, and he commanded that these meetings should be held on every returning lustrum. The Patricians and knights were not counted on these occasions, because their rank did not depend upon their property. Servius caused a number of the slaves to be made *Liberti*, or freedmen, and to be enrolled in the four city Tribes as Plebeians. He commanded the Patricians who had houses on the Esquiline or Cælian to quit those hills, and he gave them in exchange a street at the foot of the Cælian called the *Via Patricia*: he, moreover, forbade them all to fortify their castles as they had been in the habit of doing. Upon every fresh law, the hatred of the Patricians towards Servius had increased, but their forbearance was completely outraged when he commanded them to relinquish the *Ager Publicus*, or public land, which he distributed amongst the thirty Plebeian Tribes.

By Italian custom, a territory when conquered was divided into three parts; one returned to its former possessors upon the payment of tribute, one belonged to the Patricians, and the third became the property of the crown or government.

This crown-land, until portioned out by the Augurs, was called "Ager Publicus," or common land, and was rented by the Patricians on the payment of a trifling tax.

**Ager Publicus.** They might let it again, and the privilege of using it continued from father to son. Thus they gradually came to consider it as their own, and were very jealous of being obliged to yield it to the Plebs ; because, when once allotted to them, it was lost to the Patricians for ever.

In Roman history, we are constantly told of the bitter and endless quarrels between the Patricians and Plebeians about this "common land." The Patricians were so enraged with Servius when they saw it measured off to the thirty Tribes, and the sacred ridges called "Plebeian limits," raised around the large forests or wide pastures in which their flocks and herds had lately grazed, that they plotted together to rid themselves of a king who was gradually reducing them to poverty and impotence.

They had not far to seek for a leader who was ready to direct their measures. Servius's two daughters are said to have married Lucumo and Aruns, the descendants of Lucius Tarquinius. The younger, Tullia, being a very wicked woman, poisoned both her husband and her sister, and then married Lucumo or Lucius, and persuaded him that the old king was occupying his place. She suggested that he was the proper avenger of the Patricians, (whose "common lands" had been all acquired under the rule of Tarquinius Priscus,) and of the Luceres, who had been the objects of Tarquin's peculiar protection, and who were now displaced from the Cælian.

Whilst the minds of the Patricians were thus irritated, Servius proposed another law entitling the Plebeians to share the throne. This kindled the smouldering fury into flame. Tarquin rushed into the Forum with a body of armed followers, marched into the Senate, and seated himself upon the throne. He had the trumpets blown to proclaim his usurpation, and, whilst many of the Senators saluted him, others fled in terror. Servius, being informed that there was a tumult, hastened to the Senate-house to ascertain the cause, and when he saw Tarquin upon his throne he strove to tear him from it. Both grappled together until they came to the steps of the portico, when Tarquin threw the old prince violently,

down and stunned him. Servius's attendants endeavoured to convey him to his palace on the Esquiline, but being overtaken in the "Vicus Cyprius," or good street, Servius was murdered by Tarquin's adherents, and his body left bleeding on the ground.

Meanwhile Tullia, the infamous wife of Tarquin, drove to the Forum in her chariot to salute her husband king; and as she was returning to her palace, she felt the horses swerve, and saw the chariot suddenly stop. Upon her asking the reason the charioteer pointed to the body of her father, which lay bleeding in the way. "What!" she cried, "do you fear to drive over the dead? Go on!" The man urged his horses over the body, and the blood was sprinkled on her clothes. Tullia once afterwards went to worship in the Temple of Fortune, in which Servius's image stood. The people affirmed that the statue hid its face until she had departed. The street in which Servius was murdered was named the "Vicus Sceleratus," or wicked street. Tullia was ever after an object of abhorrence to the Romans. The Plebeians never ceased to regret Servius, in memory of whom they kept an annual festival at the Temple of Diana Aventina.

Servius reigned forty-four years.

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## AFTER CHAPTER VII.

AT the time of Servius's death, the Palatine, Saturnian, and Quirinal Hills, were appropriated to the Patricians; the Aventine and Esquiline to the Plebeians, and the Cælian to the knights. The Viminal alone was unassigned ground.

The Patricians and Plebeians might not intermarry.

Servius left numerous bronze tables covered with his laws, and a book of commentaries on the proper government of a state. He introduced into Rome the Etruscan bronze coinage of the As, which weighed a pound of twelve ounces, called "the pound Tyrrhene" or "Troy," and which was divided into other coins smaller than itself, named Semis, Triens, Quadrans, Sextans, and Uncia, or ounce; twelve of which last were equal to

Coinage.



one As. It is not easy to estimate the true value of the As. The *worth* of money means the quantity of things which it will purchase, and our usual measure of this value is in corn or cattle ; because with corn and cattle we have food and clothing, and we can exchange them for the furniture, the ornaments, and the other things which we require. Now the value of a Roman sheep was ten Asses, and that of a magnificent large-horned white ox was 100 Asses. Suppose we reckon an English sheep at twenty shillings, and an ox at ten pounds, this would make the As worth about two shillings, or half a Roman Scudo of the present day. The As of Servius was a coin four times as large as an English penny. No specimen of it in its integrity has yet been found, the largest As known not exceeding ten ounces. Some of the divisions of this early As, as the Triens and Quadrans, weighing four and three ounces, are not uncommon. There is no other rational manner of reckoning ancient money ; and the ounce at this rate would be worth two-pence.

But the Poor have in all ages been obliged to use much smaller coins for things of less worth, such as rush-lights, or nuts, or herrings.

The Romans had leather and shells, which represented lesser coins. Shells are still used for money in many parts of the world, and it is strange that leather should not be preferred by most governments to the paper which is commonly made use of both in Britain and on the Continent. When Englishmen hear of paper they think of five-pound notes, but it may be made of any value ; and Scotch notes have been issued during this century of no high value than five farthings.

The Romans had a bronze coinage according to weight, from the very beginning ; but Servius introduced the As, stamped with the Etruscan figures of the head of Janus on one side, and the prow of a ship on the reverse. The other divisions of the As had different heads, specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum.

Armour.

Servius required his different classes to arm and clothe themselves according to their property. The knights were not only to be fully equipped, but had an allowance of 10,000 Asses for a charger, a slave, and a slave's horse, good enough for service in the field. The rich first class were accoutred in an entire coat-of-mail,

and sometimes in chain armour. They wore greaves or thigh-pieces, a helmet and a shield, all of bronze; and their weapons were spears, daggers, and swords.

The second class had the same weapons, but no coat-of-mail, and bore a *scutum* instead of a *clypeus*; that is, an oval instead of a round shield. The armourers, smiths, and carpenters, on account of their great usefulness, formed three Centuries in the second class.

The third class were destitute of greaves. The fourth and fifth composed a sort of light irregular infantry. The one was armed with javelins and bucklers, and the other with slings and stones. The fourth class comprehended all the musicians, consisting of players upon the trumpet, horn, and double flute.

Besides these, a number of unarmed men attended the camp to take the place of those who fell. Bowmen must have been amongst the regiments, though they are not mentioned, for bundles of arrows are found in the oldest tombs of the Italian chiefs.

The *clypeus*, or shield, which was restricted to the Patricians and the first-class Plebeians, is also found in these tombs. It is of various sizes, and sometimes so large as nearly to cover the whole body. Those made for battle were generally of wood covered with bull's hide, and bound round with rings of bronze or iron; but those manufactured for the tombs were of very thin bronze, highly ornamented in patterns of raised work, quite round, and with a boss in the centre.

The soldiers received pay during the time they were on service; and all the Plebeians of the five first classes were trained to arms from the age of fifteen to seventeen, that they might not have their profession to learn when they were required to fight an enemy.

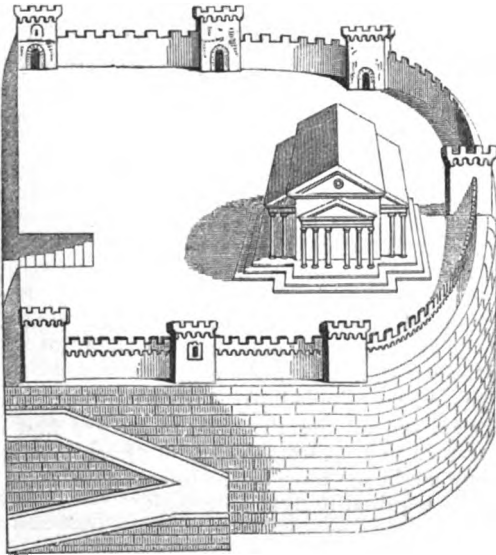
ROMAN AS.



## CHAPTER VIII.

**TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, OR TARQUIN THE PROUD.**

**B.C. 533 TO 509. Y.R. 220 TO 244.**



**MONS CAPITOLINUS RESTORED.**

**WHEN** the second Tarquin mounted the Roman throne, he was solicited to grant his murdered relative a prince's burial; but he answered that Romulus had had no funeral, and therefore Servius required none.

\* Authorities: Livy, i. 49, &c.; Nieb. Rom. i. Plut.

This offensive speech affixed to him as a stigma the name of "Superbus," or the proud. Servius was buried privately, and the Plebeians long mourned his death upon every Nones, because it was upon a Nones that he was slain.

Tarquin broke fifty bronze tables upon which the laws of Servius were engraved, and behaved so arbitrarily, both to Patricians and Plebeians, that numbers of the great and wealthy quitted Rome and settled at Gabii, a large city twelve miles distant, whilst others openly rebelled. Amongst the latter was the family of his uncle Junius.

Tarquin executed this chief and his eldest son; but he spared the second son Lucius Junius, who was married to Vitellia, a Patrician lady, and had several children. Junius forfeited his rank and was degraded to the Equestrian order, but he was allowed to retain much property, and Tarquin finally elevated him to the dangerous position of Tribune of the Celeres—that dignity from which Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius had mounted to the throne.

Junius was surnamed "Brutus" as a mark of degradation; and as he was an ambitious and stern man, who thought that his family the Junii had a better title to the throne than the Tarquini, this brand irritated his pride, and prevented his ever feeling grateful to Tarquin. He pondered over the supposed intentions of Servius to divide the sovereign power between the Patricians and Plebeians, and to make one of each rule together; and having persuaded himself of its expediency, he resolved on the first opportunity to carry it into execution.

The Volsci now made war upon the Latins, and Tarquin stood candidate for the Latin Dictatorship. He convened a council of the princes at the shrine of Feronia, and named an early hour upon a certain day for their meeting. His mandate was obeyed, but he kept the princes waiting all day without making his appearance. The most indignant against him for the affront was Turnus Herdonius, prince of Aricia, who was president of the meeting. He was the rival candidate for the Dictatorship, and was earnest to diminish the power of Rome over the Latin States. He rose to dismiss the

princes, and spoke hotly against Tarquin, whom he reproached as a foreigner. Just as he had concluded, Tarquin appeared. As it was near sunset, he apologised for having kept the assembly waiting, but said he had been detained in Rome to decide a cause between a father and son. Turnus haughtily observed, that the excuse was as impertinent as the delay, for no Italian need hesitate in settling a dispute between a father and son. If the son did not submit, he must take the consequences. Tarquin, astonished at his asperity, requested the princes to meet the next day and hear his proposals. The angry rivals had long hated each other, and Tarquin found some of Turnus's subjects who were willing to betray him. He induced them to conceal arms in their master's tent, and when the meeting re-assembled, he accused Turnus of plotting against his life, and of intending to cut off all the princes of the Latin league at one blow, that he might raise himself upon their ruin. He, moreover, declared that Turnus had already made preparations for carrying these designs into execution.

Turnus answered, that if the accusation could be proved, he was content to take the consequences. Search was accordingly made, and in the unfortunate prince's quarters arms were found concealed. Upon this the infuriated Latins bound him, and taking him to the spring of Feronia, threw him into a deep pool, and pressed hurdles over him until he was drowned. They then proclaimed Tarquin their deliverer, and elected him Dictator. He led them against the Volsci, subdued many Volscian towns, and made his sons, Titus and Aruns, governors of Signia and Circeii, to which he sent colonies. He took the strong city of Suessa by storm, and dedicated his share of the spoil to build the temple in Rome which had been vowed by Tarquinius Priscus to Jupiter.

After compelling the Volsci to make peace, he was adjudged a triumph, and he drove in his gilt chariot and royal robes up a road of which it is still possible to trace some remains, to the great Temple of Jupiter Latialis, which he and the Latin chiefs had contributed together to erect upon the summit of Mount Alba. The procession must have been a glorious sight, for the situation is superb, and Tarquin was followed by the Latin

princes in their festal attire, and by all his prisoners and spoil. His troops as he passed saluted him "Embratur," or victorious general. The Alban mount is now called the Monte Cavo, and on its top are still to be seen the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Latialis.

Tarquin warred for seven years with the Romans, who had retired to Gabii; and at last concluded with them a treaty of peace, which was written on a bull's-hide shield, and hung up in the Temple of Fides, where it existed till the days of Augustus. The exiled Romans resigned their pretensions, and the Gabini paid <sup>Gabii.</sup> tribute, and received Sextus, one of the king's sons, for their governor. Tarquin thus made an important addition to the allies of Rome; for Gabii was one of the strongest cities of the Latins, and governed several small towns.

The Roman legend tells us that Tarquin had lost all hopes of subduing Gabii, when his son Sextus placed it in his power by stratagem. He feigned to plead the cause of the Exiles with the king, upon which the old monarch pretended to be violently angry, and had him scourged. Sextus left the city, vowing not to return, and appeared as an injured man before the prince and Senate of Gabii. They, thinking that another noble Roman was seeking refuge with them, were delighted to be joined by a man who was so distinguished for his courage and talents. They gave him a command in their army, and wherever he fought, the Romans fled. They then elected him into their Patriciate, and ended in promoting him to be governor of Gabii. Sextus now sent to his father to ask how he should proceed. Tarquin gave no answer; but walked with the messenger round his garden, which was full of poppies, and whenever he came near a tall poppy, he knocked off its head. When the messenger pressed for an answer, Tarquin replied, "I have none to give, but tell my son what you have seen." Sextus immediately understood that he was to cut off all the exalted heads at Gabii, and gradually caused those to perish who were inimical to Rome. He then procured for the Gabini the advantageous peace which was inscribed upon the bull's hide, and continued to govern the city.

Tarquin adorned Rome with many great public works,

the chief of which were the *Cloacæ*, or common sewers, and the great Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

When he laid the foundation-stone of that temple, he desired the Tuscan Augurs to be present, that they might bless the ceremony and interpret the omens. The stone was wreathed round with flowers. The king raised it by a pulley and then lowered it into its place. But what was the horror of the assembled multitude to see roll out from this place the head of a man freshly bleeding ! The Augurs said it was the *Caput Toli*, or head of Tulus, and they changed the name of the hill from *Saturnian* to *Capitol*, and called the new building the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Tarquin is supposed to have sacrificed Tulus, but he pretended entire ignorance of his fate, and asked the chief Augur, Olenus Calenus, what such a prodigy meant. Olenus replied that the worshippers in that temple should become the head of Italy.

This prophecy was verified, but not in the sense intended ; for the Augur did not mean that the *Romans* should rule Italy, but that the *Etruscans* should ; because this temple was dedicated to their great gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The two latter had shrines under the same roof as Jupiter. The ornamental work was executed by Etruscan workmen, and Tarquin finished the temple, except erecting upon it a chariot and four horses of baked clay, which he had ordered from Veii. There was a company of potters in Rome, but their skill was not equal to fine works of art.

Tarquin was disturbed by a strange prophetess, or Sibyl, who came to Rome. She brought with her nine books or scrolls, which she offered him at a very high price. He declined them, upon which she burnt three in his presence and disappeared. After a time, she returned with only six books, which she offered for the same value, and on the king again refusing to purchase, she burnt three more and went away. To Tarquin's amazement she appeared a third time, with the three remaining books, and she not only asked as much for them as for the whole nine, but threatened that if he did not buy them without delay, she would burn them also, and then his good fortune would have vanished for ever.

The king desired the Senators to examine the books, and they pronounced them to be worth the price the Sibyl asked for them. They contained directions and remedies for famines, pestilences, and other calamities; and were a collection, besides, of the oracles of Cumæ, a Greek settlement which was in alliance with Rome.

Tarquin paid the Sibyl her money, and ordered the books to be carefully preserved under the new Temple of Jupiter. Many of the Italian States had books of this kind; and the city of Tibur, now called Tivoli, boasted of a famous Sibyl called "Albunea," whose oracles were also kept in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The *Cloaca Maxima* is an enormous drain surmounted by a double arch, through which it still disgorges water into the Tiber. It is so firmly built, that the tall houses of Rome have for ages stood above it, so deep from top to bottom that a cart of hay could drive through it, and so wide that if laid open it would form a navigable canal. The Romans would have been as proud of this work, had it been judiciously executed, Cloaca  
Maxima. as they were of their walls, their circus, and their temples; but Tarquin made working in it a punishment for those Patricians and Plebeians whom he disliked; so that whilst they laboured they cursed him, and thirsted for vengeance. The ordinary workmen were allowed only low wages and poor food; and the freemen said that they were forced to dig like slaves.

Whilst all minds were irritated against him, a snake crept out from behind the altar on which he was sacrificing in the palace. He dreamed, besides, that some eagles had built in his garden, and that whilst they were absent seeking food for their young, vultures had come to toss out the young birds, and take possession of the nest.

The king consulted the Augurs as to what these fearful omens might portend; and they answered him that he must beware of his own kinsman, who in his actions seemed as silly as a sheep. Not content with this reply, Tarquin sent to consult the Greek oracle at Delphi. His ambassadors were his two sons, Titus and Aruns, and his relative Junius Brutus. They arrived safely and consulted the priestess, who answered that



“Tarquin should fall when a dog (or fawning animal) spoke with a man’s voice!”

Titus and Aruns then made offerings for themselves, and inquired of the priestess if they had any chance of the throne of Rome. Brutus also made an offering, and as he placed his baton in the priestess’s hand, he asked her the same question. She knew from the weight of the baton that it was filled with gold, which was not an uncommon practice in that age. Having taken out of it the present intended for her, she answered, “He shall first reign who first kisses his mother.” As Brutus was not a young man, he most likely had no mother. He therefore pretended to stumble, and kissed the earth, which, in the language of that day, was the common mother of all.

When the ambassadors returned to Rome, they found Tarquin absent with his allies, attempting to reduce Ardea, which had rebelled against him, and they immediately joined his standard.

During the blockade of Ardea, the officers had a great deal of idle time, and used to give each other supper-parties. At one of these, Tarquin of Collatia, and Sextus Tarquin, the governor of Gabii, began to dispute as to the excellence of their wives; and they agreed to take them by surprise, and to award the palm of superiority to her who should be found engaged in the most praiseworthy employment. They visited the wife of Sextus, who was amusing herself with a party of ladies. They then went to Collatia, and they found Lucretia, the beautiful wife of Collatinus, busy spinning with her maids. Sextus conceded that she was the best, and the two governors returned to the camp. A few days afterwards Sextus visited the palace of Lucretia alone, and was hospitably received. But in the dead of night he entered her room with a drawn sword, offered violence to her person, and so terrified and insulted her, that she could not endure to survive it.

When Sextus had departed the next day, Lucretia sent to Ardea for her husband, and to Rome for Lucretius her father, who was the governor of that city. She told them each to bring a friend, and to lose no time, for that she had something dreadful to reveal. They

hastened as she desired; Collatinus accompanied by Lucius Brutus, Tribune of the Celeres, and Lucretius by Valerius, the chief of the 'Tities, and the man of greatest influence in Rome.

Lucretia described to these noble Romans the cruel and insulting behaviour of Sextus. She first made them swear to avenge her abused hospitality, and then stabbed herself before them. Brutus drew the reeking dagger from her breast, and protested not only that he would have the blood of Sextus, but that he would drive him and all his tyrant house away from the dominions of Rome.

He administered the same oath to his three friends, and then exposed Lucretia's body in the Forum, and excited to fury the young Patricians of Collatia. They armed themselves, and the next day marched to Rome. Here Brutus assembled the Senators, the Curia, and the Plebeians, and related to them what had happened. He reminded them of all the proud and violent acts of Tarquin, and dwelt particularly upon the hated labour of the *Cloacæ*, which had been imposed upon all ranks alike.

The Romans who had never heard eloquence from Brutus's lips before, believed him to be inspired; and when he exclaimed, "I swear to heaven that I will never more endure the tyranny of the Tarquinii in Rome, nor yet of any other—do you also swear with me?" they all caught the infection of his rage, and simultaneously abjured the absent sovereign.

Brutus was despatched to the army to persuade the commanders to make peace with Ardea, and abandon the old king. He was successful in his mission. The Ardeans accepted a truce for fifteen years, and whilst the legions followed Brutus to Rome, Tarquin and those who adhered to him fled to the city of Cære. Sextus escaped to Gabii, and was killed in a tumult there.

Tarquin was aged seventy-six at the time of his banishment, and had reigned twenty-four years.

## AFTER CHAPTER VIII.

THE Romans kept their oath, and no monarch ever again reigned over them. They had been ruled by kings 244 years, and they were so sensible of the benefits they had derived from this form of government, that they erected seven bronze statues in the Forum in memory of the seven kings, and as a mark of gratitude towards them.

It will probably strike every one that 244 years is a long time for seven kings to reign ; so long indeed as to be almost impossible. There is not an authenticated instance of it in the world, not even where the throne is hereditary, and where long-lived kings have succeeded as little children ; nor yet in quiet governments, where they have died natural deaths.

In Roman history Romulus, Tullus, Tarquin the First, and Servius, were all murdered ; and Tarquin the Second was deposed ; and so far from any of them succeeding young, they were all grown-up men before they were elected. Elective governments usually average less than twelve years to a reign, which would give us twenty kings in 244 years. We cannot discover how many monarchs actually ruled during that time, nor does it matter. We know the substance of their history in the great works they executed, and the laws and monuments they have left behind. Probably, however, the theory of several men being classed together under one name, may enable us to explain many of the inconsistencies which this odd jumble has occasioned.

What a strange confusion English history would present had it been transmitted to us in the same manner ! Let us imagine statues placed in Westminster Abbey, of the first Plantagenet, the first Tudor, the first Stuart, &c. Let us further imagine some of our annals to be burnt, and others falsified, as happened to the Romans ; and if we had little further information remaining of our kings, excepting some songs of what had happened under the early Plantagenets, the houses of York and Lancaster,

the Tudors, and the Stuarts, you can easily understand our believing in time that each line was only one king.

Tarquin's Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was a splendid building. There are representations of it upon the coins of the Emperors Vespasian and Domitian; but they give only a short front view of <sup>Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.</sup> six columns in a row. These columns were very large, and three deep in front. Two rows of them continued all round. The temple was 200 feet broad, and 185 feet long, and stood on the site of the present Palazzo Caffarelli, whence it stretched backwards towards the Tarpeian Rock, where some ruins of its massive walls may still be seen. It had a grand arch which the Romans, some hundred years after, overlaid with gold, and there were large folding-doors of bronze in the centre, and a pediment on the top surmounted by figures. Below the building there were cells for keeping the books and records, and chambers for treasure.

The temple fronted the Palatine and Forum, and was close to the citadel called in Latin "Arx." Traitors were put to death by being thrown down the Tarpeian Rock behind it, upon which account the modern Italians have named the mount "Campidoglio," or the field of grief.

We will conclude with some remarks upon the Roman names.

No Roman had more than one real name, though most of the kings are called by two, and some of them by three. We learn from the Bible, that one name only was the earliest style of designation amongst mankind—"Seth, the son of Adam; Enos, the son of Seth." To this was next added, for the sake of distinction, a man's country, tribe, *gens*, or family, and something of this kind still continues in Scotland. All the Romans might have three, or even four names, called *prænomen*, *nomen* (or name), *cognomen*, and *agnomen*. The first and third were qualities, the second was the family name ending in *ius*, and the fourth was a title of honour, of which we have examples in PRISCUS and COLLATINUS.

The slaves had no name, but added *por* or *puer* to their master's name, which means "boy," *e.g.* Lucipor was the slave of Lucius. Sometimes they were called by the country they came from, as "Tuscius," "Syrus."

When a slave was freed and made a *Libertus*, he either received a name, such as Brutus, Servius, &c., or he added to his former designation the name and surname of his master.

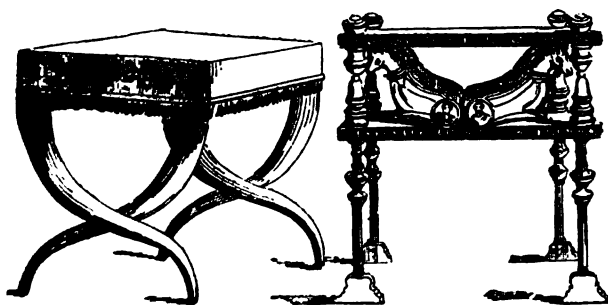
A Roman adopted into another family, placed the name of his own *gens* last. The son of Paulus Emilius, adopted by Scipio, a branch of the Cornelii, became P. Cornelius Scipio *Emilianus*.

Roman pre-names are thus abbreviated:—A. Aulus; Ap. Appius; C. Caius; Cn. Cnæus; D. Decimus; K. Kæso, or Cæso; L. Lucius; Mam. Mamercus; M. Marcus; M' Manius; N. Numerius; P. Publius; Q. Quintus; S. Sextus; Ser. Servius; Sp. Spurius; T. Titus; Ti. or Tib. Tiberius.

## CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUIN THE SECOND TO  
THE BATTLE OF REGILLUS.

B.C. 509 TO 495. Y.R. 244 TO 258.\*



CURULE CHAIR AND KNIGHT'S CHAIR.

AFTER Tarquin had retired to Cære, Junius Brutus found himself supreme ruler in Rome. As, however, he had attained this eminence by swearing that no monarch should ever again rule the Romans, he could not be king himself. He meant by the title of "king" one person with absolute authority. The same degree of power continued to be exercised by the heads of the state, but it was veiled under other names, as "Prætor," "Consul," &c., and was limited in duration.

Brutus professed to restore the beloved constitution

\* Authorities : Livy, ii. 1 ; Nieb. Rom. i. ; Plut. in Brut. et Pop.

of Servius, which acknowledged the Plebeians as an essential part of the legislature, and which, it was said, he had intended to perfect, by dividing the throne between a Plebeian and a Patrician.

Brutus assembled the Romans, and after requiring them to renew their oath against the Tarquini, he desired them to elect a Patrician who might govern along with himself. The person chosen was Collatinus, the widowed husband of Lucretia, and the Romans then gave their governors the titles of "Rex" and "Prætor," though we always call them "Consuls."

I shall therefore use the word "Consul" to avoid confusion: though the Romans themselves did not bestow this name upon their magistrates until sixty years later, when the power designated by it was more limited and better defined. Brutus increased the Senate to its proper number of 300, and chose the greater part of the new members from the Plebeian knights of the first class, whom he named "Patres Conscripti."

Tarquin remained quiet for some time at Cære, expecting to be recalled to Rome; and had he acted with prudence, he would certainly have been re-established. He sent ambassadors to claim the restitution of his property, and when the Senate assembled to consider the demand, Brutus violently opposed, whilst Collatinus warmly seconded it. From that moment a coolness arose between the Consuls, and Brutus asserted that Rome would never be free as long as any Tarquin had authority there.

Collatinus found himself obliged to resign his power, and retired with his entire *gens* to the Latin city of Lavinium. He was succeeded by Horatius, during whose rule ambassadors came from Carthage to renew with the Roman republic the same treaty of commerce which they had formerly concluded with the kings. It was agreed that neither the Romans nor any of their allies should trade in the Mediterranean further east than Carthage; but they were permitted to navigate the whole sea between Carthage and the Pillars of Hercules, now called the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very important measure, being the acknowledgment of the new republic by one of the most powerful nations then in the world.

Treaty  
with Car-  
thage.

Tarquin was sensible of this, and he again sent to Rome to reclaim his property; but both the Consuls united in protesting that nothing of his should be surrendered. Tarquin's ambassadors were lodged in the city, and it was not long before they began to plot with some of the Patricians for his restoration. Amongst the first to join them were the Vitellii, brothers-in-law to Brutus, and his own two grown-up sons, Titus and Tiberius. These young men having been educated with Tarquin's sons, felt a strong affection for them, and did not think that the whole house deserved to be expelled, because Sextus had behaved like a villain to Lucretia. Yet it seems strange that they should have rebelled against their father, and opposed the elevation of their own family.

The conspirators killed a slave, and swore over his murdered body that they would restore the king; but another slave, who had concealed himself behind the door, overheard them, and resolved to make their betrayal the price of his liberty. He, therefore, revealed the plot to Valerius, who immediately caused all concerned to be seized and brought to trial. The rebels were conducted into the Forum, where they were tied to stakes with their hands bound behind them, and a guard of Lictors standing round. The Curia were then assembled, and the two Consuls made their appearance. Brutus mounted the judgment-seat, and asked his sons what they had to say in their defence. They answered, "Nothing," upon which Brutus exclaimed, "They proclaim themselves guilty. Lictors, do your duty." This duty was to scourge them, and cut off their heads.

The Romans wondered at the sternness of a parent who could calmly pronounce such a sentence, and, what is more astonishing, they applauded it. As the young men fell dead, Brutus, their father, looked coldly on. He then dismounted from his throne, and said to Valerius, "Judge you the others, and acquit them if you can." Valerius had indeed no choice, and they were all condemned and executed.

But now came the question, what was to be done with the ambassadors, who had undoubtedly acted as traitors. The Roman Senate having no desire to quarrel with Cære, or with any of the states of Etruria, sent them



safely home, but they no longer hesitated to confiscate Tarquin's property, and they incorporated his private estates with the Plebeian lands. A few acres of ground which he possessed near the Campus Martius they added to that field; and they threw the corn which was growing in it into the Tiber. It was stranded upon a muddy shallow between the Capitol and the Janiculum, where it decayed and became a heap. It is said that the refuse

*Insula  
sacra.*

which every year floated down the stream was impeded by, and added to it, so that the accumulation in time formed what is now called the "Insula Sacra," or sacred island.

Tarquin abandoned all hopes of re-entering Rome except by force, and he applied to the twelve states of Etruria for assistance. Cære and Veii raised armies for him, of which he and his son Aruns took the command. The Consuls, on their side, brought out a large force to oppose them. A battle ensued, and after it had continued for some time Aruns, perceiving Brutus in the field, clothed in the royal mantle of his father and wearing his crown, fired with indignation, singled him out, and spurred his horse forward to attack him. The two

*Death of  
Brutus.*

commanders engaged in mortal strife, and each was killed by the spear of his antagonist. This catastrophe terminated the battle, and both armies returned from the field and carried off their dead. The body of Brutus was brought into Rome and laid in state in the Forum, with the purple mantle spread over him, and his sword placed by his side. He received a magnificent funeral at the expense of the treasury, and Valerius made a speech over him, reminding the Romans of his many glorious actions. Such was the Italian custom at the interment of distinguished persons.

Brutus, though by birth a Patrician, was made chief of the great Plebeian house of the Junii, which continued to influence the Plebs for many hundred years. After Brutus's death, Valerius succeeded him as the man of highest authority in Rome. He was Consul for five years. No Plebeian ever filled that office again for upwards of a century.

Horatius Pulvillus is named as the coadjutor of Valerius, and lots were drawn to decide which of the two Consuls should dedicate the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The lot fell upon Horatius. Valerius, angry that the honour should be assigned to another, refused to be present at the ceremony, and made an inroad into the lands of Veii, in order to occupy himself at a distance from Rome.

The temple was consecrated in the prescribed Tuscan form, and Horatius's name was engraved over the front entrance. Upon this occasion he proclaimed the end of the first Lustrum since the commencement of the new government, and he drove, in token of it, a large nail into the side-post of the great temple-gate. Dedication  
of temple.

No one was permitted to preside over a dedication in mourning, and the partisans of Valerius thought to supplant Horatius, by informing him, as he was about to begin the rite, that his son was dead. He answered in the haughty spirit of Brutus, "That is not my present concern, turn out the body;" and this answer the Romans admired. They imagined pride to be a virtue, and considered the "natural affection," commended in the Bible, to be a weakness.

The Romans sent ambassadors to Veii, for the Quadriga, (that is, the chariot and four horses), which Tarquin had ordered to adorn the pediment of the Capitoline Temple; but the Veientes answered, that it had been manufactured for Tarquin, and should not be delivered to his enemies. When this chariot was placed in the furnace, the clay, instead of shrinking as usual, swelled and burst the mould. The Augurs were summoned to explain the prodigy, and they said, "It signified that whoever possessed that chariot should swell and be greater than his neighbours." The Veientes had no objection to Tarquin being greater than themselves, but they did not choose that Rome should elevate herself when she had thrown off her connexion with Etruria, and they therefore retained the chariot. Soon after, the day arrived for the races and games of the circus at Veii. The charioteer, Ratumena, who won the prize, was leading his victorious horses quietly home, when suddenly they set off, as if urged by a Fury, and ran over hill and dale, road and bridge, until they arrived at the gates of Rome. Here the luckless charioteer was thrown out, and killed, and the gate was ever after called from him "Porta Ratumena."

The Veientes believing this accident to have been caused by the displeasure of the gods, delivered up the chariot, and the Romans raised it with great rejoicings to its destined place upon the temple. The religious feeling of the Veientine rulers was sincere, for it led them to act against their own apparent interest.

Tarquin finding that the aid of Veii and Cære was not sufficient for him, went in person to Clusium, the capital of a great Lucumony, which was then governed by Lars Porsenna. Porsenna sympathised with the brave old king, when he related to him how he had been driven from his throne and ungratefully used by a relative, whose life and property he had spared, and whom he had raised to the highest honours that a subject could attain.

The Clusian monarch readily undertook to avenge his cause, and marched at the head of the Etruscan forces to Rome. The Consuls shut the gates and made ready for resistance, binding themselves anew by an oath, never again to receive the banished king. Porsenna, rapidly subduing all that lay in his way, appeared before the city and encamped upon the Janiculum. He drove off the Romans posted there, and prepared to follow them across the Tiber, so that the only safety for Rome lay in breaking down the Pons Sublicius, and thus for a season keeping back the Tuscan forces.

Horatius Cocles was then commander on the Janiculum, and he was joined by two brave captains, Titus Herminius and Spurius Lartius, who agreed to risk their lives in defending the bridge with him, until all the Romans had escaped. Their desperate resistance effected its object, and Spurius and Titus gained their companions before the bridge was broken down.

Cocles, who had remained to the last moment, dropped into the stream, and was nearly drowned by the weight of his armour. As he plunged into the waves, he exclaimed, "O holy father Tiber, I pray unto thee; bear graciously upon thy waters these arms, and me thy soldier." The river god heard his prayer, and bore him in safety to the opposite bank. Porsenna, in admiration, forbade his soldiers to shoot at him, and both armies united in cheering him with shouts of applause. Though suffering from famine, every Roman in the city subscribed to him a day's provisions, or a day's pay, and a certain

portion of land was granted to his family as a memorial for ever.

The city was closely invested ; and as the Romans became every day less able to contend with their mighty foe, they resolved to take his life by treachery. Misery and famine had so debased them, that all the 300 Senators are said to have agreed to this wicked design. It was, however, one of the Plebeian knights, Caius Mucius Cordus, who was the first to offer himself as the assassin. This man could speak Tuscan, and he dressed himself in the Tuscan manner, which only differed from the Roman in the mantle being richer, and the helmet higher and more ornamented.

Mucius crossed the Tiber and joined the numerous Roman deserters who were in Porsenna's camp. The Tuscan troops had that day been reviewed, and were receiving their pay in the king's presence. Mucius entered a tent in which he saw a magnificently dressed person paying the men. Believing him to be the king, he went up to him and stabbed him. He then tried to escape, but was immediately seized and asked the meaning of his conduct. He boldly replied, that he meant to kill the king, and thus to deliver his country from her direst foe. He was informed that the person he had murdered was only the king's secretary, and he was led as a criminal into the presence of Porsenna.

This magnanimous chief was standing by an altar on which fire was burning. He told Mucius that he had subjected himself to the doom of treason, which was to be burnt to death, and added, "That before he attempted a king's murder, he should have considered if he could bear a traitor's punishment." Mucius, smiling, deliberately thrust his right hand into the fire near which he stood, and held it there until it was consumed. Porsenna admired in another that courage which he possessed himself. He forgave and released his foe, and bade him relate to the Senators the generous treatment he had received from the man whose life he had attempted.

Mucius, in gratitude, revealed to Porsenna that 300 Romans had bound themselves to execute the same deed should he fail ; therefore, he besought him to avert further crime by granting peace to his despairing country. Upon his return into the city, the Romans conferred upon

him the title of "Scævola," or left-handed, a name which was ever after borne by his descendants.

Porsenna now blockaded Rome more strictly than before. His ships occupied the Tiber, and prevented any corn from being brought to the besieged; and at last the famine became so extreme, that the Romans were obliged to surrender themselves unreservedly to be disposed of as he pleased. They, however, made him acquainted with the dreadful oath they had sworn, by which they had devoted to the infernal gods every man who should propose the recall of Tarquin. As Porsenna would not force them to forswear themselves, they became his subjects, and not Tarquin's. The deposed monarch, extremely enraged, behaved in so unbecoming and violent a manner, that a quarrel ensued between the kings.

Porsenna took hostages from the Romans, and Clælia, a young and beautiful girl, was the one of highest rank amongst the women. The Roman legends applaud her, because she was too proud to bear her captivity, and they

Clælia. tell us that she swam the Tiber in order to make her escape, and induced all the other ladies to

follow her example. Her father, in terror lest Porsenna should either put the remaining hostages to death, or else burn Rome in revenge, sent her and her companions back with a humble apology; but Porsenna was too just to punish the innocent for the guilty. He even pardoned Clælia and her companions, and dismissed them. It is said that Tarquin seized, and would have retained them in captivity, but Porsenna again set them free, and, after angrily reproving him, entirely abandoned his cause. Porsenna obliged the Romans to return the ensigns of sovereignty which the Tuscans had given to Tarquinius Priscus, and he also forced them to restore the lands which their kings had taken from Veii. He deprived them of all their colonies and allies, and abolished ten of the Plebeian tribes. He then returned to Clusium, and before his departure, ordered his generals to relieve the famine of the Romans by bestowing upon them all the provisions which could be spared from his camp. To commemorate this bounty, when anything was to be sold in Rome, it was for ages after cried as "the goods of king Porsenna," until Clusium itself, having become a dependency of Rome, the custom was given up as being absurd.

The consul Valerius ruled over Rome for seven years, and when he died he was buried with the same honours which had been paid to Brutus. The cognomen of *Poplicola*, or *Populi-cola*, was conferred upon him. This word means "*pleaser* of the *Populus*," i. e. the *Curiae*. For 360 years the word *Populus* was applied in Rome to the Patricians only, and meant the members of the three original tribes, the *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, whether rich or poor.

Valerius at one time began to fortify his residence upon the Palatine, but when he found that it excited the suspicion that he grasped at sovereign power, he pulled down his works, and said he would dwell in an unfortified house at the foot of the hill. The Romans being pleased with this act of deference, built his residence for him, and distinguished it by making the doors open outwards like the temples, instead of inwards like all the other houses. For a short time after Brutus's death, Valerius gave offence by ruling alone, but he made many excellent laws, and he ordered the Lictors to lower their fasces when he addressed the *Populus*, as an acknowledgment that he held his authority by their consent.

After Valerius *Poplicola*'s death, Marcus and Publius Tarquinius, two of the old king's tribe or *gens*, organised a conspiracy in Rome to restore the Tarquins. This might have succeeded, but being frightened by dreams, they revealed their designs and abandoned them.

Tarquin sought the protection of his son-in-law *Mamilius*, chief of *Tusculum*, and under this prince's dictatorship, a very large proportion of the Latin states embraced his cause.

*Fidenæ* fought for him, but was invested by the Romans and taken. It continued for sixty years to be the strongest of their possessions. The following year the Tarquinius, Marcus and Publius, renewed their machinations to restore the exiled king. They formed a numerous and desperate party, not only amongst the debtors and slaves, but even amongst the Patricians ; for the two Consuls, strange as it may appear, were this year both well affected to Tarquin. It was evident that nothing could save the republic but the appointment of a Dictator, and *Titus Lartius* was the person chosen for that office. The consuls were superseded, the conspiracy was overthrown,

and Publius and Marcus were put to death. The Tarquinian *gens* were forced in a body to quit their possessions on the banks of the Anio, and they are supposed to have exchanged lands with the Claudii, 5000 of whom followed their chief Attus Clausus, called in Latin "Ap-pius Claudius" to Rome.\* Attus Clausus was a Sabine, who lived not far from Tusculum, and who would not join either his own nation or the Latins in their war upon Rome. He was therefore received with acclamation by the Romans, and elected into their Senate. The Claudii became one of the most distinguished houses, as proud and haughty as the Tarquini, but far less eminent for any number of great and useful works.

When Porsenna returned to his own Lucumony, he left his son Aruns to command the Tuscan forces, and to carry on the war against Tarquin and his Latin allies in conjunction with the Romans. The principal Latin state at this period was Aricia, and it had espoused the cause of the exiled king so energetically, that Aruns made the city of Aricia the peculiar object of his attack. He reduced it to such straits, that the prince of Aricia sent to ask help from the Senators of Cumæ. The Cumæans despatched in return some vessels under Aristodemus, and his timely aid delivered Aricia. In a pitched battle he slew Aruns, and drove away the Tuscans. The defeated troops retreated to Rome, and settled there in the Vicus Tuscus, whence they were enrolled amongst the Roman tribes.

Aruns was generally lamented, and had a stately tomb raised to him in the place where he fell. This tomb still exists in ruins near the gate of Albano, on the road to Aricia, and is built on the same plan as a gigantic monument which his father Porsenna is said to have erected for himself outside the walls of Clusium, and which was one of the wonders of the world. Some learned Italians are convinced that Porsenna's tomb actually was constructed, but it is more probable that the description we have of it is only that of a monument which Porsenna designed, and not of one ever executed.

\* Wherever the Tarquins may have settled, their family sepulchre has recently been discovered at Cære, the religious mother of Rome. In this singular tomb seventeen generations of Tarquins lie buried.

Mamilius of Tusculum endeavoured to improve the victory of Aristodemus by assembling all the Latin forces for one decisive engagement at Regillus, a spot belonging to the Sabines at the foot of the mountain now called "Cornufelle." The commanders in this battle were, upon one side, Mamilius, with Tarquin, and his two remaining sons; and upon the other, the Dictator Aulus Posthumius, and the brave Romans, Herminius and Lartius, who had guarded the bridge with Cocles against Porsenna. The result of the combat was the defeat of Tarquin, and his final retirement to <sup>Regillus.</sup> Cumæ, where his friend Aristodemus had become prince. In his palace he died at the age of ninety, leaving Aristodemus his heir.

The Roman historians give us a very beautiful and spirited account of the battle at Regillus, but it is taken from their old songs, and the greater part of it is the mere invention of the bards. According to this lay, Tarquin was wounded in the beginning of the action, and had to be led off the field, whilst his son Lucius performed prodigies of valour at the head of the exiles, and the Romans were put to flight. The Dictator arrested them by ordering his cavalry to spear every fugitive they met. He also encouraged his men by proclaiming the death of Mamilius, and by declaring that he saw the twin gods, Castor and Pollux, mounted on white horses fighting for Rome. Wherever white horses were seen galloping across the field, he assured his soldiers that they bore Castor and Pollux, and he vowed to build to these gods a temple if he gained the victory. He afterwards asserted that they had appeared in the Roman Forum, and announced his success, washing their horses in the neighbouring fountain, and in confirmation of it he built their temple on that spot. The battle of Regillus is believed to have been fought in the Y.R. 256, and Tarquin's death to have occurred in 258, fourteen years after his banishment. The result of these wars was the independence of the Roman state, shorn of all the conquests of its Tuscan kings, and the establishment of the Roman republic under Consuls, a form of administration which flattered the ambition of the great Patrician families. Rome continued to be a republic from the fall of the kings to the establishment of the Empire, about 460 years.



Appius Claudius, the Sabine chief, was first Consul in Rome the year that Tarquin died, and one of his *gens*, some centuries later, was the second Roman Emperor.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER IX.

HAVING mentioned the great public funerals of Junius Brutus and of Valerius Poplicola, it will be advisable to describe how these pompous ceremonies, so often depicted in paintings and sculptures, were anciently conducted.

At a grand public funeral, called "*Funus Indictivum*," or funeral by invitation, a man, with a wand of office in his hand, was sent to the chief magistrates, the illustrious strangers, and all the persons of condition in the city, to invite their attendance. The figure of this man is often represented in the centre of Etruscan *pateræ* and cups.

The trumpeters proclaimed publicly an invitation to the common people to swell the concourse. The corpse was anointed with perfumes, and dressed in its appropriate robe of state, with any crown which had been worn in life placed upon its head ; whilst other marks of dignity, such as two spears and a sword, or perhaps a sceptre, were ranged by its side. The sceptre was only borne to the tomb, and returned again to the house ; but the armour and the ornaments which had belonged to the deceased, were buried with him, and in some instances also the spoils which he had won in battle, or models of them. The face was sometimes exposed, at others painted or masked, or covered over with the mantle, as is still the practice in Italy. The body was laid upon a bier, and borne by the chief Dignitaries of the state ; and it was preceded by the Lictors with the fasces reversed, and surrounded by torch-bearers. The procession commenced with the family, clients, servants, and slaves, all clad in black ; these were followed by trumpeters and flute-players, blowing long-tubed instruments, which were made on purpose to give a sharp and doleful sound. After these came men who carried images of the deceased's ancestors, and the *Lar* or *Lares* of his house ; and next

walked the mourning women, who sang dirges in his honour. The bier was followed by the Senators, priests, magistrates, and knights, all in full dress ; and the pageant was closed by women with uncovered heads, and men with covered heads, weeping and lamenting. The body, in those days, when laid in the sepulchre, was sometimes placed on two large stones, one at the head and the other at the feet, and sometimes in a stone coffin. A funeral feast of baked meats was often given to the invited guests at the place of interment, and there also they frequently erected a small temple or *fane*, in which they prayed for their lost friend. They believed in the immortality of the soul and in another world, as firmly as we do, though they were ignorant of the true God. They placed branches of pine or cypress on the house of the deceased, and they gave horse and foot races, and many other shows, to the people in his honour.

The Romans of later ages usually burned their dead. The ashes which remained were collected into those little stone boxes called "Roman urns," which are to be seen in every museum of antiquities. The Romans were never buried within their city walls, excepting by express permission, and as a public mark of honour.

We will conclude this chapter by describing the process of restoring liberty to slaves. The words *manumission* and *emancipation*, which express the ceremony, are derived from the Latin words, *manus*, a hand, and *capio*. I take ; *manus*, a hand, and *mitto*, I put. When a slave was to be freed, his master brought him before the Consul, and said in Latin, "I will that this man be free." He then clasped him by the hand, and again loosed his hold, or *manumitted* him, (*emisit e manu*), giving him a blow upon the cheek, and presenting him by name to the Consul. Upon this, the Consul struck him gently with his wand, pronouncing his name, and said, "I declare thee free, after the manner of the Quirites." The slave now became a *libertinus*, or freedman, and was registered in one of the four city tribes, to which such were admissible. After this, he went into the Temple of Feronia, the goddess of freedmen, and sat down on a stone on which was engraved, "Those who sit here as meritorious slaves, rise as free men." He was then shaved, and a small red cloth cap called a *pileus*, or cap of liberty, placed upon his

head. This pileus still bears the name of "the cap of liberty," though it has been so misused by rebels and anarchists, that in general it only reminds Englishmen of that most awful of despotisms, the mob-government of the French Revolution.

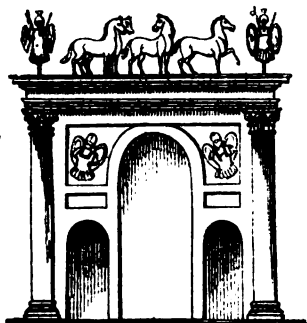
There were two other methods of giving slaves their liberty—one by inscribing them in the Censor's lists, and the other by testament after their masters' death ; but the ceremony of manumission was in early times the most usual, and by far the most honourable.

About the period when Rome surrendered to Porsenna, the first survey was made of the coasts of Italy, by Scylax, an Asiatic navigator, who was commissioned by Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia. He wrote a "Periplus," or account of his voyages, some fragments of which remain.

## CHAPTER X.

FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUIN TO THE DESTRUCTION  
OF THE FABII.

B.C. 495 TO 473. Y.R. 258 TO 280.\*



ROMAN GATE.

THE ruling Patricians rejoiced when they heard of Tarquin's death, because it confirmed their power. The minor houses could no longer hope for any change of government which might raise them to importance, and the debtors and slaves could no more expect the indulgences which they had received so long as their support was required.

The haughty chiefs of the old tribes passed a law, that

\* Authorities: Livy, ii. 21, &c.; Nieb. Rom. vol. ii., in loco.

the Consuls should be elected annually, and strove not only to monopolise this office, but to exclude the minor or junior Patrician houses, as well as the Knights and Plebeians from all the great magistracies. This for a long time induced the minor Patricians to side with the Plebeians, and gave rise to feuds even amongst the Senators themselves.

The Latins applied to the Romans for aid against the Volsci, who had captured from them many towns, and amongst others Ecetra, a strong fortress in the mountains. The Romans gave the required assistance, and gained several victories, but the infantry complained, that though much spoil was taken, none of it was ever distributed amongst them.

The booty gained was valued by the Quæstors, and consigned to the Patrician treasury, whilst the land was adjudged to the Roman Populus, and appropriated on a beneficial tenure by the thirty Curix and their clients. Yet, if a Plebeian was in debt, and could not pay, he was loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon ; and, what was still more cruel, if war arose, he was withdrawn from his prison to shed his blood, without a chance of profit, and if he returned home in safety, instead of being made partaker of the spoils he had won, or being in any way rewarded, he was remanded to confinement. Whenever the Patricians were afraid of civil tumults, they endeavoured to avert them by stirring up war, because it removed the boldest, bravest, and most active of the Plebeians, and left them to rule alone.

Upon one occasion, whilst they were levying a fresh army against the Volsci, a miserable-looking debtor who had escaped out of prison, appeared in the Forum. His face was pale and haggard, his hair and beard were matted, and his body was emaciated and covered with stripes. He cried to the people that he had been a centurion (or captain) in former campaigns, and showed them the scars upon his breast, in token of the wounds he had received. He said that the Sabines, by an inroad, had burnt his house and destroyed his farm. At the same time a heavy tax had been laid upon his class, and he had been obliged to pay, as if he were still in good circumstances. Thus he was forced to incur debt, and as he could not discharge it, he had been obliged to sell all that

he possessed, and from a free and honourable soldier, had sunk to be a slave, working in chains or confined in prison.

We must remember that all the Roman soldiers were men of substance. None could serve who had less than 11,000 Asses, and 10,000 was at that time a competence in Rome. The centurion's story and appearance excited murmurs against the Patricians, and the men swore that they would not enlist until all the debtors were freed.

Appius Claudius, the proud and unfeeling Senator, who was then first Consul, advised them to arrest the ringleaders, and to treat the debtors with increased harshness; but Servilius, the second Consul, pledged his honour to the debtors, that if they would enlist, no man who was willing to serve should be detained in prison, neither should his debts accumulate during his absence, nor his children be seized in his stead.

The poor Plebeians enlisted, and exerted themselves so strenuously out of gratitude to Servilius, that they completely defeated the Volsci. Servilius distributed the spoil amongst his men, but when they returned to Rome, the cruel Appius remanded all who could not discharge their debts to prison, and Servilius had no power to rescue them.

In this extremity the rich Plebeians undertook the defence of the poor ones, and began to hold nightly meetings upon the Esquiline and Aventine Hills. Appius, enraged at their resistance, insisted upon the election of a Dictator, who, he said, would teach their rebellious spirits submission. A Dictator was chosen, but, to Appius's extreme disappointment, instead of himself, the Senate named Valerius, the son of Poplicola, whom they considered humane and prudent, neither disposed to infringe upon their rights, nor to oppress the distressed.

Valerius represented to the Plebeians that it was unworthy of them to increase dissensions at home when their country was in danger from her foes; but he promised if they would follow him to the field and behave gallantly, that he would suffer no injury to be done them during their absence, and that he would espouse their cause on his return. This induced the men to enlist in large numbers, and they were formed into three armies under the Dictator and the two Consuls, each of which gained a victory.

Valerius returned to Rome, but he could not obtain any alteration in the laws about debt, therefore he resigned his office in disgust, and made an apology to the Plebeians for not having been able to fulfil his promise. They acknowledged his uprightness by cheers; and the Patricians, to show that they also appreciated his moderation, granted to him and his posterity for ever the privilege of sitting in a curule chair at the Circensian games.

The two Consuls, afraid of the popular excitement, not only refused to dismiss their own troops, but even ordered those of the late Dictator still to hold themselves bound by their military oaths, and to join them in the field. This was too much for the long-tried patience of the Plebeians; and they protested, that rather than obey they would quit for ever a country which treated them like slaves. They fortified their quarters on the Aventine, placed their women and children in safety, and then, electing Sicinius to be their leader, marched towards the country of the Sabines, and possessed themselves of a small mount upon the Anio, now called the Monte Sacro (Mons Sacer), only three miles from Rome. Here they entrenched themselves; and if an accommodation had not quickly followed, they would have built a new city, in opposition to Rome. The Patricians became alarmed, and wisely resolved upon any concessions which would induce them to return, though Appius Claudius loudly declared that the Senate ought to banish them, to confiscate their property, and to substitute the colonies and Latin allies in their place. His violence was overruled, and Menenius Agrippa, who had once been a Plebeian, was deputed, with the ten princes of the Senate, to effect a reconciliation. Menenius was renowned for eloquence, and his object was to persuade the rich Plebeians that the laws about debt were as necessary to their security as to that of the Patricians. He compared the creditors to the human stomach, and told them that "Once upon a time, all the members of the body were independent of each other, and not inclined to work together for the public good. They took offence that the stomach should receive all and contribute nothing, and they combined to punish the idle member. The hand promised to bring no food to the mouth, and the mouth

Secession  
of the  
Plebs.

to receive none from the hand. The teeth declined to chew, and they all rejoiced in the prospect of their glorious revenge. But, behold! whilst the stomach was unsupplied, the whole body pined and wasted, and they learned to their astonishment that the idle stomach, though it appeared to do nothing, in reality administered strength to the whole."

The Plebeians were subdued by this fable, and returned to the city, but not until a solemn compact had been made with them, guaranteeing that two of their order should thenceforth be appointed to take charge of all their concerns. These officers were to be called Tribunes, and no Patrician could be associated with them. They were empowered to protect the Ple-<sup>Tribunes.</sup> beians, even against the Consuls, and they were authorised to *veto*, or forbid, every act of the state in which the interests of their order were concerned. The Tribune's person was sacred; his house was to stand open, day and night, to receive all who invoked his protection; he was to be elected by the Centuries, and he was to continue in office a year. Any Patrician opposing a Tribune in the execution of his duty, was to be condemned to death, and to forfeit his property to the Plebeian Temple of Ceres.

After this, the Consuls concluded an alliance with the thirty Latin nations upon terms of perfect equality: "Neither was to attack the other, nor suffer the other to be attacked." They were to help each other in all wars, command alternately each other's <sup>Treaty of</sup> armies, and share equally in the booty taken and <sup>Sp. Cassius.</sup> the places colonised. <sup>V.R. 261.</sup> Spurius Cassius was the Consul in Rome before whom the Latins took their oaths, and therefore it is usually called his treaty. Amongst the new colonists he sent out a number of the poor debtors, much to the displeasure of the Patricians. His colleague represented the Romans in Latium, and took the oaths for them at the great assembly of the Latins.

The Romans now celebrated their great games of the Circus. Some hours before they commenced, a Patrician who was angry with his enslaved debtor, a Plebeian, fastened a heavy collar round his neck, and flogged him across the enclosure. Probably many Plebeians witnessed this with grief, but no notice was taken of it, and the games proceeded as usual. Soon after, Latinus, a Ple-



beian, dreamed that Jupiter appeared to him, and desired him to announce to the Consuls that they must celebrate the games anew, or that the city would be in danger, for their first dancer (meaning the poor flogged slave) had not pleased him. Latinus did not dare to deliver this message, and his son died. Jupiter then appeared again, and asked him if he was sufficiently punished for his disobedience; but Latinus still delayed to execute the dreaded commission, and he was stricken with palsy. Fearful of further judgments, he then went to the Consuls, and they commanded the games to be celebrated anew with greater splendour than before.

In order to enhance the solemnity, the consuls invited all their Allies to be present, and especially the Volsci. Many were then in Rome, and amongst them Attius Tullius, the most eminent man of the Volscian nation. He disliked the peace lately concluded between Rome and Latium, because he had hoped to conquer these countries, and he watched every opportunity for rekindling the war. He went to the Senate and warned them ominously that unusual numbers of his countrymen intended to be present at the games, and that perhaps some tumult might ensue.

The Senate, fearing treachery, ordered the trumpeters to proclaim, that every Volscian must quit Rome by sunset, under pain of death. The Volscians, who could not divine the reason of this edict, felt themselves insulted, and left the city burning with rage. Attius had preceded them to Ferentinum, through which he knew they would march; and when they had assembled there, he represented to them that they alone of all the Italians had been prohibited attending the Roman games, and that it was an affront so marked as to call for revenge.

The Volsci all swore to wage war against Rome, and promised to engage their several states in the quarrel. Their Tribes united in sending a declaration of defiance to Rome, and Attius Tullius was named Dictator. He fought for many years successfully against the Latins and Romans, and subdued Antium, Corioli, and above half the Latin territory.

During this war, and probably in consequence of it, Sp. Cassius, in the Y.R. 268, concluded a league with the Hernici, a Sabine nation, similar to the one he had made

seven years before with the Latins. According to this treaty, if the Romans fought in alliance with the Latins and Hernici, they could only share a third of the spoil; and if they colonised in conjunction with them, they could only furnish the third part of the colonists.

Some of the major houses were indignant at this treaty, because they regarded it as defrauding them of their due proportion of booty; and Cassius increased their irritation by proposing to divide some part of the conquered lands amongst the Plebeian soldiers. The Patricians looked upon this as an intolerable innovation, because they had long considered all the conquered lands as their perquisite, which they were entitled to occupy by their Clients.

When Cassius proposed to revive the custom of the Roman kings, and to assign portions of this land to the poor and the debtors, he roused against him his whole order, and they looked upon him as a traitor. They had previously been angry with him for supporting nine other Patricians who had ventured to urge the same measure, and whom they had burnt to death and buried as traitors in Plebeian ground near the Circus. When they found Cassius unintimidated and still patronising the Plebeians, they accused him of aspiring to be king, and delivered him also to the flames. Cassius burnt.

His house was razed to the ground, and it is said that his own father condemned him, imitating the example of Brutus. The Plebeians honoured and mourned him, and erected a bronze statue to him in the Temple of Ceres.

It had hitherto been the custom for the Centuries to choose the second Consul, but the proceedings of Cassius convinced the Patricians that this could no longer be conceded with safety, and they promised the Fabii, a mighty *gens* in Rome, that if they would assist by their clients always to secure the election of one Consul from the major houses, the Senate would bestow the place of the other upon them. Consequently, the Fabii ruled in Rome in opposition to the Plebeians for seven years. The first Fabius commenced a war with Veii, which lasted for nine years, during four of which the troops hated their leaders and could not be Fabian dynasty.

induced to fight. They suffered themselves to be besieged by the Etruscans, and merely prevented the enemy from entering the city. The Etruscans in full diet proclaimed that the Romans would soon destroy themselves by their own divisions.

Marcus Fabius was Consul in the fifth year of the Veientine war, and two of his brothers, Quintus and Kæso, served under him. These commanders agreed that they would not lead their troops to battle, pretending that they could not trust them, and they permitted the Tuscan cavalry insultingly to ride up to their very lines without any resistance. The astonished soldiers insisted upon fighting, and declared that if their present generals would not lead them, they would choose others. Marcus Fabius replied, that if they would renew their military oath and swear to conquer or die, he would conduct them. They joyfully took the oath and were led forth to battle. None fought more bravely than the three Fabii, but, notwithstanding, Quintus was killed, the second Consul, Manlius, was wounded, and the Roman camp was taken. Marcus and Kæso Fabius, by their skill and presence of mind, re-took the camp, and infused new spirit into the men; and, though they could not boast of a victory, they prevented a defeat.

Marcus had rendered the state a signal service by recovering the affections of the Plebeians, but the infatuated Patricians were not sensible to such merit, and treated him and his family afterwards with aversion. They refused to confer the consulship again upon the Fabii, or upon any man who patronised the Plebeians; but the Centuries elected Kæso out of gratitude, because he and Marcus had taken care of the sick and wounded after the combat. Not only had they relieved as many as they were able to receive into their own houses, but they had persuaded other Patricians to follow their example. Kæso became attached to the men whom he had protected, and wished, like Cassius, to see portions of the Ager Publicus allotted to the most deserving. But the Senate refused to listen to such proposals, and began to look upon him with suspicion. They sent him against the Æqui, and as his troops fought heartily for him, he was able to lead them back in time to help the rival

Consul Virginius, who had been shamefully defeated by the Veientes, and who, but for his aid, would have been utterly destroyed.

The Senate took measures which prevented any of the Fabii from being elected the next year; and this *gens*, perceiving that they had become hateful to their own order, and that they were no longer able to benefit their country, determined to leave Rome, and to colonise within the lands of Veii. Their intention was to act as a check upon the Etruscans, and to prevent them from continually invading and attacking the Roman territory.

At this time the Senators were greatly perplexed. The Æqui threatened them on one side, and the Veientes on the other, and they had no generals in whom the Plebeians placed confidence excepting the Fabii, who were now obnoxious to all the Patricians. What then was their surprise and pleasure to learn from Kæso Fabius, the chief of the *gens*, that it was his intention to quit Rome with his clients, and to colonise upon the Cremera, a small river only three miles from Veii, where his people would engage to serve the republic, and to be a restraint upon her enemies! The Senators, whilst they accepted his offer, thanked and blessed him. The Fabii went up to sacrifice at the Capitol, and then the whole *gens*, consisting of 306 officers, and 4000 clients, left Rome by the right-hand portal of the Carmental gate, and took the road to Veii. When they had reached the Cremera, they built themselves a village, and fortified it with towers and ramparts. They were frequently attacked, but they maintained their position for two years, and greatly annoyed the Veientes. At length, all the officers fully armed left the fort,—some say that they meant to seize a herd of Tuscan cattle, and others that they intended to march to Rome, in order to observe the annual festival of their family upon the Quirinal. The Consul Menenius was only four miles distant from them, and they perhaps hoped to join him; but the Tuscans being aware of their expedition, had placed themselves in ambush on the way, and as the Fabii arrived, they fell upon them with superior numbers, and cut them all to pieces. The Romans tried Menenius afterwards for not assisting them, and he died of a broken heart. The portal by which the Fabii left Rome was regarded as accursed, and

no man would ever leave the city by that gate afterwards. It is now called "Macel dei Corvi."

The Tuscans followed up their advantage by encamping upon the Janiculum, and once more threatened Rome, which was wasted by famine. The two Consuls resisted them, and shortly afterwards both parties agreed to a truce which lasted forty years.

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### AFTER CHAPTER X.

WE will now pause to explain the condition of the Roman debtors; without a knowledge of which a very material portion of Roman history cannot be understood. It is easy to perceive that the Poor of all lands must often incur debt. A large family, or sickness, or bad seasons, will everywhere render a poor man unable to meet his expenses. But in countries where there is frequent war, the Rich also are liable to ruin, and are often reduced to great distress.

In Rome, a man was taxed according to the amount of his property inscribed in the tax-books, which contained a written list of the possessions of the Plebeians both in town and country. The centurion who occasioned the first tumult after Tarquin's death was taxed not according to his real substance, but according to the amount of his property written in the tax-gatherer's book, which could not be worth less than 11,000 Asses; and this value was not altered, although his crops had been burned and his house destroyed. He had still the same taxes to pay, because the book took no notice of his losses. It heeded not his being obliged to rent another man's house, or his having to purchase the wine and corn, flax and wool, from others, which he formerly raised himself. This forced him to borrow, perhaps 100 Asses, which he was not required to repay for ten months. But he was bound to give twenty Asses more for the use of the borrowed money, so that at the end of ten months he owed 120 Asses. If he could not pay then, he was estimated to owe 24 Asses more for the use of the 120 during an-

other ten months, and so on. The *interest* was every year added to his debt, until it often amounted to more than the value of a man's whole property, including his wife, his children, and his own person.

When a creditor required his money, he gave the debtor thirty days' warning; and if at the end of that time he could not pay, he was brought before the Consul, who delivered him into his creditor's hands, and he was bound with a cord or chains, and thrown into prison for sixty days. If at the end of that time, his friends had not furnished the money, he was brought into the Forum on three successive market-days, and a crier proclaimed that he must be sold as a slave (*addictus*) unless he were redeemed.

Very often, rich men, both Patricians and Plebeians, touched with compassion, paid the debts of these unfortunate men, who then were liberated. But if no redeemer appeared, and no war arose to release the debtors from the power of their creditors, then the law delivered them over, and they might either be put to death or sold to the Etruscans. Probably most of the slaves in Veii and Falerii were Romans. The debtor had only two ways of escaping this fate. He might declare himself the client of a Patrician, and thus put himself under patronage, by which act he ceased to be a Plebeian, and forfeited the privileges of a free Roman. Or he might sell himself and his children to his creditor, before witnesses, to be slaves (or *nexi*), until the debt was worked out, after which he was once more free.

These Plebeian slaves, or *nexi*, were usually overworked, starved, and beaten; and it was the intolerable cruelties which they endured, the burden of taxes laid upon them, and the injustice of denying to them allotments in the Ager Publicus, which occasioned all the riots and civil dissensions in ancient Rome. It seems surprising that the debtors should always have been Plebeians, but the reason was, that the Patricians held all the offices of state, by right. The spoils of war went into their treasury, and all the land called *common*, or *public*, was given to be used by them. Besides all this, the commerce of Rome was monopolised by them and their clients. They had large ships, were magnificent lords and wealthy merchants; and it is scarcely exagge-

ration to say, that they engrossed every advantage which men in power can seize, and freed themselves from every burden which men in power can throw off. They considered themselves the "*Populus*," the only *real* Roman people, and they strove to impress the Plebeians, upon all occasions, with the feeling of their inferiority. When a Patrician was guilty of treason he lost his rights, and his family, if they continued at Rome, became Plebeian. The whole *gens* of Sp. Cassius were from this time forward Plebeians.

The Plebeians were enrolled in Tribes, occupying districts of land, like counties ; and there were at this time twenty-one Plebeian Tribes belonging to Rome.\*

\* Their names were,—*Æmilia*, *Camilia*, *Cluentia*, *Cornelia*, *Fabia*, *Galeria*, *Horatia*, *Lemonia*, *Menenia*, *Papiria*, *Pupinia*, *Romilia*, *Sergia*, *Veturia*, *Voltinia*, *Claudia*, *Crustumine*, *Suburran*, *Esquiline*, *Colline*, and *Palatine*. The four last were called *Urban* tribes, and contained all the *Liberti*. The others were *Rustic*, or country tribes, and took precedence of the Urban.

## CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE PEACE WITH VEII TO THE DECENVIRI.

B.C. 473 TO 453. Y.R. 278 TO 300.\*



ROMAN LADIES.

**AFTER** the extermination of the Fabii by the Veientes, there was a dreadful famine in Rome, and Gelon, a powerful prince in Sicily, who hated all the Tuscans, presented the Roman Senate with a quantity of corn in order to relieve the distress of the people. The most influential member of the Roman Senate at this period was Caius Marcius, a bold domineering Patrician, who had

\* Authorities: Livy, ii. 83; iv. Nieb. ii. 265-312, Berlin edit.



distinguished himself in the Volscian wars. At one time, when the Tribunes prohibited the levies, because they could not obtain a promise that any portion of the common land should be distributed among the Plebeians, Caius Marcius led out his own clients, repulsed the Volsci to Antium, which was the residence of their Dictator, Attius Tullius, and brought in a quantity of booty, all of which he illegally bestowed upon those who had followed him. As none but Plebeians were admissible into the Roman infantry, Marcius, by this act, set the military laws at defiance, and caused the baffled Tribunes to mark him as a dangerous man, and one whom they considered as despotic in his temper as the Tarquins.

Marcius afterwards served at the siege of Corioli, and a body of Volscians sent from Antium to relieve that city, attacked him in the rear. At the same time the garrison made a sally, and Marcius was thus planted between two hostile armies. In this dilemma he not only repulsed the garrison, but entered the town with them. By daring gallantry he possessed himself of the citadel and planted the Roman standard on its walls, almost before the enemy were aware of his presence. He mastered the town, and ever after bore the honourable title of "Coriolanus," by which name he is best known in history. It is unfortunate that so eminent a man should have been as haughty as he was renowned.

When the Sicilian corn was brought into Rome, the Tribunes urged that the gift of Gelon ought not to be sold, but should be freely distributed to the poor, and they remonstrated with the Senate for requiring too high a price for the other corn which they themselves had purchased. The Senators met to consult upon the subject, for as they bought whatever merchandise entered Rome by sea, so they fixed the price. Coriolanus rose and said, that the Patricians now had the Plebeians in their power, as the people must have corn or die. Therefore he urged them to make the abolition of the Tribunate the price of their concessions. "Let us have no more Tribunes," he exclaimed, "and we shall have no more opposition to our will; we shall not have our levies obstructed, nor hear of Plebeian claims upon our Ager Publicus, or common land." The Tribunes were enraged, and summoned Coriolanus to stand his trial before the Tribes, for treason

against the constitution, of which he undoubtedly was guilty.

There were two courts in which the Plebeians could try offences, either by the Tribes, called the "Comitia Tributa," or by the Centuries, called the "Comitia Centuriata." None but Plebeians could vote in the court of the Tribes, but as the Centuries were divided according to their wealth, every one who had the required number of Asses could get himself enrolled in them ; and thus large bodies of rich clients had insinuated themselves into the Centuries, and were able to control their decisions.\* The Patricians endeavoured to have their champion, Coriolanus, tried before the Centuries, because they could there effect his acquittal. The Tribunes, aware of this artifice, cited him to appear before the court of the Tribes. Coriolanus knew that his condemnation there was certain, and was too haughty to ask their forgiveness. He took leave of his mother, Veturia, who had educated him, and whom he loved with the tenderest affection ; of his wife, Volumnia, and of his two boys, and withdrew into the country of the Volsci, once the scene of his triumphs. He went to Antium, and towards evening, entered the palace of Attius Tullius, who was at supper. Coriolanus proceeded to the shrine of the Lares, which was a sanctuary to every one who entered it, and there he sat down and waited. This apartment was a small oratory, and formed part of the residence of every Italian chief. Attius being informed that a noble stranger claimed his hospitality, rose and cordially welcomed his guest. Coriolanus offered, in return for his protection, to unite with Attius against the Roman Plebeians, and to place himself at the head of the malcontents, who had taken refuge amongst the Volsci. The Volscian chief introduced his Roman guest into the Senate at Antium, where he was adopted amongst the Patricians, and his proffered assistance was accepted. He is believed to have afterwards accompanied Attius Tullius in all his wars against the Latins and Romans.

The Comitia to try Coriolanus met in Rome at the appointed time, and though he was not forthcoming, he

\* The Clients legally were confined to the Sex Suffragia.

was condemned by a majority of two votes, nine Tribes being for and eleven against him. His name was struck out of the list of the Patricians; and he was forbidden to partake of Roman "fire or water," so that no citizen might harbour or receive him.

The Romans, Latins, and Hernici, under various leaders, carried on war with the Æqui and Volsci under Attius Tullius, Gracchus Cloelius, and Marcus Coriolanus, for seventeen years. During this period, the Roman Tribunes frequently incapacitated the Senate from furnishing their due contingent of troops, by forbidding the levies, because they could not obtain for the Plebeians a cession of any part of the conquered lands. This resistance was a constant source of mortification to the Patricians. Appius Claudius, son of the Sabine from Regillus, suggested the expedient of gaining over one of the Tribunes whom the Patricians should unite to keep in office. If this expedient succeeded, it would destroy their power, because the Tribunes could not act unless they were unanimous. If one Tribune commanded the Plebeians not to enlist, and the other said to him "Veto," that is, "I forbid," then the orders of the Consuls must stand.

Appius Claudius being elected Consul by the Senate, commanded troops to be levied in aid of the Latins. The names of all the men between eighteen and forty-five were called over as usual, and as they presented themselves, the Consul selected such as he thought proper.

Amongst those who came forward was Volero. Publius, a man who had bravely served as captain, or centurion, in one of the former campaigns, but whom Appius hated for his independent spirit. Appius insulted him by selecting him for a common soldier. Volero remonstrated against the degradation, but offered to serve again in his former rank. Appius scornfully answered, "The Consul must be obeyed," and sent a Lictor to seize him. Volero knocked the Lictor down, and escaped in the crowd, who sheltered him. Volero probably did not serve in this campaign; and Appius testified his resentment by nicknaming those whom he disliked in his new army "Voleros." He led them against the Volsci, and as they were bound, in virtue of their

military oath, to absolute obedience, so long as they were in the field, he did everything in his power to burden, provoke, and mortify them.

The troops could not resist, but they detested him ; and when they came into action, they preferred yielding to their enemies to gaining a victory for their tyrant. Instead of fighting, they fled ; nor did they halt until once more safe within the territories of Rome. Appius burned with indignation and took a fearful revenge. Secure in the support of his Patrician cavalry and his allies, he summoned the infantry before him, and demanded to be shown their arms and standards. Being answered that in the flight they had been thrown away, he reproached his men for having dishonoured the name of " Roman," and condemned themselves as cowards. Appius caused the chief officers to be scourged and beheaded, and then decimated his whole army, that is, had every tenth man put to death. Coriolanus probably increased his forces considerably at this time, as the Volsci and Æqui offered the discontented Romans an asylum in their country.

Volero Publilius was chosen Tribune for the next year, and was one of those mild-tempered, resolute men, whom of all others Appius should have avoided to offend. He took not the slightest notice of the unworthy insult that had been offered to him, but resolved to counteract the Patricians by freeing the Tribunate from their influence ; and to effect this, he brought forward a law that the Tribunes should in future be elected by the Plebeian tribes only. The Patricians saw at once the design of this law, and would not suffer the Plebeians to meet for its discussion. They contrived to defer it for a year, when they thought Volero would be out of office, but he was re-elected in conjunction with Lætorius his friend, and neither were to be deterred from their purpose. Other measures had therefore to be taken.

Whenever the Plebeians endeavoured to assemble to discuss this law, they found the Forum filled with the Patricians and their clients, through whose dense crowd they could not penetrate into the place of voting ; and if the Patricians could only exclude them until sunset, the law was necessarily postponed for another session. The Roman Comitia resembled our Houses of Parliament,

where if a law is lost one session, it cannot be carried till the next.

At last, Lætorius marched with an armed force into the Forum, and said, "Plebeians, support me; I will this day carry the law, or I will die in the attempt." Had the Patricians not yielded, Rome would have been scourged by civil war. The Senate, therefore, in alarm, promised that if the Plebeians would abstain from violence, they would themselves pass the law. Lætorius did not trust them, but marched up to the Capitol, and kept possession of it until their promise was fulfilled.

Appius had been outrageous in his conduct, and had spoken with supercilious contempt of the rights and demands of the Plebeians, as if the Patricians were of a different flesh and blood. The new Tribunes impeached him for tyranny towards the Plebeians, and the Senate dared not shield him. His violence could not be denied, and he knew he should be condemned. His friends put on mourning, and went about praising his uprightness and boldness of spirit, striving to soften the people towards him. But he despised equally the Senators and Plebeians, and abated nothing of his pride and loftiness. When the day of his trial came, he went down to the Comitia, defied and abused the Tribunes, until he made them tremble, and then returned to his house and destroyed himself. The Tribunes prohibited his funeral, but the Patricians announced that he had died suddenly, and gave him an honourable burial. This was a point of great importance amongst the heathens, because they believed that it influenced the happiness of the soul after death. The manner of Appius's decease was concealed, because Roman law forbade funeral honours to such as committed suicide, and ranked this crime as murder; saying that a man who killed himself dishonoured himself, and was to be regarded as an executioner.

In Y.R. 285, the Romans and their allies conquered Antium, and colonised it together. To counterbalance this acquisition, the Æqui advanced their conquests on the eastern frontiers, and took Algidus, a town not far from ancient Alba, where they maintained their headquarters for a series of years.

In the year 287, Quintus Fabius and Titus Æmilius

were Consuls. Quintus belonged to the great *gens* of the Fabii, who had fallen at the Cremera. When the *gens* left Rome, he exiled himself to Maleventum, having married the daughter of a Patrician of that city. He continued there until after the destruction of his kindred, when the Romans entreated his return, that they might offer him that honour and sympathy which it was no longer possible to render them. Quintus Fabius was opposed to the Plebeians, and was entrusted with the Roman part of the Æquian war. He was very successful, and his consulship was triumphantly closed by the observation of a Lustrum, in which the number of those capable of bearing arms was found to amount to upwards of 100,000 men.

Three years later, Rome was afflicted with a dreadful pestilence, which carried off both the Consuls, three Tribunes, two Augurs, and one-fourth of <sup>Pestilence, Y.B. 290.</sup> the Senators. The people were so reduced that they could not assist their allies against the Volsci. The Volscians, advanced to within three miles of the suffering city, unresisted. But then the spectacle of the sick and dying, the wasted cattle, the neglected fields, and above all the danger which they incurred from the stench of the unburied dead, made them quickly retreat. As soon as the Romans were sufficiently recovered to raise an army, both the Consuls marched to assist their allies, and on their return, Lucretius was honoured with a Triumph, and his colleague Veturius with an Ovation, or minor triumph.

In an Ovation a sheep, or *ovis*, was sacrificed instead of a bull; but the Senators did not precede, nor the legions attend the general. He entered the city on foot, and he bore on his head, instead of a crown of laurel a crown of myrtle, hence called *corona ovalis*.

During the Consul's absence, the Tribune Terentilius had assembled together the rich Plebeians, and proposed that they should demand from the Senate a written code of laws, which should be binding both upon Patricians and Plebeians, and which should equalise more perfectly the rights of the two great bodies who composed the Roman state. The Patricians were well guarded from oppression, because all their fines and punishments were fixed by written laws in their own keeping, but those of

the Plebeians were arbitrary, and depended entirely on the Consul's will.

Terentilius represented that the Consuls exercised all the despotic power of the old kings, and were merely two kings instead of one. Quintus Fabius, who was governor of the city, protested against any such proposition being brought forward whilst the Consuls were in the field. He said their authority was sufficiently limited, and that it was ridiculous to talk of governing if they were to have no power. The proposal for this law was annually renewed, and it long continued the grand subject of contention between the Patricians and Plebeians.

The senatorial house most averse to revising the laws was that of Quinctius, distinguished equally for talent and pride. Lucius Quinctius had four sons, of whom Kæso was the most remarkable, both for personal beauty and overbearing arrogance. He and his young Patrician companions walked about the streets in a disorderly manner, attended by their clients, braving the Plebeians, and insulting and quarrelling with them, merely to show what mischief their rank enabled them to commit with impunity. They ridiculed the idea that the Plebeians could ever have equal rights with the Patricians; and whenever the Plebeians attempted to assemble in order to consider the law of Terentilius, Kæso drove them away by force, stripped, scourged, and ill-treated them, and at last dared even to attack the sacred Tribunes themselves.

Virginius, the Tribune, purposely permitted his violence for a time, and then summoned him to take his trial. It was the law of Italy that a man should be tried by the parties he had offended; Kæso, therefore, was conscious that he could not escape. His friends tried to mollify the people by reminding them of his undaunted bravery against the Æqui, and many-forgave him in admiration of his valour; but the scale was turned against him by the Tribune Volscius, who had private injuries to avenge. He related that his brother had been ill of the plague, and the first time that he was able to walk out, being still very weak, he was met by Kæso and his riotous companions. They attacked him and his attendants, and Kæso gave the sick man a blow which felled him to the ground, and of which he afterwards died.

From the moment he was accused of this cowardly act, he forfeited the power of avoiding his trial, as Coriolanus had done, by voluntary exile, and Virginius ordered him to prison.

The Patricians urged that the privileges of their order exempted them from prison, and the Tribunes permitted him to remain at liberty, upon ten of his friends being bail for him at the Plebeian rate of 3000 Asses each. Kæso, not venturing to risk his trial, escaped into Etruria ; but he never gave up the design of returning to Rome to punish his accusers. The fine of 30,000 Asses, which he forfeited, was paid by his father Lucius Quinctius, surnamed "Cincinnatus," or "curly locks," because of his curly hair. Cincinnatus, like many other fathers, loved his son more than virtue, and esteemed his dignity more than justice. Mortified deeply at Kæso's sentence, he proudly paid the whole fine himself, and withdrew from the Senate and from public affairs. He retired in disgust to his Patrician allotment of four acres across the Tiber, and amused himself by superintending his farm, in which he worked with his own hands, according to the custom of the age. His three sons did not follow him, and had he not been a man of consummate ability, he might have remained there without notice, until it pleased him to return to his proper sphere.

At this time violent storms, and especially a shower of living creatures, perhaps of worms or fish, such as still occurs occasionally in some parts of the world, terrified the Romans. The Libri Fatales were consulted in the Capitol, and the people were informed that they were in danger from foreigners, that the higher parts of the city would be attacked, and that they ought to be united and carefully to avoid sedition. The Tribunes believed this answer to be a fiction of the Senate to prevent the passing of the Terentilian law, and they paid it no attention.

However, reports spread that Kæso was in Rome, and that many of the Patricians were plotting his restoration. Claudius, the first Consul, was known to be favourable to him ; but Valerius, the second Consul, was trusted as the friend of the people. Whilst affairs were in this posture, the Romans were astounded one morning to hear



that Appius Herdonius, a prince of the Sabines, had seized the Capitol, and that Kæso, at the head of a body of Roman exiles and runaway slaves, to the number of between 4000 and 5000 men, were with him. Claudius rejoiced, because now the Plebeians would be forced to take the military oath, by which they were bound to implicit obedience until they were dismissed ; and he thought that they must enrol themselves in large numbers for the recovery of the sacred place.

But the Tribunes forbade the levies, and said that the city was in no danger, that Herdonius could neither have marched through Rome nor have entered the citadel unless the Patricians had permitted him ; and that those who invited him in could drive him out when it suited their convenience. This was, indeed, the case ; but Valerius, who did not suspect it, was amazed that the Romans should refuse to fight for the citadel and the temple of their gods. He protested, that if no one else would recover them, he and his clients would sacrifice themselves in the attempt rather than endure so infamous a disgrace as to leave them in the hands of an enemy. By his exertions he collected a body of volunteer Plebeians, who took the oaths, and followed him. In the meantime, a messenger had given information of the state of affairs to Mamilius, the prince of Tusculum ; and he without delay came with a large force to relieve his allies. His troops and those of Valerius marched up to the Capitol together ; and after a desperate fight, in which Herdonius and Kæso were both slain, and in which the noble Valerius fell, the Sabines and Exiles were obliged to retreat, and the Capitol was rescued. The Plebeians deeply regretted Valerius, and subscribed to honour him with a magnificent funeral.

Claudius, now sole Consul, refused to disband the troops, or to allow any meeting of the Plebeians about their new code of laws, until the appointment of his colleague. To their utter dismay, Cincinnatus was elected, a man who fancied himself injured by them, and who thirsted for revenge. When the Senators waited upon him at his farm, he was driving the plough with his own hands ; and he desired his wife Racilia to bring him his *toga*, or cloak, that he might be properly dressed whilst he listened to a message from the supreme council of his country. Being informed of his election as Consul, he

said to his wife, "I am afraid my farm will not be so well cultivated this year." He was then carried across the Tiber, and received in triumph by his sons, and by all the kindred of the Quinctii.

His first act was to punish Virginius, to whom he imputed the disgrace of Kæso. He affirmed, that Virginius would rather have seen Rome in the hands of Herdonius and base slaves, than he would have suffered her own Patricians to bear rule; and that he had encouraged the people to abandon their citadel and their gods. Cincinnatus would tolerate no alteration of the laws, but drew out the legions against the Æqui and the Volsci. Moreover, as the protection of the Tribunes extended only one mile from the city, he threatened that the Augurs should consecrate a new place of augury near the Lake Regillus; and that there the army should meet in future, which would place it in the power of the Patricians to revoke at any time, on their new ground, the compact made with the Tribunes in Rome. The Tribunes were terrified into submission lest his threats should be executed.

The next year, 295, the Volsci and Æqui, under Attius Tullius, and the Roman exiles under Coriolanus, overran the Roman territory up to the Fossa Cluillia. Here Coriolanus stopped, because it <sup>Coriolanus.</sup> belonged to the Patricians; and his quarrel was not with Rome, but with the Plebeians only, by whom he had been condemned. The whole nation anxiously desired that the Senate should negotiate peace with him; and five of their most honourable members were sent as Feciales to attempt an accommodation. They offered to reinstate him in all his ancient rights; but Coriolanus had no power to treat apart from Attius, unless as a mediator between him and the Romans. He, however, undertook that the Volsci should make peace, if Rome would conclude with them the same treaty as she had done with the Latins and Hernici. For himself, he was willing to lay down his arms if they would restore the exiles of whom he was chief. This last and indispensable condition could not be acceded to, for it would have subverted the fundamental laws of Rome, and have placed her in the power of her own rebels. The heads of the state, who were priests, now put on their robes of office, and went forth

to beseech Coriolanus for a more favourable answer. He received them with deference, but remained inexorable.

The Romans were in the utmost perplexity when Valeria, the priestess of a temple not far from Coriolanus's camp, called "Fortuna Muliebris," or the Fortune of Women, was inspired to perform an action which saved Rome. She visited Veturia, Coriolanus's mother, and Volumnia his wife, and besought them to head a deputation of matrons to the stern and dreaded chief, feeling persuaded that his inflexibility would yield to their tears and prayers. The ladies consented to try the effect of their entreaties, and the Senate supplied them with carriages and guards of honour. Coriolanus was not prepared for such a spectacle, and did not behold without emotion his mother at his feet, and his wife pleading with him for his children and former friends. He went out to meet the matrons, he bowed himself before them, and had the Fasces lowered at their approach; but he refused their petition, and turned away from their requests. His mother then protested that she should curse the day on which he was born; and that he should walk over her dead body if he attempted to pass the Roman boundaries.

Coriolanus was at last overcome, tears flowed from his eyes, he embraced his wife and children, whom he never could see more, and he exclaimed, "O mother! thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son." He no longer insisted upon the recall of the exiles; but he mingled his lot with theirs, and Attius Tullius concluded with the Romans a treaty upon terms of mutual equality and assistance. Coriolanus returned with Attius to Antium, where he died at a very advanced age, and had a monument erected to him. The Volsci and the Romans mourned his death; and both felt grateful to him for the magnanimity and disinterestedness which he had shown.

The consequences of the Volscian war were as important as they were unforeseen. It had threatened to annihilate Rome, and it ended in raising her to be the head of Latium. Rome could not be reached from either of the Volscian capitals, Ecetra or Antium, without the previous destruction of many other cities; and as Attius Tullius had subdued Lavinium, the late metropolis of the Latins, Rome, which possessed the temple of Diana Aven-

tina, sacred to all the states, naturally succeeded to the place which Lavinium had previously held.

Gracchus Cloelius, prince of the Æqui, would not agree to the terms of the Volscian peace, and he therefore continued the war alone, and ravaged the territory of the Latins.

The Consul Minucius joined the allies, and advanced as far as Algidus, where he attacked the Æqui in their head-quarters, but Cloelius surrounded his forces and left him no way of escape. Fortunately, five of the cavalry had, unobserved, quitted the camp and galloped to Rome. Cincinnatus was created Dictator, that the levies might not be delayed, and Quintus Fabius was sent with a large army to free the captive Consul. He reached Algidus more quickly than was expected, and placed his enemy between two hostile armies,—the one surrounding them, and the other which was surrounded by them. The result was, that the Æqui were obliged to abandon their prey, and Minucius being released, returned with the victorious Fabius to Rome. A triumph was awarded to Fabius, and he was saluted by the troops, “Embratur;” but Minucius was degraded from his rank, and publicly reproved.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XI.

IN later times, the Roman bards composed a beautiful song upon the incidents of the Æquian war, though they mistook *Quinctius* for *Quintus*, and therefore attributed to Quinctius Cincinnatus, the Dictator, the gallant acts of Quintus Fabius, the Consul. They related that the Æqui broke a truce with the Latins and Romans, whereupon the Romans sent Feciales to complain. The Æquian Dictator, Gracchus Cloelius, proud of his victories, and full of contempt for those he had defeated, would not give audience to the Feciales, but bade them rehearse their grievances to the large oak, the tree of Jupiter, which canopied his tent. The insulted Feciales turned to the tree, and exclaimed, “Let the sacred oak hear! and let all belonging to the gods in this place hear! The truce has been broken by you! O gods, be present with us,

and redress our injuries, but especially aid our arms, for we seek to avenge the violated privileges of both gods and men." The Feciales returned to Rome, and the Senate wished to despatch both Consuls against the treacherous foe, but the Tribunes, as usual, opposed the levies.

Cincinnatus, according to the legend, was now first withdrawn from his retirement, and created Dictator, upon which he ordered all the serviceable men in the city to assemble that very evening, ready armed, and prepared to march before sunset. Every man was to bear with him five days' food, and twelve stakes cut into proper lengths for a barricade. This was six stakes additional to the load any man upon other occasions could carry, but now they were all so strong, that they could bear the five days' food and the twelve stakes, besides their weapons, without any fatigue.

The legend proceeds, that at sunset the men were ready as commanded, and they accompanied Cincinnatus at a quick march thus burdened for twenty-two miles, till at midnight they reached the camp. At any other time, this march would have occupied eight hours, and the men would have been weary when it was accomplished. But now they shouted lustily, so that Minucius heard them, and their enemies who were nearer to them, were stupified. In the dark, the Romans cut a trench, and erected a barricade all round the camp of Cloelius. After their march they laboured hard all night, and yet they were fresh in the morning, and with ease defeated the Æqui, and delivered their beleaguered countrymen. Indeed the oak of Jupiter had answered them so wondrously, that the wicked Æqui did not require to be conquered. Quite sensible of their crimes, they laid down their arms, gave up their leaders in chains, surrendered the town of Corbio to Roman cruelty, and themselves passed under the yoke, as an acknowledgment that they owed their lives to the mercy of the victors. Here the tale ends; but if you ask to what place the Æqui marched after this exploit, you will find that they could have moved no further than round Cincinnatus's entrenchments and back into their camp again, for Cloelius continued their commander for twenty years, and remained during the greater part of that time in his favourite quarters upon the Algidus Hills.

Cincinnatus, as Dictator, only continued in office sixteen days, and he employed his power to punish Volscius, the Tribune whose evidence had caused the exile of his son. Volscius was cited to stand his trial for perjury, and as he knew that the Dictator would condemn him, he withdrew to Lanuvium, a city of the Latins.

With a view of defeating the Terentilian law, the Senate ordained that no Tribune should be re-elected two years running, and then increased the number of Tribunes to ten, for the more numerous they were, the more easy it was to foment divisions amongst them. Icilius, the Tribune, on the other hand, exacted a promise that no act of the Senate should be binding on the State without the Tribunes' consent. This stipulation gave security to the Plebeians, and they were not afraid to concede that the Patricians should themselves revise the laws, and should travel into foreign countries, in order to select from them whatever was best worth observing. Three Patricians were chosen and sent to Greece, and to Athens in particular, to ascertain if the laws there, made the Athenians happier than the Italian laws rendered the people of Italy.

This chapter records the *exile* of Coriolanus, of Kæso, and of Volscius. Many authors, instead of "exile," term their punishment "banishment," but the Romans never banished. If the accused were innocent of capital crimes, such as treason or murder, he was warned three market days, *i. e.* twenty-seven days previous to the time of trial, during which time he might withdraw into some other country, and become a citizen there. Coriolanus became a Volscian. If the accused risked his trial, and was condemned, he was seized and punished as a Roman, wherever he could be found; but when a man exiled himself before trial, the State abandoned all further rights over him, and his lands were forfeited to his tribe. He could not, however, return, as if he were still a Roman, and therefore his judges met for his trial, and forbade him "Roman fire and water." If he presumed to reappear whilst under that ban, he might be killed or made a slave. This sentence could always be reversed by the State, but it would have created inextricable confusion to do so in the case of regiments of exiles, like the army of Coriolanus.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE DECEMVIRI AND VIRGINIA.

B.C. 453 TO 446. Y.R. 300 TO 307.\*



LICTORS.

ROME was now at peace, and three Patricians were despatched as ambassadors to Greece to bring home an account of the Grecian laws, and to judge if they would be suitable to the Roman Republic. After they returned, an Ephesian named Hermodorus, who was living in exile

\* Authorities: Livy, iii. 32; Nieb. vol. ii. pp. 312-438; 446-460.

at Rome, translated these laws into Latin, and had a bronze statue erected to him in gratitude, which was placed beside the seven kings in the Forum. But when these Grecian edicts were examined, they were found to be useless for the Romans, and they were consigned to be kept with the Sybil's books in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The Romans now began to compare and arrange their own statutes, adding to them whatever they could collect of most just and useful from other parts of Italy. This code, when completed, formed the Roman Magna Charta, won by the Plebeians from the Patricians, and the laws were engraved upon ten large tables and hung up in the Comitium, that every one might make himself acquainted with them. They were digested by the Senate, and then read to the Centuries and accepted by them.

This code was so excellent, that it was never afterwards changed, and according to its provisions, the government of the State was equally divided between Patricians and Plebeians. The ten Patricians, called in Latin "Decemviri," who arranged the ten tables, considered themselves only as Inter-reges between one government and another. The ten rulers elected to succeed them were considered as the first new government, according to the code, and were called "Decemviri Consules." It is with them that the name of Consul (instead of Prætor) really begins in Roman history, for each had the same power, and they were supposed to consult together.

The proud Appius Claudius, supposed to have been son of the suicide, was one of the first Decemvirs, and he seemed so anxious to render justice to the Plebeians, and was so affable and popular in his bearing, that the Patricians distrusted him, and tried to obviate his chance of election to the second Decemvirate, by appointing him to preside at the new elections. Roman elections differed little from our own, excepting that they were more orderly, and the voters were drawn up like regiments of soldiers, and gave their votes in regular succession.

Appius Claudius was to propose five Patricians and five Plebeians, the latter of whom were to replace and represent the Tribunes. Appius named nine men of no eminence, and then, to the amazement of all, and to the joy of the Plebeians, he proposed himself. He was tri-



unphantly elected ; and being the man of highest rank and greatest ability, he became a king amongst the others, who all acted under his direction, and who all agreed neither to oppose him nor one another. They were to continue in office for five years. For a considerable time, Patricians and Plebeians were equally afraid of them.

The new Decemviri were to add two more tables to the ten ; regulating particulars of religion, marriage, debt, and some customs of civil life. They deliberated long upon the articles of these tables, and after all did not make them so impartial as the first ten. They were, however, accepted by the Centuries, and then engraved and hung up in the Comitium beside the others.

It presently occurred to some of the more corrupt amongst the Patricians, that Appius Claudius, being himself of their order, and of a family particularly arrogant, it might be possible to gain him over, if they promised him all their influence to keep him in office, upon condition that he would exercise his power to crush the rich and obnoxious amongst the Plebeians. Appius readily entered into this compact. When his new allies prosecuted a Plebeian, he gave judgment in their favour, and either threw the defenceless victim into prison, or ruined him and adjudged his estates to his wicked accusers.

The Plebeians soon perceived the mistake they had committed in surrendering their Tribunes, and they were not sorry to find the Decemvirs in great embarrassment at rumours of war from the Æqui and the Sabines. The Decemvirs summoned the Senate, and obliged the Senators to return to Rome from their country-seats and farms, because without their decree war could neither be declared nor troops raised. Three of the Senators, Caius Claudius, uncle to Appius, Valerius, and Horatius, spoke boldly against the tyranny of the Decemvirs, but all agreed that an army must now be raised, and the enemy kept at a distance ; and after this had been effected, they hoped to remedy their domestic grievances, and to constrain the resignation of the Decemvirs. These officers had become ten tyrants, and had assumed to themselves guards of Lictors, with whom they used to march through the Forum to their judgment-seats. They were the sole

rulers, and there was no appeal from their judgment. Two large armies were raised, but both were defeated, and Quintus Fabius, one of the Decemvirs, was obliged by the Æqui to retreat from Tusculum to the Mons Vecilius, now a part of the Monte Cavo.

The Centurion Siccus Dentatus was sent out with a legion of veterans to his relief. He was a distinguished Plebeian, but he had murmured openly against the Decemvirs, and even proposed to his friends to secede, as in old times, to the Mons Sacer, if they did not resign. Fabius resolved upon Siccus's destruction, and caused him to fall by treason. Some say that he was destroyed by the hand of his own men, and others that he was betrayed to the Sabines; however, Fabius secured the corpse, and to prevent a mutiny in the camp, gave it a pompous funeral.

Meanwhile Sp. Oppius, the Plebeian, and Appius Claudius, governed in Rome. As Appius passed through the Forum to his judgment-seat, he sometimes saw a beautiful young lady, called Virginia, going to school attended by her nurse. Appius fell violently in love with her; but Patricians and Plebeians were not allowed to intermarry. He wished that she would permit him to visit her, but this she declined, telling him that she was already engaged to be married to the <sup>Virginia.</sup> ex-Tribune Icilius. Appius, in order to get possession of her, practised an artifice, which had so often before deprived innocent persons of their liberty, that one of his own laws had been made expressly to guard against it. He ordered his client, Marcus Claudius, to seize Virginia as his slave, and to bring her before him for judgment. After he had pronounced in his client's favour, Marcus was to take her home, and surrender her to the wicked Appius.

All this was agreed upon, and as Virginia walked to school, Marcus Claudius seized and claimed her. Her nurse remonstrated that she was a lady, the daughter of Virginius, a Centurion, now fighting for Rome against the Æqui; and that she was betrothed to Icilius, the favourite of the people. Marcus answered that he knew it was so reported, and that he believed Virginius really supposed her to be his daughter. But in reality, he said, she was the child of one of his slaves, brought by Vir-

ginius's wife out of his house when newly born, and imposed by her upon Virginius, who was unhappy without issue. As Virginia struggled and trembled, a crowd gathered round and would have rescued her, but Marcus said he had no wish to use force; he would take her to the Decemvir and abide by his judgment. She was accordingly led quietly before Appius, and when she saw who was her judge, she probably guessed the truth.

Her seizure produced such a disturbance, owing to her rank, that Icilius and her uncle Numitorius, also a Centurion, heard of it, and they hastened to the judgment-seat to claim her, and to bear witness to her identity. They affirmed that Appius Claudius could not decide in the absence of her father, who was with the army, and that he must wait for his appearance. Appius dreaded to lose Virginia if any tumult were made, and therefore pretended to observe the laws, saying she should remain that night with her own friends; and that if her father presented himself on the morrow, he might speak in her defence. But he demanded bail, and refused to defer his sentence beyond the next day. Icilius knew that her father could easily arrive in Rome if he received timely information, but he also knew that Appius would prevent this, if possible. Icilius, therefore, in order to gain time, pretended to be very particular about the bail, that is, who would agree to answer for Virginia's safe appearance at her trial next day. All present held up their hands, and were willing to engage themselves for her, but he was unusually scrupulous as to their respectability and dwelling-places. In the meanwhile he had despatched a messenger to Virginius, desiring that he would hasten for life and death to Rome. Appius, not suspecting his subtilty, lingered on the judgment-seat, that he might not appear to have come there merely to judge Virginia, and this added to the delay. After he reached his house, he wrote a letter to the general in command, ordering Virginius's arrest, but by the time his messenger arrived, Virginius was already half way to Rome, and he reached the city and joined his daughter, ere she was led again before the unjust tribunal.

In the morning, all her friends accompanied her, the women weeping and in mourning, and the men in gloomy silence; her father, her betrothed husband, and her uncle,

led the party. Marcus, the base client, stood by to urge his claim, and Appius came to the judgment-seat surrounded by armed men. His wrath was inflamed, and his resolution strengthened, by the sight of Virginia. He gave sentence in his client's favour, though it violated his own law, which declared every person free until *proved* to be otherwise, the penalty for breaking which law was death. The people were exasperated at his audacity and shameless injustice; yet when he exclaimed, "Lictors, disperse the multitude, make way for the master to seize his slave," the crowd retreated before the axes of the Lictors, and poor Virginia, her nurse, and her three relations, stood alone. Virginius entreated as a last favour, to be allowed to take leave of his child, and to question her nurse privately, respecting the imputed fraud. He retreated with his daughter a few steps, snatched up a knife from a butcher's stall, and plunged it into her breast, exclaiming, "Thus only, my child, can I secure thy liberty and honour." Virginia fell dead. He withdrew the bloody steel, and holding it up before Appius added, "Thus do I devote thee and thine iniquitous house to perdition;" and then he slowly and calmly walked away, no man opposing him.

The veteran legion lay encamped outside the city gate, because Rome was not secure against a siege, and 400 of the soldiers, when they saw Virginius with the bloody knife took up their arms and followed him back to Tusculum. There was no doubt as to the result. The power of the Decemvirs was gone. Icilius and Numitorius, though Appius ordered them to be seized, lifted the dead body of Virginia and bore it quietly home. Appius fled in dismay from his judgment-seat; the Lictors were dispersed, and the Fasces broken. Icilius and Numitorius proceeded to excite the legions that were fighting against the Sabines at Eretum, whilst Virginius led back all the troops from Tusculum, breathing vengeance. The two armies joined, and the whole body of armed Plebeians posted themselves in hostile array upon the Aventine. They encamped there because it had been expressly exempted from the Decemvirs' power. Rome was once more divided into two factions, and would certainly have fallen a prey to the Sabines and Æqui, had not these enemies been also opposed by the Latin States.

Three Patricians, representing the three ruling Tribes, were despatched to the Plebeian leaders, to ascertain their demands, and to inquire why they had deserted their generals and encamped upon the Aventine. They sent back the embassy, and replied that they would recount their grievances to Valerius only. Duillius, one of the ex-Tribunes, suggesting that treachery might be used against them on the Aventine, bade the men take up their ensigns and follow him. The panic-stricken Patricians saw the armies march in battle-array through Rome, from the Aventine to the Porta Collina, and bend their way along the road which leads to the Mons Sacer. There they once more took possession of the hallowed ground on which their Tribunes had first been elected, and hither Horatius and Valerius quickly followed, with promises from the Senate to agree to all their terms. They demanded, first, that the Decemvirs should resign and the Tribunes be restored: secondly, that the Tribunate should be perpetual, and that if any one proposed its abolition he should be burnt as a traitor: thirdly, they required pardon for all their transgressions against the Senate or the law, in having left their camps and elected their own rulers: and, lastly, they insisted that the Decemvirs should be delivered up to them for punishment, and they threatened that those abhorred tyrants should be burnt to death. Horatius and Valerius granted every article excepting the last, which they said was unworthy of Plebeian moderation; and in order to prove that the Patricians were in earnest, they delivered the Capitol into the hands of the Plebeians, until all the terms should be fulfilled. It was a strange spectacle to see the two armies, and the men, women, and children who had joined them, return to Rome; the citizens going back to their homes, whilst the Plebeian soldiers occupied the sacred fortress of the Patricians.

When the Decemvirs had resigned their power into the hands of the Senate, the Plebeians again assembled upon the Aventine, and there elected ten Tribunes, of whom the wronged Virginius, Icilius, and Numitorius were three.

As the chief Pontiff and Augurs had presided in the assembly which abolished the Tribunes, and elected the Decemvirs, so now they presided and gave solemnity to

the assembly which abolished the Decemvirs and re-established the Tribunes. Never before had they honoured the Plebeians by attending at their meetings, but from this date the Plebeian assemblies were assumed to be capable of their august sanction. Still further to establish confidence between the orders, the Plebeians were allowed to elect all the great officers of state, and the Senate were to confirm their elections. In consequence of this, Valerius and Horatius, their friends, were made Consuls, taking the place of the ancient Prætors, but with more restricted power.

As the first act of the new government, Virginius prosecuted the wicked Appius for his daughter's death. All Appius's unjust judgments, which were many, and all his insolent speeches, were now discussed; and amongst others he was convicted of having called the loathsome and dreadful Roman dungeons the "Home of the Plebeians."

To prevent his escaping into exile, he was thrown into one of these prisons, amongst thieves and malefactors, who, though of lower rank, were not degraded by baser minds or harder hearts than himself. Nevertheless, no Patrician had ever been imprisoned before, and Caius, the uncle of Claudius, who had retired with a large following to Regillus, when he was disgusted with Appius's government, now returned with all his kindred in mourning to Rome, and besought the Tribunes to set Appius at liberty, and to allow him the privilege of exile, his lands and honours being forfeited. Virginius, however, persisted in his just vengeance, and Appius, unable to bear his disgrace, committed suicide. His colleague, the Plebeian Oppius, followed his example, having been accused of tyranny towards the soldiers; and the other eight Decemvirs, Quintus Fabius amongst them, all retired into exile. Marcus Claudius, who had claimed Virginius for his slave, fled to Tibur, a powerful state to the north-east of Rome, now Tivoli.

## AFTER CHAPTER XII.

THUS ends the history of the two Decemvirates which intervened between the Roman Prætors and the Consuls. The laws of the twelve tables, now lost and only known to us by fragments, wrought a change in the government of Rome as great as the first revolution from kings to prætors, or perhaps greater. The Patricians never again exercised the same power, and the real importance of the Plebeians commenced. The interest of money was fixed at ten per cent, that is, he who borrowed a hundred *Asses* paid for it no more than ten annually, so that debts did not accumulate so enormously or rapidly as before.

The Plebeians were now allowed to buy from, and sell to, the Patricians, unrestrictedly, even their land; and they were entitled to a copy of all the acts of the Senate, which they hung up in their own Temple of Ceres. Before this, the Senate used to alter and falsify their acts whenever it suited their convenience. The Patricians henceforward were liable to imprisonment as well as the Plebeians, and Appius Claudius was the first example. The twelve tables superseded all private laws, and made the Patricians and Plebeians, the colonists and the merchants, those who had land and those who had none, all subject to the same code.

The Patricians believed that they also had gained some advantages, but two dreadful pestilences had so diminished their numbers, that nothing could again restore them as a body to the pre-eminence they once had enjoyed. Many of the chief families were extinct, and their clients became Plebeians, having no head.

The pestilence of the year 301 carried off one Prætor, four Tribunes, one Augur, half of the free citizens, and almost all the slaves. What a difference this must have made in the condition of a small community! The corpses were so numerous that they could not be buried in the ordinary manner, and they were thrown into the Tiber and Cloaca.

All distinctions between the major and minor houses of Tarquinius Priscus now ceased, and the Patricians

were both permitted to buy land in the Plebeian districts, and to enrol themselves in the Plebeian tribes. In this manner they became eligible to the Tribunate, and their clients were entitled to vote in the Centuries, so that the Comitia of the Centuries became the voice of the whole Roman people. This caused many other changes ; one, that the clients might serve in the infantry, and another that more scribes were required to write out the list of voters, and to overlook the increased and changeable property which was taxable. The Romans appointed a new officer, who was to have the superintendence of these matters, called a "Censor," and he was to continue in office five years from census to cen-<sup>Censor.</sup> sus. Appius Claudius was the first Censor. After his time, two Censors were appointed together ; they were Patricians elected by the Curia, and enjoyed all the honours of the Consuls, excepting the guard of Lictors. Their dress was a robe of scarlet, and their power, though at first innocuous, became afterwards one of the most formidable in the state. The Censors filled up all vacancies in the Senate, and determined the rank of all the citizens, degrading or depriving, elevating or ennobling, at their discretion. A man was classed according to their estimation, not only of his property but of his character ; and they fixed arbitrarily the amount of his taxes. They had also the charge of the state lands and buildings, and it was their duty to keep the public works in repair. If a Censor died in office, he was entitled to a magnificent funeral, and no other was elected to fill his place.

Every citizen was obliged to deliver to the Censors a detailed account of his property, and this rendered the favour of the public Notaries or Scribes a matter of importance, for they could under- or over-rate the amount of taxable articles in their lists. They were usually *Liberti*, or freedmen. They registered the estate, and the name of the proprietor in red ink.\* The register was called *Rubrum*, from *ruber*, red, and hence our word "rubric," or "book with red lines."

The Comitium was the upper part of the Forum, in which the Senate-house was situated. The lower part contained the Plebeian law courts, the country people

\* Nieb. x.



assembled in it, and it was used as a market-place every ninth day.

The Tribunes and public orators used to mount a pulpit when they addressed the Romans, which was situated exactly where the Comitium and Forum joined; one side of it was turned to the Patricians, and the other to the Plebeians. This pulpit, or *Suggestum*, was afterwards named *Rostra*. Though the Patricians and Plebeians at this period might not legally intermarry, they often did so, and the marriage was considered valid, but not equal. The man could take no other wife, but the children were Plebeians like their mother, and had no right to the privileges of their father.\* Betrothal took place some time before marriage, and was considered as a ceremony little less sacred. To this day the betrothal of a girl upon the Continent is a matter of much solemnity. In the old Roman ceremony, the marriage contract was signed and sealed in the presence of both parties and their friends. The man then gave a ring to the woman, which she wore in token of being engaged to become his wife. These rings were not very ornamental, for they were usually of iron, without any precious stones.† The woman or girl was frequently betrothed at twelve years old, and married at fifteen, which is probably one reason why the Roman law regarded women as mere children, and did not permit them to make wills.

The name of the Roman ladies, such as *Lucretia*, *Clælia*, *Valeria*, *Virginia*, &c., were not individual names like our Lucy, or Maria, or Jane. They were the Father's name, with the feminine termination in *a*, and meant the daughter of Lucretius, Clælius, Valerius, &c. The Roman women did not take their husbands' names when they married, but kept their fathers'. This was the custom in Scotland forty years ago, and still continues amongst the Scottish yeomanry.

From the story of Virginia, it appears that the Plebeian ladies went abroad with their faces unveiled, accompanied by suitable attendants; and that they went to

\* This sort of marriage continues to this day among the reigning houses of Germany, and is termed *Morganatic*.

† Some of the rings had inscriptions; some were in the form of a key, to signify that the keys of the house were delivered to the engaged wife.

public schools, where they learnt reading and writing, probably also music, spinning, weaving, plain work, and embroidery. Tarquinius Priscus built the schools and colleges in the Forum, the foundations of which may still be seen near the arch of Septimius Severus. The Patrician girls are supposed to have been educated at home, and were instructed in religious ceremonies, for they were often called upon to be priestesses like Tanaquil, and to sacrifice. The Patrician youths were sent to colleges in Etruria, probably to Cære; and there they were taught the liturgies of their worship, and all the arts and sciences then known in Italy. The Plebeian young men, not being at this time suffered to exercise any of the great religious functions, or to occupy the chief dignities of the state, were brought up in the colleges and schools built by Tarquin in the Forum.

## CHAPTER XIII.

TRANSACTIONS FROM THE DECENVIRS TO THE SECOND  
PEACE WITH VEII.

B.C. 446 TO 423. Y.R. 307 TO 330.\*



ROMAN SOLDIERS.

SOME of the Patrician families always protected, and others always scorned and oppressed, the Plebeians ; because the Romans were educated to revere the opinions, and to follow the conduct of their ancestors, just as they were taught to fight for their fathers' country, or to worship their fathers' gods. Whenever we read of a Claudius or a Quinctius amongst the rulers, we may be certain that they were elected by the Patricians, for these fami-

\* Authorities : Livy, iii. 60, &c. Nieb. i, ii, 460, &c.

lies hated the Plebeians; and whenever we read of a Valerius or a Horatius, we may be equally certain that they were elected by the Tribes or Centuries, because these families placed their fame and glory in supporting and elevating the Plebeians.

Valerius and Horatius were greatly beloved by the people; and when the Roman states were invaded by the Latins and Æqui, they found no difficulty in raising troops to repel them. Valerius seized the camp of the Æqui near Algidus; and though they regained their position they never again invaded the Roman territory. Horatius vanquished the Sabines, and concluded with them a peace which was very beneficial to his country, though it failed to satisfy the Patricians. The Sabines became Roman citizens without votes, and did not again disturb Rome for 150 years. The franchise granted to the Sabines was like that "freedom of the city" which we often bestow upon those whom we wish to honour. It empowered those to whom it was given to attend the Roman feasts and games, and to settle or trade in any part of the Quirite dominions.

When the victorious Consuls returned to Rome, they encamped their army outside the city, and waited in the Temple of Bellona for the decree of the Senators, to whom they rendered an account of their campaign, and from whom they solicited a triumph. The Senators refused the honour, because they disliked the generals; and the knight, Lucius Icilius (the betrothed husband of Virginia), indignant at their injustice, proposed that the people should award to their generals those honours which the Senate denied. This was an assumption of authority never dreamed of before, the Italians preserving so religious a respect for their laws and institutions, that they would rather endure any hardship than infringe them. But on the present occasion, the injustice of the Senate provoked them to overstep the bounds which they usually revered, and incited them to usurp those honours which were so perversely withheld. Horatius and Valerius triumphed illegally, but to their honour they refused to be Consuls the following year.

In 309, the principalities of Aricia and Ardea had a dispute about some lands, formerly belonging to Corioli, a Latin city which was destroyed by Attius Tullius. A

dispute of this nature would formerly have been decided at the Diet of Lavinium. But as Lavinium no longer existed, an arbitrator was sought from Rome. An old

Ardea. Plebeian officer, in hopes of acquiring those lands for his order, insisted that since Rome was now the chief state of the Latins, whatever had belonged to the ruined Corioli, fell of right to her. Perhaps Rome might have asserted such a claim in the first instance, but it was extremely dishonourable, when referred to, as an umpire, to seize upon property which, but for the quarrel of Aricia and Ardea, never would have been demanded. The Senators wished to relinquish their claims, but the Curiae coveted the lands and adjudged them to themselves. Ambassadors came from Ardea to expostulate, and the Senate promised to have the affair reconsidered as quietly and quickly as possible. The reply cemented friendly feelings between the Senators of both states, and the Ardeans soon after sent a request to Rome for troops to aid them in quelling a revolt of their own Plebeians.

A beautiful Plebeian lady at Ardea was sought in marriage, at the same time, by a Plebeian of her own rank and a Patrician. Her father was dead, and her guardians, who had the right to dispose of her, assigned her to the Plebeian. But her mother favouring the Patrician, appealed to the Ardean Senate, who passed judgment according to her wishes. The Plebeian guardians came to the mother's house, and carried the young lady away by force; upon which the Patrician lover brought armed men to rescue her, and thus commenced a struggle between the two orders, which nearly destroyed Ardea. The Plebeians left the city, and posted themselves on a hill in the vicinity, whence they sent for succour to the Æqui. The Patricians assisted by the Romans, opposed them, and after a desperate battle the Ardean Plebeians were vanquished. The Æqui were surrounded, and could only save their lives by passing under the yoke, and surrendering their illustrious general, Gracchus Cloelius, who, after having often bravely and successfully led his people against the Romans, was now made a prisoner and loaded with chains. On his arrival in Rome, he was obliged to march in these chains before the Dictator's chariot, from the Via Sacra to the Temple of Jupiter, where he heard

the thanksgivings offered for his defeat, and then was beheaded.

The Ardean Patricians, notwithstanding their victory, dreaded the discontented Plebeians, and invited a body of Romans to settle amongst them, upon which the Roman Senate restored to them the Coriolan, or Scaptian lands. Ardea was the capital of the Rutuli, and the Roman Senators selected Rutulians only to be the new settlers.

Shortly before these transactions, Canuleius, one of the factious and ambitious Tribunes, had insisted that marriages between Patricians and Plebeians should be considered equal and lawful in Rome, and the law was passed after a violent resistance. The speech of Canuleius is so remarkable, that it has been transferred by our Shakspeare, to his Shylock the Jew, in "The Merchant of Venice," because the feelings between Jews and Christians, in most parts of Europe during the middle ages, resembled those of the old Patricians and Plebeians. "The Pontiffs," Canuleius said (who were always Patricians), "keep the records of our magistrates, our annals, and our laws, and will not allow us to look at them; as if Plebeians had not the same understanding as yourselves. You say that we must not partake in the same religious ceremonies. I wonder that you let us worship the same gods. I marvel much that you let us eat and drink in the same room, travel the same road, attend the same feasts, dwell in the same city, or stand in the same Forum."

The only thing to surprise us in this speech is, that the Patricians and Plebeians should have eaten and drunk together; but you must remember that the one were quite as much men of rank, fortune, and education as the other.

When the Canuleian law had passed, another followed, making the Plebeians eligible to all offices of state. The Patricians knew well how to exclude them practically, excepting when a Valerius, or one of his party, was at the head of the government. Canuleius obtained permission for military Tribunes to be elected, instead of Consuls, to lead out the army, because these officers had inferior power, and no right to Curule chairs in the Senate, and therefore they had a better chance of being chosen from amongst the distinguished Plebeians, and

thence of gradually ascending to the other magistracies. Lucius Atilius, a Plebeian, was one of the three first military Tribunes; and when these popular magistrates were appointed, the Patricians maintained their superiority by uniting with them the Censors, and the Custos Urbis, three Curule magistrates, whose power was greater, and who retained it for a longer time.

After the military Tribunes had been three months in office, the Augurs declared that their election had been defective, and that they must resign. The Censors were then left to rule alone during the remainder of the year, and for a long period no Plebeian was again elected amongst the governors of Rome.

In the year 317, the state of Fidenæ revolted, the Fideneans driving away the Roman colonists, and placing themselves under the protection of Veii, where Lars Tolumnius was king. Tolumnius fought bravely for them, and at one time endangered the safety of Rome; but after a conflict of two years, Fidenæ was retaken by stratagem. The Romans were driven by their fears, to

create M. Æmilius Dictator, and he penetrated unsuspected into the heart of the city by a mine.

Fidenæ surrendered, and a fresh Roman garrison was stationed in its citadel. The Veientes escaped to their own country, and Etruria witnessed with regret the success of Rome. Yet when the Etruscan princes met to debate the affair in their great council at the Fane of Voltumna, they refused aid to Tolumnius in his misfortunes, alleging as a reason, that he had never made them sharers in his successes. In consequence of this, he was obliged to conclude a truce.

Æmilius, before resigning his power, diminished the preponderance of the Censors by a law that they should only rule during a year and a half in each Lustrum, instead of during the whole five. After he had laid down his dictatorship, the Censors, who were still in office, revenged this act by degrading him from his tribe, depriving him of his vote in the Centuries, and increasing his taxes to eight times their proper value. The Plebeians sympathized with him, and therefore he bore this disgrace cheerfully for their sakes, and considered it an honour.

The Æqui and Volsci again made war upon the

Latins and Hernici, whom the Romans were bound to assist. The Consuls led the troops to Algidus, to attack the camps of their enemies, but they were disgracefully defeated, and Postumius Tubertus, a man of tried courage and capacity, but of stern and austere character, was named Dictator. He quitted Rome with a large army, and vowed to the gods a magnificent festival in the Circus if he were successful. He took the Æquian camp by stratagem, and surrounded the Volscians; but Vectius Messius, the Volscian general, cut his way through the Latins, and wounded all the Roman leaders. In the end, however, both Æqui and Volsci were defeated, and the victory was due to the strict discipline which Tubertus had enforced. He gave a dreadful example of it in his own son, whom he had ordered not to quit the lines, and who disobeyed him in order to capture a post of the enemy. Though he was victorious, Tubertus condemned him to death. After his return to Rome, he gratified his pride by a triumph.

In the year 327, Veii again threatened an invasion, and Fidenæ again threw off the Roman yoke. But the revolt was quickly subdued, the rebels were exiled to Ostia, and fresh colonists were sent from the Patrician tribes to reoccupy the city. The Romans, however, were not sufficiently aware of their danger, for the new colonists were massacred, the native authorities re-established, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between Fidenæ and Veii.

The Romans sent three Feciales to Fidenæ, to complain of the late outrages and to demand redress. The Fidenæans detained them, probably as hostages for their own nobles exiled to Ostia, and then consulted Lars Tolumnius upon their future proceedings, who desired that they would rely upon him for protection, and put the Feciales to death. This was a violation of the law of nations, not to be forgiven, and Tolumnius devised it on purpose to create an irreconcilable enmity between the two states, because as long as Fidenæ was at war with Rome, the Roman armies could not cross the Tiber towards Veii. The Romans erected statues to the murdered Feciales, and, notwithstanding a pestilence, which filled them with alarm, declared war against Veii and Fidenæ. They had fortunately no other enemies to con-



tend with, and the Latins and Hernici were their allies ; yet at the commencement they were defeated, and again obliged to create a Dictator. They chose Mamercus Æmilius, who had formerly been successful, and as the people loved him they felt confident of victory under his command.

Aulus Cornelius Cossus led one of the divisions, a noble Roman, not less distinguished by the beauty of his person than by his undaunted courage and lofty spirit. The Veientes had advanced to the Colline gate, but Æmilius and Cossus obliged them to retreat, and A.C. Cossus. pursued them to Fidenæ. Here the Romans encamped and attacked their enemies. They gained many advantages, but they perceived that whenever Lars Tolumnius showed himself, he always restored courage, and secured victory. Cossus defied him, and challenged him to single combat, devoting him to the *manes* (or ghosts) of the murdered ambassadors. Tolumnius accepted the challenge, and the two commanders fought together in mortal strife. At length Tolumnius was unhorsed, and Cossus ran him through with his spear. He cut off his head and fixed it on his saddle-bow, and he bore it away with him back into the battle, along with the royal armour of his victim. The troops of Veii, seeing their leader slain, fled ; and the men of Fidenæ, who had been reinforced from the town, rushed amongst their enemies with lighted torches, but they were driven back, and the Romans entered Fidenæ along with them, and put all the garrison to the sword. The city and camp were plundered, many of the houses were burnt, and all the inhabitants were sold for slaves. Fidenæ became Roman, and is never again mentioned as a place of consequence.

The Dictator had a triumph decreed to him, but all the glory of the victory was ascribed to Cornelius Cossus, who marched to the Capitol with the spoils of Tolumnius borne before him. As he won them from a king whom he had killed with his own hand, they were *spolia opima*, spoils of the highest class, and he dedicated them to Jupiter Feretrius, in whose temple they were seen by the Emperor Augustus 420 years afterwards.

Veii now abandoned Fidenæ, and the war was terminated by a peace for twenty-three years.

## AFTER CHAPTER XIII.

THE incidents of this chapter call forth some explanation of the manners of Italy at this period.

When Canuleius insisted upon marriages between Patricians and Plebeians being legalised, the Patricians objected, that according to their religion they could not marry without the sanction of auspices, and that Plebeians, having no share in the ground within which alone auspices could be taken, were not capable of participation in them. The "auspices" were signs from heaven, given, as was believed, in answer to the prayers of a particular Patrician, called a "Haruspex." The Haruspices of Etruria were the most esteemed of the class, because the Etruscans understood better how to obtain signs and omens than the Romans. The Haruspex waved his hand in the air, or made a number of straight lines on the ground like our points of the compass, and then prayed the god to answer within those points, as to whether the matter in question would be propitious or not. The Tuscans knew how to draw lightning from the clouds, and interpreted according to the points through which it passed, but the person inquiring might name his own sign, and this was sometimes birds appearing on the right or left, sometimes the manner in which fowls took their food, and very often the inside of a sacrificed animal, which was examined to see how the heart or entrails quivered.

When the same Canuleius desired that all offices of the State should be shared between Patricians and Plebeians, the necessity for auspices again interfered, because the princely governors of the Roman State appeared in the Senate and the Forum, seated in curule chairs (a sort of low arm-chair of marble or ivory), and all the curule magistrates were elected by auspices. The Patricians, to meet this difficulty, reserved to themselves the magistracies of Consul, Quæstor, Censor, and Governor of the city, or "Custos urbis," and they consented to share with the Plebeians the military Tribunate, which should not be honoured with the curule chair, and which should be

a valid authority though without auspices. As a consequence, the military Tribunes, though they might aspire to ovations, could not triumph, because triumphs were appropriated to the curule magistrates.

The Romans elected all their magistrates, and the names of the candidates were given in writing to the president of the assembly, who proclaimed them aloud, and then took the votes of those present. The president for Consuls or military Tribunes was always a Senator, and generally the last Consul, and if he disliked the candidates, he would not propose them. This was the reason that for many years after Plebeians were eligible, not one was elected; because only such men as the Valerii or Horatii would condescend to read out their names.

At this period all the Patricians wore white cloaks, or togas, and those who solicited office used to chalk them over and make them shining, in order to attract notice when they walked into the Forum. The Plebeians, whom they had obliged, would then come forward and promise them their votes. The Tribunes thought that this display gave those who used it an unfair advantage, and it was forbidden. The men in shining garments were called "Candidates," from the Latin word *candidus*, white, or *candidatus*, clothed in white. Our word "candidate" means those who solicit votes, or place.

At this period, the Plebeians were not allowed to see the linen books, or the tables of the Pontiffs, on which the annals of the year were inscribed; and therefore they never knew whether the history of their state was written with truth or not. They were treated like children who had no concern in these matters, which was extremely foolish, since they formed the main body of the fighting men, and their consent was necessary to render laws binding.

The histories of the Italian states were always kept by the Patrician priests. The annals of the year were written down as the events occurred, upon a whited board, which hung in the palace of the Pontifex Maximus. The officers of state, the wars, alliances, truces, famines, great men, new laws, and all remarkable events, were therein enumerated. From this board they were copied on rolls of linen, called "books," *Libri*, which

were kept in the temples. All the ruling cities in Etruria, Latium, and indeed throughout the Italian peninsula, had these annals, which we can hardly call "histories," though it is from them and the funeral songs that histories were afterwards compiled.

The summary of events for a year, usually printed in our newspapers at Christmas, gives a good idea of the Italian annals, which the Plebeians were not allowed to see, though nothing could hinder each family from keeping annals of its own.

In the year 315, there was a dreadful famine, which produced such distress, that many drowned themselves in the Tiber. To alleviate this, the Romans created a new Patrician magistracy, called "*Præfectus Annonæ*," or master of the markets, whose office it was to superintend the public provisions, and to make laws about the supply and prices of corn. By *corn* I mean any kind of grain. The Italians of ancient days lived upon spelt, of which they made cakes, and other food. Their successors live upon coarse Indian corn or maize, and curd made from the milk of sheep and goats. In the chesnut districts they eat chesnut flour, and when the harvest now fails in Italy, the peasants live upon acorns. There are no Poor in the world who live upon wheat corn, excepting the English of the present day.

At the time when Minucia, the first *Præfectus Annonæ*, was chosen, the unfortunate slaves were reduced to half their allowance of food. Minucius forbade any proprietor to keep in his barns more than one month's provisions; he ordered all the rest to be brought into the market, and he sent to Cumæ and Etruria to buy all the grain he could procure, to preserve the people from starving. At the same time, Spurius Mælius, a rich Plebeian knight, moved with pity at the intense suffering he daily witnessed, spent large sums of money in buying corn from Etruria, which he liberally gave away to the wretched poor. Crowds of sufferers thronged his house, and the people became so attached to him, that no Plebeian would have denied him his vote for any office that the Tribes or Centuries could bestow. The jealousy of the Patricians was roused. They imagined that if he stood for the Consulship, he would certainly gain it, and thus aim a death-blow at their pre-eminence. He was a

man of so little ambition, that he had never even solicited the Tribuneship; but the jealous Senators created old Cincinnatus, now past eighty, Dictator, and had the walls of Rome manned as if they were in danger from a foe. Next day, Cincinnatus appeared in the Forum with a band of armed men, having named Servilius Ahala, his *Magister Equitum*. The people all ran into the Forum, to inquire what was the cause of the alarm, and amongst them Mælius. Ahala cited him before the Dictator, to take his trial for attempting, or rather intending by the aid of the Plebeians, to make himself king. Poor Mælius immediately perceived that the stern and inflexible Cincinnatus had been created Dictator on purpose to judge and condemn him, because he had become too popular. He shrank back into the crowd to conceal himself, and snatched up a butcher's knife, as the only instrument he could find for defence. He fled, but Ahala pursued and struck him down dead with a sword, not far from his own house, where the *Via Marforio* now is, very near the Mamertine prisons.

Cincinnatus not only pronounced him justly slain, but ordered his name to be branded for treason, all his property to be confiscated to the Patricians, and his house to be levelled with the ground. The Romans long regarded the spot with horror, and called it the "*Æquimælium*."

After Cincinnatus had laid down his Dictatorship, the Tribunes prosecuted Ahala for the cruel murder of Mælius, and to escape punishment he exiled himself. Minucius, the Prefect, who was Mælius's first accuser, was struck with remorse for having caused his death, and made the Plebeians all the amends in his power, by immediately lowering the price of corn to one *As* per peck, and he continued to favour them ever after. They in return erected a bronze statue to him, and presented him with an ox decked out for sacrifice with gilt horns, and some say made him a Tribune.

The *Præfectus Annonæ* wore a ring upon which was engraved a wheat-sheaf, and a *modius*, or measure for corn.

The first temple to Apollo was built in Rome about the year 320, to avert a pestilence.

The price at which oxen and sheep were to be rated

for fines, was now fixed, and it was considered a low valuation. One hundred Asses for an ox, ten Asses for a sheep. Copper also, becoming less plentiful, the As was reduced from twelve ounces to eight, and had the figure of an ox or sheep stamped upon it.\*

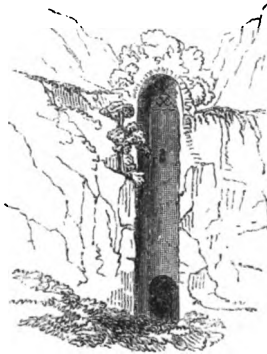
Asses older and heavier than eight ounces are very rarely found, for the old ones were melted down to make new. In our own country, when new money is issued, and the value changed, the old is always called in. Guineas, which were common fifty years ago, are now never seen.

\* From this, the general name of money became "*Pecunia*," because *Pecus* is the Latin for cattle.

## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE PEACE OF 330 TO THE FALL OF VEII.

B. C. 423 TO 393. Y. R. 330 TO 360.\*



EMISSARIUM.

THE Romans did not remain long at peace, for as their allies the Hernici were attacked by the Volsci, both they and the Latins were obliged to help them. Sempronius, the Roman general, was surrounded in his camp, and would have been destroyed, had not Tempanius, commander of the Plebeian knights, rescued him. He lifted up his spear, and said to his troop, "Let this be your standard, dismount and follow me." The knights alighted off their

\* Authorities: Livy, ii. 41, &c.; Nieb. ii. p. 488-502.

horses, and followed him, cutting a way for themselves and the army through the Volsci. As night came on, and neither party could see the other, Tempanius placed his troops in safety on a height, and thence at early dawn rejoined the Roman camp. He found in it, however, only the wounded, whom he conveyed safely to Rome, being unable to obtain any information as to the situation of Sempronius and his legions. Meanwhile, some fugitives had reached the city with the news that their troops had been completely defeated, and that the Plebeian knights had been betrayed and slain. The Plebeians were infuriated, and Rome was filled with wailing, when they saw a body of armed men approaching, whom they doubted not were the Volsci; they quickly shut the gates and manned the walls, but who shall express their joy, when, instead of a victorious enemy, they beheld their lost knights?

Sempronius was ascertained to have retreated upon Lavici, and waggons were despatched thither to fetch him and his weary followers back. One of the Tribunes desired Tempanius to impeach him of cowardice and incapacity, and he demanded before all the people, if it was not true that but for Tempanius the whole army would have been sacrificed? But this noble-minded soldier, unlike most of the Heathen, would not exalt himself at the expense of another. He said that it was not for him to judge his general, but for those who had chosen him; that the last time he had seen Sempronius, he was fighting bravely in the front of battle; and that for himself, he had merely done his duty, and was fortunate in having escaped so well.

Tempanius was rewarded with the admiration he merited, and he and four of his gallant companions were elected Tribunes the next year. One of their colleagues, Hortensius, ordered Sempronius to be prosecuted, but none of those who had served under him would appear against him. Tempanius and his friends declared that they would go into mourning with their general, and Hortensius then abandoned the prosecution, and said that the people should never see their Tribunes in mourning; neither would he prosecute a commander who knew so well how to gain the affections of his soldiers.

The Romans had often to assist the Hernici and Latins



against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*; and at last, they created a Dictator, who expelled the *Æqui* from *Algidus*, where they had been settled for fifty years. The Romans took *Lavici* and completely destroyed it, giving the spoil to the soldiers, and dividing 3000 acres of the land among 1500 Plebeian colonists, much to the satisfaction of the Tribes from which they were sent. In *Y. R.* 340, the

*Bola.* *Æqui* from *Bola* attempted to expel the *Lavican* colonists; but being attacked by the *Samnites* on their own frontiers, their forces were divided, and the Romans sent an army under *Postumius* which dispersed them, and which, induced by a promise of the spoil, made great exertions to take *Bola*.

It is said that this city was not nearly so rich as *Postumius* had imagined, and therefore, after its fall, he broke his word and ordered the *Quæstors* to seize everything for the *Patrician* treasury. The *Tribunes* in *Rome* insisted upon *Bola* being colonised as *Lavici* had been, and *Postumius* left his army in order to silence them and counteract their measures. His men were angry at having been disappointed of the spoils which they were promised, and still more at being detained in the camp without employment, numbers of them living at their own expense, like our yeomanry. The *Tribunes* taunted *Postumius* that he might not always find troops who would submit so patiently; and he shouted forth, "Woe to my men if they are not quiet!" *Postumius* was understood to mean that he would cruelly punish the refractory. The *Tribunes*, aware of the advantage his violence gave them against his order, said to the *Plebeian* electors, "Look at the men whom you, year after year, make your governors. Men who treat the very soldiers by whom they conquer as helpless, despicable slaves; and yet you prefer them to us, who are incessantly struggling to procure for you honours, and houses, and lands."

Unfortunately *Postumius's* unguarded speech was repeated to the army, and increased their irritation. One of the *Quæstors* was selling part of the booty, when an incensed soldier threw a stone and struck him, saying, "Now the *Quæstor* has got that which was threatened to us by the General." The wounded *Quæstor* was removed, and the soldier was screened by his comrades. *Postumius* hastily returned to prevent a mutiny, and punished unre-

lently all whom he disliked or suspected, by having them squeezed to death under hurdles, loaded with stones. The cries of the tortured wretches roused many to prevent their execution, and Postumius ran down amongst the troops like a madman, commanding the Lictors and Centurions to execute his orders; so that the soldiers, seeing no remedy, turned against him in self-defence, and stoned him to death. The Senate ordered an inquiry to be made for the guilty, but, dreadful as such a crime was in soldiers towards their commander, the Tribunes forbade any further proceedings, because Postumius had provoked his fate, in the first instance by his breach of faith and afterwards by his insufferable cruelty and tyranny. The ring-leaders, however, disappeared, and were said to have destroyed themselves from remorse, and the Patricians kept possession of the lands of Bola, which were no more disputed.

Shortly after this, the Roman slaves, being intolerably wretched, formed a conspiracy to seize the Capitol and burn the city. One of their own number betrayed them, and the leaders were taken and burnt at the stake. The traitor was made free, and presented with 10,000 Asses, which the historian Livy tells us was at that time wealth in Rome.

The Volscian war continued for many years with varying success, but in y. r. 349, the Romans sent out three armies against the three great Volscian cities of Antium, Ecetra, and Anxur, and these armies were designed to support each other. Of the three, the most successful was that sent against Anxur, a town built upon a steep rock overlooking the Mediterranean, where in many places its rugged cliffs were considered a sufficient protection without any walls. Fabius attacked the walled parts, and whilst the Volscians were gathered together defending them, he contrived to have scaling ladders fastened to the rocks, by which a body of his men ascended and entered the town. It was immediately taken, and the spoil, which was abundant, was divided between the three armies. The conquest of Anxur was a great triumph, because Rome had now regained the extent of territory which she had swayed in the days of Tarquin the Proud.

Anxur.  
y. r. 349.

The Volsci and Æqui solicited peace, which was granted, and thus enabled the Romans to concentrate their

whole strength upon Veii, the truce with which had expired. It seems that Rome being now supreme head of Latium, the ambition of her rulers was awakened to a clear perception of how vastly their power would be increased, and their supremacy extended, if they could master Veii. This Lucumony was the bulwark of Etruria on the side of Rome, and the possession of it would confer upon the Quirites a superiority over the states of the Toscana, equal to what they possessed over those of Latium. They were, therefore, willing to make every sacrifice in order to secure such a conquest. They perceived that to fight as they had hitherto done, each season, and then return home, would necessitate for ever the same exertions; whereas, if they could erect a chain of forts between Rome and Veii, in which to maintain troops all the year round, they might hope, if not to conquer Veii, at least to render it tributary. To compass this, however, alterations were necessary in the constitution of their army, for no troops could live at their own expense in the field throughout the year, therefore the Senate decreed that all the men should henceforth receive pay for the time they served.

The Romans and Veientes were now to decide whether the truce should be renewed or war declared. The Roman Senate sent Feciales to demand satisfaction for the crime of Tolumnius; and they found the Veientes in a state of distraction, because the Patricians could not agree as to their form of government. After Tolumnius's death, they had abolished kings and tried annual magistrates, but now being tired of them, they wished for kings again. The Senators bade the Romans quit Veii instantly under pain of death, and as soon as they returned to Rome, war was declared. An army crossed the Tiber and encamped within sight of Veii. Here they separated into two camps, and established a line of forts between them.

Meanwhile the Etruscan Diet met at Voltumna to deliberate whether Veii required assistance or not. This deliberation was renewed at a second meeting, when the great games were celebrated, and a rich Lucumo of Veii contested with his peers the honour of becoming High-Priest. His pride was mortally offended by another being preferred, but he concealed his displeasure, and offered his richly-dressed and accomplished slaves to perform in

the Circus. When the games were at their height, he rose from his seat, pretended that he must immediately return to Veii, and stopped the games by taking all his followers with him. This was an affront which could never be forgiven. The princes in council pronounced him impious; and when they found that he had been elected king of Veii, they declared that no assistance in any extremity should be given to the state whilst he remained upon the throne. No one dared to repeat this sentence to the king for fear of being executed; but the Romans hearing of it, pressed forward the siege, because they perceived that if they could take Veii now, all her allies would abandon her. The troops, however, began to murmur at their protracted services and uncomfortable winter quarters, and the Tribunes insisted upon their being allowed to return and winter in their own country. They complained of the cold and labour endured by the men, of their separation from their wives and families, and of the immense distance between them and their homes, though the city of Veii was only twelve miles from Rome.

Veii was a large and beautiful city, nobly situated upon a table-land rising about 200 feet from the plain, between the rivers Cremera and Formello, sloping down towards the latter. The walls were four miles in circuit, and many gates and roads led from them to the neighbouring towns. All the gates were sufficiently defended by rocky cliffs, excepting the Porta Nepete (now Ponte Soto) just above the Formello, and therefore this gate was made double. The Citadel stood on a rock higher than the town, and included within it the shrine of Juno, the patron divinity of the place.

Opposite the lower part of Veii the Romans had raised large broad mounds of earth, fenced with faggots of wood. From the top of these they intended to attack the walls by battering machines; but one night the Veientes issued forth with torches, and destroyed all their enemies' preparations by a general conflagration. Many of the Romans were burnt, and their leaders were convinced that if they hoped for success, they must never quit Veii until it was taken.

The legions maintained their ground, though they

were frequently defeated, and their generals were fined and changed, but they made no progress in the siege. Perhaps they would have been wearied out, and induced to abandon it, had not the disclosure of a singular prophecy revived their hopes, and infused vigour into their undertakings. In the year 358 Rome had suffered from cold, pestilence, and famine, and all Latium was alarmed by a sudden and unaccountable rise of the waters of Lake Alba. The Romans sent to the oracle of Delphi for an explanation of the phenomenon, and the soldiers before Veii conversed concerning it, and fancied it might possibly have some influence upon their fate. A Haruspex in Veii laughed at the prodigy, and said, "The Romans do not know that it is written in our sacred books, that Veii can never be taken as long as the waters of Lake Alba overflow. If they run into the sea, Rome shall fall." Upon this being repeated, a Roman Centurion asked leave to consult the Haruspex about some sacrifices he wished to make in his own family. As he promised to attend unarmed, the Etruscan agreed to meet him without the walls, and they walked some time together, conversing amicably. At length the Roman turned, seized the Haruspex, and transported him to the general's tent. Thence he was carried to the Roman Senate, and there, he not only related the prophecy which was written in the Veientine books, but explained to the Romans in what manner they might drain the waters of the lake, so as to prevent their reaching the sea. He undertook the direction of the works, and desired the Latins to cut a drain called the "Emissarium," or "letter off" (of waters), through a part of Mount Alba, opposite to the ruins of the ancient Alba Longa.

Whilst this was in progress, the ambassadors returned from Delphi, and brought a Greek answer to the Senators, announcing that Apollo promised the Romans the conquest of Veii, if they lowered the Alban waters, and that he commanded them to make an offering to his temple when the city should be taken. He also desired them to observe a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis, on the top of Mount Alba, and not to neglect the propitiation of their own gods. The Roman Senators decided that Jupiter was angry because they had yielded too many

privileges to the Plebeians ; and such of them as had been elevated to the rank of military Tribunes they immediately obliged to resign.

Again the Council of Voltumna met to consider the case of Veii. They permitted volunteers to aid her from all the states ; but they could not decree any regular assistance, because the northern Lucomonies had to defend themselves against large armies of Gauls, from the Rhoetian Alps and the Po. Numerous Etruscan bands, however, from Falerii and Capena, joined the Veientes, defeated the Roman leaders, and marched upon Rome, which they threatened with a siege. The Senate, driven to extremities, named a Dictator, and they fortunately fixed upon the man who was born to be the saviour of his country, and the founder of her future greatness.

Furius Camillus, who had twice before commanded in this war, was the person chosen. He raised a numerous army from the Romans and their allies, and caused the Latins and Hernicans to be publicly thanked for the assistance they had already given. He re-established discipline in the camp, so as to make the soldiers more afraid of him than of the enemy, and he obliged them to occupy themselves solely with strengthening their fortifications. Little did the Veientes dream that whilst they seemed so quiet, Camillus's troops were excavating a tunnel into their city, on the plan of the Alban Emissarium. When the fatal mine was bored, Camillus held a solemn sacrifice in presence of the whole army, and thanked the gods for abandoning to him the hostile city. He vowed a tenth of the spoil to the Greek Apollo, and besought Juno, the patroness of Veii, to remove her patronage to Rome, where he promised her a glorious temple on the Aventine, and adorers as sincere as she had ever found in Etruria. He then commanded the assault to be made on all sides, whilst a party going through the mine were to take possession of the walls and open the gates.

The Veientes could not imagine upon what sudden impulse the Romans shouted so loudly and rushed upon them from all quarters, and they fearlessly mounted their ramparts to drive them back. But when the mine gave way, and the wall fell, and Camillus's soldiers appearing from underneath, marched up and seized the citadel, then

the men of Veii perceived that they were lost. The king was killed at the altar of Juno; the troops made a gallant resistance, the women and slaves mounted the flat roofs of their houses, and threw down firebrands and stones; but thousands and thousands of Romans continued to pour in, and after a while Camillus remained master of the city, having proclaimed that whoever would submit should be spared. It is said that 100,000 souls were in Veii at the time of its conquest. The spoil so much exceeded Camillus's expectations, that he feared the gods themselves would envy him his success, and he prayed, whilst contemplating the buildings from the citadel, that if some misfortune must counterbalance such extraordinary prosperity, it might fall on him alone, and not upon his country. As he turned, after this prayer, he stumbled and fell.

The soldiers loaded themselves with booty, and the Veientines were sold by auction for slaves. The treasures had now to be taken from the temples, and the gods removed, for no Italian city was ever considered as doomed to utter destruction until its gods had deserted it. The service of Juno had hitherto been sacred to one particular family. Camillus selected a band of handsome young Patricians, whom he clothed in white, and ordered to approach her reverently, and to ask if she would remove with them to Rome. It is said she nodded assent, upon which they lifted her upon a stand, and conveyed her into Rome. She was placed on the Aventine, where a stately temple was raised to her, which was built out of the spoils of Veii, and dedicated by Camillus four years afterwards.

Camillus could not over-estimate the importance of his conquest, for as long as Veii existed, Rome never could have risen to imperial dominion. The Senate ordered four days' rejoicing, and Camillus triumphed more pompously than any Roman had ever done before. He was much blamed for his pride and presumption, for he painted his face with vermilion, like a Lar, or demigod, and he drove to the Capitol in a chariot drawn by the four white horses which belonged to the Temple of the Sun.

## AFTER CHAPTER XIV.

**DURING** the thirty years comprised in this chapter, a great change had taken place in the condition of the Plebeians, and many of them were numbered amongst the Senators. In the days of the Decemviri, no Plebeian was permitted to enter the Senate. The Tribunes had benches on which they sat, placed at the open door, in order to hear the debates. But by this time, three of the Quæstors, and several of the military Tribunes, had been Plebeians, and these magistrates claimed by right a place in the Senate, which they did not vacate after their magistracy ceased. A Roman Senator, like a British Peer, to whom he has often been compared, retained his seat for life. Of the four Quæstors, two used to go with the army to value the spoils, and two remained in the city to superintend the state treasury and to carry on the public prosecutions.

The long siege of Veii, which is said to have lasted ten years, first obliged the Romans to keep standing armies, and to pay all their troops. Previously, the Legions were only called out for nine months in the year; the remaining three, they returned into winter quarters. A portion only of the troops were paid, so far as the money raised by the army taxes would suffice. These taxes were limited to sums exacted from widows, heiresses, orphans, and tradesmen. The heavy-armed troops were all supposed to be men of substance, and were taken from those classes only, in which each individual possessed wealth equal to 500 oxen. Now, a yeoman who has 500 oxen, we should certainly deem sufficiently rich to arm himself for his country, if required, and even to carry with him one or more mounted followers, in the style of the old English borderers. Knights, who served on horseback, were constrained to furnish their own armour, besides two chargers and a servant. They were always paid by their own Centuries.

As all the infantry were now to receive pay, the Patricians, who had hitherto been exempt, were taxed



for them, and the rich Senators were the first to contribute their proportion. The coin of that day being the heavy copper *As*, about four times the size of a penny, the Senators sent loads of it in waggons through the streets to the treasury, where it was piled up in rooms. The wealthy Plebeians, being pleased with the example, followed it cheerfully.

A Vestal virgin named Postumia was severely reprov'd by the Pontifex Maximus for her gay dress and giddy behaviour, because these privileged ladies were expected to be particularly modest and grave. They dressed in white robes, with golden borders, which reached in many folds from the neck to the feet, and were manufactured either of fine woollen cloth or of linen. They were fastened round the waist by a narrow girdle. The Vestals covered their heads with a white linen veil, like the nuns' veils, which was also bordered. The gay Roman ladies wore purple gowns, and perhaps Postumia appeared in a purple gown, for which the high-priest may have reprov'd her, for had the white dress been fixed by law, she could scarcely have erred.

The story of Juno nodding may be true, for many of the Etruscan statues were made like the Chinese nodding Mandarins. The story of the water rising in the Alban Lake is a certain fact, and modern naturalists believe that they have ascertained its cause, though it was unknown to the Romans. Shortly before it happened, there had been violent earthquakes in Sicily and Greece, which disturbed the mountains of Italy; rocks were probably then moved out of their places, which stopped up the underground outlets of Lake Alba, and consequently the streams which flowed into it increased its volume, and would continue to do so until they could meet with a drain.

The Emissarium still exists, and is high enough for a man to stand upright in, and broad enough for two men to work abreast. Fifty pits were sunk from the mountain down to the level of this drain, so that upwards of a hundred men could work in it at once, in different parts. As soon as the line was completed, small holes were bored in the rock which bordered the lake, and the water trickled through and afforded an outlet which prevented the surface from overflowing, without much

annoying the workmen. When the whole was finished, this rock was entirely cut away, and the water flowed like an underground river, and was dissipated in a thousand channels at the other side, dispersing itself through the fields and meadows. When the lake had sunk to its present level, the Latins built an arch and portico at the mouth of the Emissarium. So substantial was the original work, that it has scarcely required repair since its first construction. The earthquakes preceding the overflow affected the air, and caused a pestilence, together with such severe cold, that during the siege of Veii, the Tiber was choked up with ice, the snow lay seven feet deep upon the ground, the walls and roofs of numerous buildings were injured, and almost all the vines and fruit-trees perished.

The oracle of Delphi did not return the answer which was published by the Senators. They probably did not understand the Greek response, and they composed an answer of their own, to agree with the words of the Haruspex, being persuaded that his plan was likely to issue in their success.

## CHAPTER XV.

FALERII—CAPTURE OF ROME BY THE GAULS.

B.C. 393 TO 388. Y.R. 360 TO 365.\*



ROMAN SENATOR AND CONSUL.

**AFTER** the fall of Veii, the war still continued with Capena and Falerii. The Roman armies in Capena cut down the fruit trees and laid waste the country, and the Capenians, afraid of being starved, sued for peace. They were at first received as allies, and a few years afterwards became a part of the Roman people, and were formed into a Plebeian tribe which bore their name.

\* Authorities: Livy, v. 26 ; vi. ; Nieb. ii. p. 526, et seq.

Camillus was intrusted with the war against Falerii, a state as powerful as Veii. The city was well provisioned and strongly garrisoned, and, like Veii, was situated on a high table-land, surrounded by deep valleys and rocky cliffs.

The Tuscans had entrenched themselves a mile from the city, and Camillus was at a loss how to attack them, until a prisoner whom he had bribed showed him the road to an eminence from which he could command their position. Camillus encamped there, and drove his enemies within the town, but he had no hopes of subduing it, and he earnestly desired a speedy peace, that he might return to Rome, where the Tribunes were undermining his influence and endeavouring to wrest from him the fruit of his conquests in Veii.

At this juncture, it is said that the master of a college in Falerii, to which the Patrician youth were sent, led his boys beyond the city, and through the Roman lines into the general's tent. Having thus delivered them into Camillus's hands, the unprincipled wretch told him that the city was at his disposal, for that these boys were the sons of the princes, who would consent to any terms in order to procure their ransom. Camillus replied, that the Romans did not make war with unarmed boys, but with armed men. He caused the traitor to be stripped, bound his hands behind his back, and put a scourge into the hands of each of the boys, with which they flogged him back into the city.

The Falerian princes, being won by this act of generosity, consented to a truce with Camillus, and sent to Rome offering to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance. They confessed that the victory which Roman prowess had failed to win, had been gained over them by Roman virtue, and they bound themselves for a long term of years, not to make war upon the Romans. Sutrium and Nepete, rich cities, which are supposed to have been dependencies of Veii, became now the frontier towns between Rome and Etruria.

Camillus, after his return home, occupied himself with apportioning the lands and spoils of Veii, the tenth of which he had vowed to Apollo, and he maintained that in this vow every article was included which belonged to the city at the time it was conquered. The soldiers,

who had plundered without restraint, were extremely angry at this interpretation; for, having spent or exchanged their booty, they could neither recover the goods nor estimate their value. The Senate, therefore, imposed it upon every man's conscience to tax himself, and the whole booty was reckoned at 12,000,000 of Asses, which belonged in equal shares, to the Hernicans, the Romans, and the Latins. The Senate decreed that their portion should be represented by a golden bowl, which should be conveyed in state from Rome to Delphi; and as they had not a sufficient quantity of gold in the treasury, the matrons came forward and lent their earrings and bracelets to make up the required weight. The quantity lent was repaid afterwards, but in gratitude for present help, the Senators decreed that the matrons should henceforward drive through the streets in open carriages, and attend the great public ceremonies in covered carriages drawn by horses or mules. Before this time the only persons allowed to drive in the city were kings, dictators, and triumphers.

Three Patricians were deputed to convey the golden bowl to Delphi, and they sailed prosperously as far as Lipara, where a vessel on the look-out for pirates seized and captured them. They were brought before Timasitheus, the chief magistrate of the island, who, after he had heard their mission, and seen the bowl, forwarded them in one of his own ships to Delphi. The offering was safely lodged in the treasury of the Massilians, a Greek people who lived in the city now called Marseilles, and who were in alliance with Rome.

On the return of the ambassadors, the Senate bestowed the freedom of their city on the friendly magistrate; and when, many years afterwards, they conquered Lipara, his family was protected, and received an immunity from taxes for ever.

Great disputes now arose about the lands of Veii, which the Tribunes insisted should be divided amongst the Plebeians, whilst the Patricians were anxious to reserve them as *Ager Publicus*, of which they might have the use. One of the Tribunes proposed that a part of the nation should emigrate to Veii, consisting of the two orders in equal proportions; but the Patricians swore they would rather die than consent to abandon their sacred

city, which had been founded with solemn auguries, and so frequently preserved by divine interposition. On the day when this question was to be decided, the Patricians canvassed all the tribes, entreating them to vote against it, and twice they gained a majority of one in their favour.

To pacify the Plebeians, they sent 3000 men to colonise some lands, lately conquered from the *Æqui*, and assigned three and a half acres to each man. But this, whilst it roused the *Volsci* to arms, who did not choose so many strange families to be settled near them, by no means satisfied the citizens, each of whom had looked forward to a property of his own in *Veii*. After much intrigue, the affair was compromised by the Senate allotting seven acres of *Veientine* land to each Plebeian father of a family who had been at the siege.

*Camillus* had made himself obnoxious to the Plebeians by his constant opposition to their interests, and their indignation knew no bounds when they discovered that he had fraudulently underrated the tax upon his own spoils, and that he had concealed two valuable bronze gates which had been taken from *Veii*. They fined him, and his clients were willing to pay the fine. But *Camillus* insisted upon being absolved from the charge, and as that was impossible, he would not stand his trial, but exiled himself to *Ardea*. In his absence he was condemned, and his property confiscated.

Scarcely had *Camillus* quitted Rome when ambassadors arrived from *Clusium*, one of the Tuscan states, to ask aid from the Romans against the Gauls. These Envoys informed the Senate, that *Aruns* of *Clusium* had been wronged by the reigning *Lucumo*, who had taken away his wife; and as he could not obtain justice at home, he had sought vengeance from the Gauls, whom he induced to invade his country by the promise of vineyards and lands.

The Gauls were a wild and fierce people occupying the territory now called France. They were divided into many tribes, and when their population increased beyond their rude means of support, they used to emigrate in large numbers into other countries. They had spread themselves in Germany along the *Hyrclinian* forest, and a hundred years previous to this period, they had conquered

from the Etruscans the fertile vales of the Po, and the country which extends from the French Alps to the Adriatic. In this district they built Mediolanum, Laus Pompeia, and Mutina, the present Milan, Lodi, and Modena.

The tribe which Aruns led to Clusium was the Senones, and they besieged the city with 30,000 men. The Roman Senate, desirous of avoiding war with the Gauls, agreed to send Feciales, who should mediate between them and the Tuscans; and they selected for this mission three Fabii, sons of the chief pontiff, Fabius Ambustus. These men were honourably received in the great Gallic Council, and delivered their message to Brennus, the king, announcing to him that he must refrain from war with the Tuscans, because they were the allies of the Roman people. The Gauls replied, that they had never heard of the Romans, but since they were a people to whom the Clusians had appealed for aid, they presumed them to be brave, and would willingly admit their mediation. Their terms were a grant of lands in Clusium, upon the cession of which they would conclude peace. The Fabii asked what right the Gauls had to claim lands from a nation of strangers? Upon which they grasped their arms and exclaimed fiercely, "Our right is in our swords,—all things belong to the brave."

The negotiations were broken off, and the Fabii, forgetting their sacred character as messengers of peace, mingled in the battle which ensued. Quintus Fabius killed one of the Gaulish generals, and was recognised whilst stripping off his armour, upon which the Gauls immediately stopped the fight, that they might not be guilty of the blood of an ambassador.

Brennus vowed he would march to Rome, and take vengeance for so great a violation of the common law of nations, but he was persuaded first to send deputies to the Senate, complaining of what had happened, and requiring that the Fabii should be delivered up to justice. The Roman Senate, though they acknowledged the crime, did not dare to punish the delinquents, and the Curiae not only acquitted the Fabii, but elected them Consular Tribunes for the next year.

When the insulted Gauls returned to their king with this information, Brennus swore the destruction of Rome.

He sent to the Senones, on the Adriatic, a kindred tribe, 40,000 of whom joined him, and with a host 74,000 strong, he set forward on his march. He was only three days traversing the intervening country; and the Romans, taken by surprise, were not able to assemble more than 40,000 to oppose him. They arrested his progress near the junction of the Allia and the Tiber, but they had no time to make entrenchments, and they were obliged immediately to form themselves in order of battle. To avoid being surrounded, they extended their front and made it everywhere too weak. Their line was consequently broken, and their right wing, becoming panic-stricken, threw away their arms and strove to cross the Tiber and escape to Veii. The left wing, equally panic-stricken, would not fight, but fled to Rome. Many thousands of the Romans were drowned, besides the slain, and the rest dispersed as rapidly as possible into the neighbouring cities, without even attempting further opposition. They were frightened at the appearance of the Gauls, and at the noise they made with their warlike instruments.

Rome was left without soldiers and without defence; but fortunately her enemies wasted two nights and a day in gathering up the spoil, and ravaging the country, thus affording the inhabitants time to carry off or bury their precious things. The most warlike of the Patricians retired into the *Arx*, (or Castle,) in the Capitol, which they garrisoned with 1000 chosen men, and stored with all the provisions to be found in the city. Thither also they carried such state records as they had time to remove. What could not be otherwise rescued, they packed into casks, and buried close to the house of the Flamen Quirinalis. The women and children were sent away, and the six Vestal virgins, bearing the sacred fire and implements of sacrifice, walked with them up the Janiculum, on their route to Cære. Albinus, a Plebeian, was carrying his wife and children in the same direction when they approached. He descended from his carriage, and desired them to occupy it, for he would never drive whilst the ministers of the gods went on foot. The Vestals entered, and he drove them to Cære, where they were honourably entertained, and continued to exercise their religious rites until they were again able to return to Rome.



Amongst the few who remained in Rome, were eighty old Patricians, all of whom had been Dictators, Triumphers, or Consuls. These men believed that if they devoted themselves to death, it would atone for the guilt of the Fabii, and restore prosperity to their country. They therefore made Fabius Ambustus, the father of the guilty ambassadors, administer to them the oath of self-sacrifice; and when the Gauls entered Rome, they remained tranquilly in the Forum, each robed in his purple mantle, throned in an ivory chair, and holding a sceptre in his hand.

The Gauls, finding the gates unguarded, burst them open, and wandered through the deserted city. When they reached the Forum, they beheld the eighty Senators seated like so many gods, whilst above them rose the strong walls of the Capitol, bristling with armed men. At first they were struck with awe, and thought themselves in an assembly of deities. The priests in this august assembly were distinguished by long beards, and a Gaul, attracted by the singularity, went up to the aged Papirius, and stroked his beard. Papirius angrily struck him on the head with his sceptre, and the spell was broken. The Gaul drew his sword, and these venerable Senators were all slain. The Romans believed that their gods were appeased by the sacrifice, and they now felt secure that they should finally triumph.

The Gauls invested the Capitol for nearly eight months, and were so certain of their prey, that they would hearken to no proposals short of absolute surrender. After a time, their provisions failed, and thousands of them marched forwards into Apulia, burning and plundering as they went. Those who remained in Rome set fire to the city and consumed the greater part of it, after which they began to pull down the walls; and had they stayed much longer, Rome would have been entirely destroyed. As it was, they spared the Palatine, the Janiculum, many of the temples, and the Circus Maximus. One army of Gauls attacked Ardea, and was defeated by Camillus, another marched to Antium, and was repulsed by the Volsci.

One day the Gauls at Rome were surprised by a Patrician named Fabius Dorso, who, clothed in white, walked boldly through the midst of them to his own palace

in the Quirinal, with the instruments of sacrifice in his hands, and made his customary offerings to his domestic Lar. He returned in the same manner, and as he was unarmed, no one impeded him, for all the ancient nations had a deep reverence for religion, and a respect for religious men.

Another day, some of the Gauls observed a bush torn up underneath the present Araceli, on the steep ascent of the Capitol; and they saw footmarks, in evidence that some one had climbed up. When Brennus was informed of it, he concerted a night attack by the same path, to surprise the sentinels and gain the ramparts. The men followed each other in single file, and proceeded so silently, that the foremost had reached the top without being heard either by the guards or by the dogs. He was just climbing over the wall when some geese, which were kept in the court, and which were sacred to Juno, cackled and awoke Marcus Manlius, one of the generals. He snatched up his arms, flew to the spot, and caught hold of the Gaul, whom he dashed over the rocks, and this fall occasioned the discomfiture of the whole line.

Manlius not only saved the Citadel, the last hope of Rome, but the lives of all within it; and the next day the men, though they were perishing with famine, voted him half their allowance of food. The sentinel, who had been sleeping on his post, was punished by having his hands tied behind him, and being tossed down from the ramparts.

The uprooted bush observed by the Gaul had been detached by a Roman named Titus Cominius, who had climbed up to the Capitol, bearing a petition from his countrymen in Veii to the besieged Patricians, that they would cancel the ban of Camillus and sanction his return. Twenty thousand soldiers, Romans and allies, were collected in Veii, and they felt how disgraceful it was to be idle and not even attempt the relief of the Capitol, but they had no experienced military chief at their head. The Plebeians had previously sent Titus Cominius to invite Camillus from Ardea, but he replied that, unless the Senate revoked his exile, he could not appear amongst them, far less could he exercise any authority.

All the Senators were inclosed in the Capitol, and unless some messenger could gain access to them there was no possibility of obtaining their consent. Titus

Cominius undertook the commission, and swam the Tiber supported by pieces of cork under his arms. He climbed the rock, procured the consent of the Senators, and in triumph returned to his employers. Camillus arrived at Veii and assumed the command, but he was not in time to deliver Rome.

The Gauls, who lay encamped round the walls during the unhealthy month of September, became sick of malaria fever, and lost so many men that they piled up their dead bodies in heaps, and burnt them in a place afterwards called the "Busta Gallica," near the present church of Sant Andrea. They were tired also of remaining so long in one place, and they received pressing messages from the Senones on the Adriatic, entreating their aid against the Venetians. They knew that the Roman garrison were starving, reduced to eating the soles of their shoes and the leather of their shields, and they daily expected them to capitulate; but the besieged were still resolved not to surrender at discretion. In the last despair, they baked all the flour they had left, and threw the bread at their enemies. Upon this the Gauls, thinking they had been deceived as to their extreme distress, offer to ransom Rome for 1000 pounds of gold.

A truce was proclaimed, and the matrons gave up their golden ornaments; but that not sufficing, the deficient weight was supplied from the sacred treasury of Jupiter, the Senators being under a vow to restore it double in future days. When the gold was delivered, it is said that the Gauls balanced it with false weights. The Roman commander remonstrated, upon which Brennus threw his sword into the scale, and sternly exclaimed, "*Væ victis*," "Woe to the vanquished." The Gauls marched off with the ransom, and reached their homes in safety, leaving Rome desolate, but free.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XV.

WHEN the Romans in after times were occupied with writing their history for posterity, they composed a romantic legend upon this last scene, to increase the fame of Camillus and magnify their own exploits. According to

the legend, Camillus was created Dictator before the gold was promised to the Gauls, and he arrived with his 20,000 men, as it was being weighed. When he saw Brennus throw his sword into the scale, he indignantly commanded that it should be removed, and sent back all the gold to the treasury of Jupiter. He pronounced the whole transaction to be void, and exclaimed, "Rome does not redeem herself with gold but with steel." At the same time, making ready for battle, he fought with the Gauls and drove them away; and in a second contest near Gabii, he destroyed their army, and retook all the spoil they had plundered from Rome. This last battle is probably a mistake for a great victory which the Cerites really gained over the Gauls, as they were returning from Apulia through the Sabine territory.

When the Gauls retired, Rome was infected, unhealthy, and in great part reduced to ashes. The Senators desired the people to return and rebuild it, but they disliked the task, having become accustomed to the more beautiful and more comfortable Veii. The Tribunes pleaded a thousand reasons why they should remain, and as the Patricians alone had any great interest in Rome, it was on the point of being abandoned altogether. They, however, swore that they would not hear of two cities as Roman capitals, for one would soon be the rival of the other.

Disputes were running high in the Senate, which was assembled in the Curia Hostilia, and the Plebeians were waiting without to hear the decision, when a Centurion passed through with a band of men who had been changing guard. He called out, "Standard-bearer, fix your ensign here; this is the best place for it to remain." The Senators exclaimed, "Let us accept the omen. Let us remain here." The people consented, and the law was passed that Veii should be evacuated. Every householder was obliged to return to Rome, and within a year to rebuild his own habitation. The Senate granted bricks, stones, and wood, and allowed the people to build where they found it most convenient, instead of keeping to the wide, straight streets of old Rome, through the centre of which the common sewers used to run. It is supposed that much of the bricks and stone, the pillars and the ornamental work, were taken from Veii, which the Senators were anxious to destroy. Even so lately as A.D. 1838, Rome

was still extracting embellishments from Veii ; for marble pillars were brought from some excavations there, which were placed in front of the Roman Post-office. These pillars, however, were of a much later age than the Veii of Camillus, and probably belonged to a colony settled in Veii under the Roman Emperors.

I have deferred until this chapter to explain how it is that we are certain about so much of the early history of Rome, and why so many points remain doubtful. Up to this period, all the History possessed by the Romans was contained either in the linen books and the state records, called *Fasti*, or in brazen monuments and slabs, or in the family eulogies and funeral songs. The Gauls destroyed a number of the *Fasti*, which could never be recovered. These had to be restored from memory, and many of them were purposely falsified in order to represent the Romans as braver and more fortunate than they really had been. A great many monuments, however, were saved, about the genuineness of which men could not be mistaken, such as the buildings in Rome, the statues of the Seven Kings, Tarquin's treaty with Gabii, the League of Sp. Cassius with the Latins, the treaty with Carthage, the Laws of the XII. Tables, which the Roman boys had to learn by heart, the spoils which Cossus took from Lars Tolumnius, and many others. Almost all the laws were preserved, including those of the kings, but without dates. The accounts of the pestilences and famines seem also to have been correct. The funeral songs of the great families were very much altered, and were often recomposed by the clients and bards, to exalt the honour of their patrons, without any regard to truth. The poetical legends of Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, Camillus, and others, are of this nature, and originate in the propensity of men to represent those whom they love as always right, and those whom they dislike as always wrong.

Rome was never afterwards burned during the republic, and therefore her records are more certain from this time forward than in the period preceding.

To commemorate the geese saving the Capitol, the Romans made a golden goose, and instituted a yearly festival, when it was carried in triumph, and a dog was sacrificed, because the dogs did not bark. In honour of the matrons who yielded their ornaments to the Gauls,

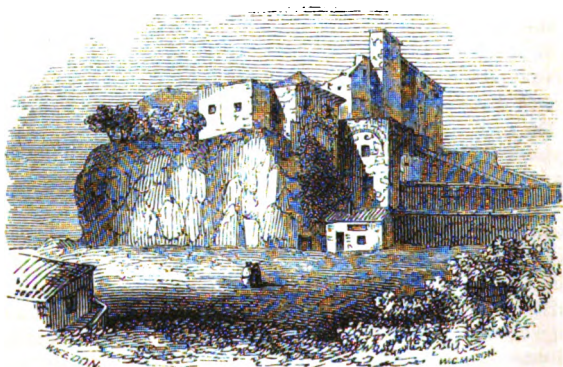
funeral eulogies were henceforth permitted to meritorious women as well as to eminent men. Previously, a woman's tombstone had little inscribed upon it excepting her name, but afterwards praise and touching expressions of affection and regret were often added ; and many of those inscriptions are to be seen in Roman museums. The good Albinus, who took care of the Vestal Virgins, was made Consular Tribune twelve years afterwards.

The Roman commanders henceforward announced their victories to the Senate by letters wreathed with laurel. Olive was the symbol of peace, and laurel of triumph.

## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE FALL OF VEII TO THE SAMNITE WAR.

B.C. 388 TO 341. Y.R. 365 TO 412.\*



TARPEIAN ROCK.

**CAMILLUS** was continued in the Dictatorship for a year that he might superintend and enforce the rebuilding of Rome, because the people disliked the work, and would not continue it voluntarily. The treasury being exhausted, the Romans were reduced to solicit contributions from their allies, both to complete their buildings and to repay the temple gold. Amongst others to whom they sent, were the inhabitants of Massilia (now Marseilles); and the Massilians, who were well acquainted with the barba-

\* Authorities: Livy, vi.; vii. 33; Nieb. ii. and iii. in loco; Ant. Hist. xii.

riches of the Gauls, not only sent the Romans all the metal they could spare, but went into mourning, out of sympathy, for their late calamities. The Romans, in return, gave the Massilians precedence over all their other allies, and granted them the rights of citizenship.

Rome was for a time prostrate and powerless. Tibur and Præneste warred against her for forty years, and Latium occasionally assisted the hostile Volsci. The first act of the Romans, in order to strengthen themselves, was to double their territory by the incorporation of Veii, which they divided into four new Tribes, making the Veientes Roman Plebeians, and increasing the number of Tribes to twenty-five.

The neighbouring Lucumonies of Volacini and Tarquinia took alarm at this politic measure, and surprised Sutrium and Nepete; but both were retaken by Camillus, and the Etruscans concluded with Rome a peace for forty years.

Nevertheless the unquiet state of the country required armies for defence, and the armies required taxes to maintain them. These taxes heavily increased the distress of the debtors, who seem now to have composed the great mass of the people. Marcus Manlius, the deliverer of the Capitol, pitied the debtors, and disliked Camillus, who, on his side, despised the whole mass of the Plebeians, and upheld the rights and privileges of the Patricians.

One day, when Manlius was in the Forum with a band of his attendants, he saw a soldier who had served as a Centurion under him, amongst the number of those *addicti*\* who were led to prison. He warmly exclaimed, that his soldiers might as well have been slaves to the Gauls as to the Patricians, and he paid the man's debts and liberated him. The grateful Centurion followed him with blessings, and extolled his generosity to the people. He related to them that he had been ruined by being obliged to rebuild his house in Rome, and by the necessity of serving in the constant wars of his country. He said that he had paid the money of his original debt over and over again in interest, yet the debt had continued to accumulate beyond his power to discharge.

Manlius was so affected by the distress which this

\* *Addicti* were debtors delivered over to chains and imprisonment. *Nexi* were debtors still at large.



tale unfolded, that he sold his Veientine lands, and spent the money in releasing debtors. By this conduct, he became beloved and popular, and the poor Plebeians placed themselves at his command. He aggravated their grievances, however, by asserting that the Patricians not only excluded them from the public lands, but continued the taxes for their own benefit; and he cited as an example, the ransom paid to the Gauls, which he affirmed had been more than replaced, and still the tax for it was exacted. The money, he said, was secreted by the Patricians, and applied to purposes of their own. The exasperated people assembled in crowds at the house of Manlius on the Capitol, and asked him where the gold was hid, but he answered, that he could not reveal that until the proper time.

Meanwhile, the alarmed Patricians commanded Cossus, the Dictator, who was warring against the Volsci, to return to Rome for their protection. He transferred his throne from the Forum to the Comitium, and ordering Manlius before him, he reproached him bitterly with exciting the passions of the people, and commanded him either to disclose where the Senate had hidden the gold, or to be imprisoned as a false accuser. Manlius replied, that if he should name the place, he knew that the Senators would remove the gold. If they wished to calm the people, they had only to alleviate the burden of their debts, and deduct from them what had been already paid. Cossus ordered Manlius to be loaded with chains and committed to prison, and this was executed without resistance, notwithstanding the number of his personal attendants, and the multitude of grieved Plebeians by whom he was surrounded.

The greatness of the Romans was mainly founded upon their deep veneration for law, and their precept that "No man was fit for command who did not know how to obey." The people allowed Marcus Manlius, who had saved the Capitol, to be led to prison, because he was condemned by lawful authority; but after he was incarcerated they put on mourning, and assembled in crowds about his dungeon, exalting his merits, and abusing those who had condemned him. The Senate thinking it expedient to diminish the number of his partisans, sent 2000 of them away as colonists to Satricum. But the people

were not conciliated, and the crowds increased, so that the Senate, to prevent sedition, set their captive at liberty.

Manlius was a proud man, and had been made prouder and harder by his confinement. He hated his own order, and was resolved, at all hazards, to relieve the Plebeians from their debts. For this purpose, he fortified his house on the Capitol, and encouraged the distressed to resort to him there as their patron, thus imprudently giving the Senate a pretext to destroy him. They first secured the co-operation of the Plebeian Tribunes, by persuading them that Manlius had supplanted them in the favour of the people, and then they accused him of aspiring to sovereignty, and summoned him to take his trial by the Centuries, for life or death. Manlius might have exiled himself, but he felt sure of his acquittal, and therefore would not fly. He put on mourning, and the people, regarding him as a man persecuted for their sakes, increased in the fervour of their compassion. Yet they were staggered when they remarked that none of his own relations mourned with him, and that he was prosecuted for ambition by their own Tribunes.

The Romans were taught from their childhood to hold Kings in as great horror as Protestants do Popes, and they became terrified lest Manlius really should have befriended them with the intention of making himself a King. He was tried in sight of the Capitol, and made his own defence, by producing 400 persons whose debts he had paid. He showed his wounds, and displayed the spoils he had taken, and the number of crowns he had won in battle. He afterwards named those whose lives he had saved, and amongst them Caius Servilius, the Magister Equitum; but this man, when summoned, had the baseness not to appear. He lastly pointed to the temple and the fortress on the Capitol, which he had delivered from the Gauls; and the people, unable to bear the appeal, acquitted him, and agreed that so eminent a citizen must not be destroyed. He returned to his house and kept it fortified as before, but the Patricians having made his enemy, Camillus, Dictator, assembled in a grove of their own, outside the Nomentine Gate, whence the Capitol was not visible, and there they condemned him as a traitor, to be scourged and beheaded. It is said, that

a slave bore the decree, and gained admission to him by pretending to be a deserter from the Patricians; and whilst Manlius was walking along the cliff of the Tarpeian Rock, talking to him, this man pushed him over, and he fell headlong and was killed.

The Senate commanded his house to be razed, and passed a law that no Patrician should ever again dwell on the Capitol; and the Manlian *gens* decreed, that none of their members should any more bear the name of "Marcus." The Patricians re-established their power, but a pestilence and famine, which visited Rome soon after, were regarded by the people as sent by heaven to avenge the death of Manlius.

In the year 374, Camillus was made one of the Consular Tribunes, and he and Lucius Furius were sent to defend Satricum against the Volsci. Camillus wished to avoid an engagement, but Furius, being confident of success, was eager for battle. He at last led his troops to action, contrary to the advice of Camillus, and would have been shamefully defeated, had not the latter rallied his men and saved the camp. Amongst the prisoners were some Tusculans, and Camillus conducted them to Rome, for he was alarmed at the idea of Tusculum having joined the enemies of his nation. He left the army with Furius, for he said his late misfortunes must have taught him caution. It was expected that he would accuse Furius of incapacity, and cause him to be degraded, but he only complained to the Senate of the Tusculans; and when war was declared against their state, and he was appointed commander, he begged permission to choose his own co-adjutor, and named Furius. This caused a lasting friendship between the two generals, and they marched together to the city of Tusculum, the ruins of which still crown the hills of Frascati.

There, instead of finding the gates closed, and the fortress garrisoned for war, all the men were peaceably carrying on their various occupations. The shops were open, the children were playing in the narrow streets, and the women were walking about. When the Roman army approached, the Senators went out in white togas to welcome them, and the Generals were asked their commands. The Consuls stated their complaints, and the magistrates assured them that those Tusculans who had joined the

Volsci had done so without their permission, and should be punished. They willingly acknowledged Rome as the head of the Latins, and bound themselves to treat all her wishes with deference and respect. In consequence, Tusculum continued to live under her own princes and laws, and received in addition the citizenship of Rome.

Shortly after this the Senate imposed a tax for rebuilding the stone walls of Servius Tullius, which the Gauls had destroyed. This tax, by increasing the misery and burdens of the debtors to an intolerable degree, led to a remarkable revolution in the State.

Marcus Fabius, who had been Consular Tribune, in conjunction with Camillus and Furius, had two daughters, the elder married to Sulpicius, a Patrician, and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich Plebeian. It is said that the younger Fabia was one day visiting her sister, when Sulpicius, then Consular Tribune, returned home; and that she was alarmed by the noise the Lictors made, when they knocked at the door to announce the arrival of their princely magistrate. Her sister laughed at her surprise, and reproached her for her Plebeian marriage, because, since the death of Manlius, none of the Curule offices had been shared with the Plebeians. She, being deeply mortified, complained both to her husband and father, and the latter bade her not fret, for she should soon share the honours of her sister. It cannot be true that she was frightened at the Lictors, for she had been accustomed to them in her father's house, but she probably fanned the flame already kindled in her husband's breast, and roused Licinius to the part he afterwards acted.

Her father, Fabius, united with Licinius, and his friend Lucius Sextius. They were elected Plebeian Tribunes together, and to the terror of the Patricians, they insisted upon introducing three new laws: 1st,—That Consuls should be restored, and that one should always be a Plebeian. 2d,—That no Patrician should be suffered to appropriate to himself more than 500 acres of the common land; and that whatever he occupied beyond that amount should be taken from him, and allotted in small portions to the Plebeians, which would pay off much of their debts. 3d,—That whatever sums of money the debtors had already paid, should be deducted

from the principal, and the remainder should be discharged in equal portions, during the next three years.

The Patricians were infuriated at the mention of these laws. They refused to resign any portion of the Ager Publicus ; their power was greatly increased by keeping the people in debt ; and they would not hear of sharing the Consulship. Yet they were perplexed how to act, for as two Plebeians joined in these demands, their usual resource failed them, and they could not accuse either of aspiring to be king. In this dilemma, they gained over the other Tribunes, and through their veto, managed, year after year, to defeat the laws, as often as they were proposed.

But, year after year, Licinius and Sextius continued Tribunes, in order to carry them, and they never broke the existing laws, that they might finally obtain their end. They waited patiently, and did not "do evil that good might come." At last, after eight years of perseverance, five of the Tribunes joined them, and the Patricians saw no hopes of baffling the measure but by creating Camillus Dictator for the purpose.

The people offered to abandon the Consulship, provided their debts were relieved, but Licinius and Sextius said they would pass all the three laws together, or none. The Dictator, Camillus, threatened, unless they were more tractable, to raise an army, and order all the young men out of Rome. But the populace were so excited, that he judged it better to resign his Dictatorship, than, by persisting, to create a civil war. The Patricians called the contending Tribunes "Disturbers of the public peace, Tarquinii," and every evil name they could devise. But, at last, to avert a secession of the Plebeians, the Senators were obliged to pass all the three laws, reserving to themselves the dignity of Custos Urbis, and the two Curule Edileships, to which no Plebeian might aspire.

Lucius Sextius was made the first Plebeian Consul, and the Senate, in gratitude for their deliverance from the imminent danger of civil war, commemorated the event by adding one day to the Latin *Feriæ*, or feasts. They were increased from three to four.

A pestilence and famine desolated Rome, and the people imagined two remedies, both of which were equally ridiculous. First, they brought actors from

Etruria, to act religious pieces to the sound of music ; and as these men were called "Hister," in Tuscan, the Latin actors who imitated them were named "Histriones." This is the origin of our word *Histrionic*. Secondly, as the pestilence continued, they made Lucius Manlius Dictator, on purpose to drive a nail into the door of the Capitoline Temple. This was done in the second year, and was supposed to be effectual, for the pestilence seems never to have endured more than two years together. Amongst its many victims, was the great Camillus, at the age of eighty. He was called "The second Romulus," because he rebuilt Rome ; and the thatched hut in which he dwelt upon the Capitol during his Dictatorship, was preserved for ages, and shown as that of Romulus. He was the first general who extended the Roman dominions beyond the Tiber, and who made any conquests which were at once important and lasting.

No sooner had Manlius resigned his Dictatorship, than the Plebeian Tribune, Pomponius, prosecuted him for cruelty to his son Titus Manlius, an unfortunate youth who had an impediment in his speech, on which account his ill-tempered father conceived an aversion to him, and doomed him to hard labour amongst the slaves in the country. The people were much incensed, but when Titus heard of the prosecution, he felt indignant that a Plebeian should dare to impeach his lately despotic father. He took a dagger, and early the next morning, appeared at Pomponius's house in Rome, and desired to speak with him. Pomponius was in bed, but as he did not doubt that the young man was come to lodge worse complaints against his father, he admitted him. Titus Manlius entered, and desired to be left with the Tribune alone. He went up to his bed, and stood over him with the dagger glittering at his throat, and he threatened to murder him on the spot, unless he swore to drop the prosecution. The Tribune submitted, and Titus Manlius returned home. All men admired his filial affection, and his father regarded him in a different light from that day forward.

Rome was now threatened by an army of the Gauls, assisted by the Hernici and Tiburtines. A prodigy occurred which created great alarm, lest it should be an omen in their favour. The earth opened in the Forum

at the Curtian Lake, and the chasm yawned wide. The Augurs, on being consulted, replied, "That it would not close until the strength of the republic was thrown into it, and then the Roman dominions should be everlasting." No one could solve this enigma, when Marcus Curtius, a distinguished Knight, came forward, and asked if Rome had anything stronger than her soldiers and her arms? "These," he said, "I will devote to the angry gods in my own person." He adorned himself and his horse in his stateliest gear, and then plunged into the abyss. A crowd assembled to witness the deed, and they threw in fruits, flowers, and earth, until the place was filled up. It was ever after called the "Lacus Curtius," and occupied the ground where the Meta Sudans now stands, close to the Colosseum.

The Romans, secure of ultimate victory, were not discouraged by frequent defeats; but at last the Gauls advanced to within three miles of Rome, to a bridge over the Anio, now Ponte Salario. The Romans strove to repel them, and disputed the possession of the bridge. One day, a gigantic Gaul, in brilliant armour, appeared on the centre of it, and defied the Romans to produce a champion who could fight with him. Young Titus Manlius, who was now removed from drudgery, and serving in the cavalry, solicited and obtained the Dictator's leave to accept the challenge. He attired himself in plain bronze armour, with a stout broad sword, and a square shield, and he looked a very puny opponent to the mighty and magnificently dressed giant. The Gaul glittered in heavy armour, painted gaily, and inlaid with gold, underneath which he wore a vest of many and dazzling colours. Manlius warded off his blows, until, gliding beneath the huge shield, he plunged his sword into his enemy's body, and laid him groaning on the earth. He removed the *torques* (or collar of solid gold) which was round the Gaul's neck, and put it on his own, whence he bore afterwards the name of *Torquatus*. This name of honour descended to his children, as was customary amongst the Romans. The Dictator returned him public thanks, and presented him with a golden crown.

The Gauls retreated upon Tibur, and for many years continued to make war upon Rome and Latium, which

occasioned the Latins to renew their old league with Rome, and in Y.R. 397 they once more acknowledged her as their head.

The Gauls next allied themselves with the Volsci, and after a time, they and the Romans met near the Pomptine marshes, and again a giant stepped forth from the Gallic host, and dared the Romans to fight him. Marcus Valerius, a young Patrician, offered himself as champion, and is said to have gained the victory by means of a crow which perched itself upon the Gaul's helmet, and whenever he attempted to fight, flapped its wings and pecked at his eyes, so that he could not see, and was consequently slain. Valerius took the title of "Corvus," or the Crow, and his descendants were called "Corvini." The Gauls were repulsed, and Valerius was awarded ten oxen and a golden crown, and was elected Consul the year following, though he was only twenty-three years old, instead of forty-three, the legal age. He concluded peace with the Gauls and Volscians, and at his triumph drove 4000 Volscians in chains before his chariot. The treaty with the Gauls was afterwards ratified by the Romans with rich presents, and the ransom of all their prisoners.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XVI.

DURING the Consulship of Valerius Corvus, ambassadors arrived from Carthage to conclude a new treaty with Rome, differing slightly from the one made after the expulsion of the Tarquins. According to the tenor of this, the Carthaginians were allowed to plunder any Latin town which did not belong to Rome, and the natives of each contracting state were to be treated as friends and equals by those of the other.

About this period, Lucius Furius built a temple to Juno Moneta (the *Monitress* or *Adviser*), on the spot where the house of Marcus Manlius had once stood. Furius had been created Dictator against the Latins and Volsci, when they threatened Rome, and he ascribed his victory over them to the counsels of Juno, who, he said,



had appeared to him in a dream before the battle, and instructed him how to marshal his troops. Afterwards, this temple was converted into a mint, and the Asses coined in it were called "*Moneta*," from the title of Juno. *Moneta* is the origin of our word *money*.

In Y.R. 397 a war commenced with Etruria, which lasted seven years; 300 Roman Patricians were put to death in Tarquinia, and to revenge them, 358 Etruscans were executed in Rome. During this contest, which was terminated by a peace for 100 years, the Plebeian Consul, M. Popilius Lænas, created Marcius Rutilus, a Plebeian, Dictator, and Rutilus named another Plebeian to be his Magister Equitum. Rutilus was himself soon after elected Censor; and these are the first instances of Plebeians being admitted to share honours, which had been hitherto exclusively Patrician.

No one can feel surprised at the horror expressed by the wretched Roman debtors at the idea of being confined in prison, who has ever seen any of these ancient dungeons. In the Mamertine prisons of Tullus Hostilius, more than forty people have been confined together in a small cavern, without a chair to sit, or a bed to lie upon, and only the stucco floor upon which to rest. There is a pillar in the centre, to which they were chained with weights of ten pounds attached to their feet, and sometimes irons upon their hands. They were without light, excepting what penetrated through an aperture in the roof, by which they were let down. When it rained, this opening was probably covered by an awning, as the Romans did not use glass until much later. For the windows in their own houses they used various transparent substances, such as parchment, or oiled linen, or talc (a thin glassy kind of stone), but for public buildings they employed awnings of coarse canvass or woollen; and there are paintings in Italy supposed to have been executed at this time, if not earlier, of a Circus with the awning spread across it, to protect the actors from the sun.

The debtors were often scourged in the most cruel manner to make them sell themselves, and become *addicti*, or slaves, to their creditors. The position of the Clients was similar to that of retainers and servants of great families amongst ourselves. They were considered as equally bound with the children of the family

to the will of their Patrons, who stood in the light of Patriarchs.

All the children of a Roman were really slaves. The father had over them the power of life and death, and might sell them if he pleased. All their property, even when they were Generals and Consuls, belonged to the father; but he could, if he chose, liberate them by public ceremonies, and then their property became their own. Licinius Stolo, author of the law that no man might appropriate more than 500 acres of the *Ager Publicus*, was afterwards prosecuted for possessing 1000, and he asserted that he had not broken this law, for he had freed his son, so that they had only 500 acres each.

The slaves of this period, though sometimes very ill used, were generally well off. They were all Italians, as much as the Romans, and they would have been in all respects their equals, had not they, or their fathers, been captured in war. The Roman warriors knew that, though they were masters to-day, yet they might be the slaves of their neighbours to-morrow, and this kept them from being so tyrannical and haughty as they afterwards became when Africans and Asiatics served them.

The Roman slaves at this time worked by their master's side in the field, and ate with him at the same table, like the farmer's men in England; but of course the roughest and dirtiest work was always laid upon them. They sat upon benches below the children, and wore only a single garment, a shirt with an opening for the head, not unlike a Spanish poncho. In winter, when they went out, they threw over this a brown woollen vestment, which descended to the knees. Usually their legs and feet were bare, and when they were at work out-of-doors, they frequently wore only a single short garment, like the Highland kilt.

The dress of the female slaves was similar to that of the men—dark-coloured woollen, put on over the head, but reaching lower down the person, and they wore shoes. It was death for slaves to carry arms of any kind, or even knives, upon their persons.

The Tarpeian rock from which Manlius was thrown, is now an insignificant height, that any one might fall over without being much hurt. It was considerably higher in former days, but the earth at the bottom has

accumulated in masses, and it is not easy now to form an idea of the ancient cliff.

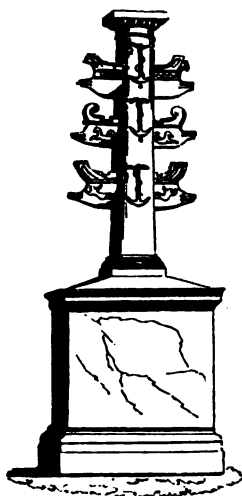
Crowns of different forms, and various materials, were always the highest distinctions conferred upon the warriors of Italy. The Romans had in later ages eight different kinds, but at this period only five. The "*corona triumphalis*," or triumphal crown, which was presented to Torquatus, and to such as gained a victory, was a wreath of golden laurel-leaves. The "*corona civica*," or civic crown, given for saving a comrade's life, was formed of oak-leaves, probably also in gold; Manlius had received eight of them. The "*corona muralis*," or mural crown, was of gold, and is said to have been given for first scaling the walls of a city; but as Manlius was the first to whom it was presented, it seems rather to have been conferred for preventing a fortress from being scaled: the circle of it was notched or parapeted round. The "*corona obsidionalis*," or besieger's crown, was composed of the grass which grew within a besieged city, fort, or camp, and was presented by the released army to their deliverer. The "*corona vallaris*," or crown of the bulwark, was a circlet of gold rising in long points: it was presented to him who first mounted the enemy's ramparts, or entered their city.

The Romans also awarded to their heroes golden armlets, silver trappings for their horses, and standards fancifully embroidered in their honour. These trophies once placed in a house were sacred to the memory of him who had won them, and were never removed, even though the dwelling should be sold to a different family, or pass through the hands of many proprietors. The rewards of this era were those suited to a lofty-minded people, honorary rather than enriching. They were the distinctions of Patriots, not of Bandits; testimonies to a man's worth and valour, not trophies of blood-stained wealth, or blood-earned power.

## CHAPTER XVII.

REDUCTION OF LATIUM.—FIRST AND SECOND SAMNITE  
WARS.

B.C. 341 TO 304. Y.R. 412 TO 449.\*



ROSTRA.

To the east and south of Latium lay Samnium, a mountainous country inhabited by a warlike and ambitious people, who aspired to the sovereignty of southern Italy. The Samnites were divided into several tribes,

\* Authorities: Livy, vii. 34, viii, ix. Nieb. Hist. iii., in loco. Ant. Hist. xii.

and had been continually extending their territories during the last two centuries. Upon the late irruption of the Gauls, they had allied themselves with the Romans to protect their frontiers; but the two nations had now become rivals, and it was evident that they could not long exist together.

At one period, the Samnites had conquered Capua from the Tuscans, but this city was now independent. In its neighbourhood, lay the small state of the Sidicini; the dominion of which the Samnites coveted, and they burned Teanum, the metropolis. The Sidicinians sought help from Capua, but as all Campania, of which that was the ruling city, was equally endangered by the Samnites and the Volsci, the threatened states solicited aid from Rome. The Romans answered, that the Samnites were their allies, and not subjects whom they could control. The Campanians offered to become allies also, and to form a coalition with the Romans and Latins, upon condition that the hostile movements of the Samnites should be checked. The Romans at once accepted this proposal, for they could not resist so important an accession to their league. A union with Campania would immediately render them superior to their rivals, Capua being the most opulent and most flourishing city in Italy; and in case of a war with the Samnites, or the Volsci, it was the most convenient station for the Roman troops.

The Romans and Latins sent two Consular armies to assist their new allies, and despatched heralds to the Samnites, informing them that as the Capuans, Campanians, and Sidicinians, had now acceded to the great Italian League, they must henceforth refrain from hostilities against them.

The Samnites, detecting and scorning the Roman fraud, indignantly separated themselves from the League, and immediately declared war. Their country was full of difficult mountain-passes, and their first exploit was to threaten with destruction one of the Consular armies, by surrounding it in a ravine. Publius Decius Mus, military Tribune, immortalized himself by rescuing it at the risk of his own life, and the lives of his division. He climbed a height which commanded the Samnites, and kept them employed with endeavouring to dislodge him, until the rest of the army had cleared the pass. His

gallant band was left separated from the main body, and their escape seemed hopeless; but when night fell, they glided unheard, through the midst of their sleeping and wearied enemies, and at dawn of day, raised a shout of triumph, whilst they marched exultingly into their own camp. The Consul rewarded Decius with a golden crown and a white ox with gilded horns, prepared for sacrifice to Mars. The soldiers gave him part of their corn and wine, and a *corona obsidionalis*, made of the grass of the ravine out of which he had delivered them.

Valerius Corvus, who was commander the year following, is said to have conquered from the Samnites 40,000 shields and 170 standards, which he exhibited in his triumph. All the allies of the Romans sent to congratulate them upon their success, and the Carthaginians complimented them by presenting a golden crown to the shrine of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The Consuls, according to treaty, placed a garrison in Capua, but they became much alarmed when they understood that their men, the greater part of whom were Roman debtors, did not intend to return home. On the contrary, being fretted by the chains and ill usage which they had endured, they plotted to escape by settling in Campania, and seizing the fortress of Capua for themselves. The Consuls pretended ignorance of their designs, and drew out the legions to be reviewed. They kindly dismissed all the old soldiers upon leave of absence to their own homes, and the men departed much gratified. It was presently perceived, however, that none of them returned, and the next division upon being dismissed, refused to go, and organized a mutiny throughout the army. They left Capua, forced Titus Quintius, an able commander, to head them under pain of death, and encamped close to Alba Longa, whence they defied Rome, requiring as the price of their submission, that their debts should be cancelled.

The Senate named Valerius Corvus Dictator, with full power to make terms with the mutineers. He marched out with a large army, and was so much beloved and respected, that when the mutineers saw him, they not only refrained from violence, but resigned their cause entirely into his hands. He listened to their complaints, and promised them the remission of their debts, and the

redress of their military grievances; upon which they enrolled themselves under his banners, and followed him back as loyal subjects into Rome. This mutiny compelled the Senate to conclude a humiliating and hasty peace with the Samnites, against whom they could no longer protect the Sidicinians.

The Sidicinians, though abandoned by Rome, were still supported by Latium and Campania, and did not despair of ultimate victory. The Latins were, however, unwilling to separate themselves from the Romans, who had so long been their companions in arms, and far more, to array themselves against them. They therefore, to avoid a rupture, proposed a coalition of dominions and interests. They offered to form one state, of which Rome should be the Capital; half of the Senators, and one of the Consuls, always being Latin. Ten of their princes came to Rome with this proposition, which they laid before the Senators assembled in the Capitol. When the Romans heard the terms, they not only rejected them with scorn, but Manlius Torquatus declared, that should they be accepted, he would enter the Senate with his sword drawn, the moment the Latins took their seats, and slay every Latin he found there!

Annius of Setia was the Latin spokesman, and as he left the Temple of Jupiter, he fell down the steps and lay stunned at the bottom. Torquatus proudly triumphed in his fall, whilst, with a loud voice, he proclaimed war, and said to the Senators, "Thus will I prostrate the Latins, as Jupiter has prostrated their ambassador." The two Consuls immediately encamped their legions near Capua, and though supported by the Samnites, they both dreaded to encounter troops who had for so many years fought along with them, under the same banners and against the same foes. They both dreamed in one night the same dream. They fancied that a spectre appeared, and warned them that a General from the one host, and a Legion from the other, were demanded in sacrifice by mother earth and the gods of the shades. The spectre added, that victory would belong to that side whose General should first fulfil this decree, by devoting himself to death along with the soldiers of his enemies. The Consuls assembled their officers and related the dream, adding that conquest was already theirs, for they had

agreed that whichever wing yielded first, the Consul commanding it should sacrifice himself for its safety. In the meanwhile no man was to fight unless attacked.

The Romans every day sent out horsemen to forage and to procure intelligence of the enemy. Titus Manlius, the son of Torquatus, upon one of these occasions, went near the Latin camp, and an old acquaintance of his, Metius of Tusculum, challenged him to single combat. He accepted from false shame, and after a short struggle, hurled his javelin between the ears of Metius's horse. The animal reared and threw his rider. Titus killed Metius as he lay upon the ground, and then stripped off his armour and carried it in triumph to his father. Manlius Torquatus received him sternly, collected the troops by sound of trumpet, presented to them his son, as an officer who had disobeyed his father and his Consul, and in their presence commanded the Lictors to bind and behead him. Contrary to Roman spirit, Manlius was not applauded for this deed, and when he returned in glory to Rome, none of the young men would go out to meet him. His severity afterwards passed into a proverb of reproach, as the "Manlian orders."

The ashes of young Manlius were honourably interred after the body had been burnt upon a pile, with the unlawful trophies he had won. This is the first instance of burning the dead mentioned amongst the Romans. The hostile armies came to a general engagement near Mount Vesuvius, and the spearmen of the left wing, under Decius Mus, were routed. He called to Valerius, the Roman Pontiff, who was also fighting, and said to him, "Come quickly and teach me the form of words in which I must devote myself, for now we require the aid of the gods." Valerius desired him to call upon the chief Roman deities, the Lares, and the gods of the Shades, and to devote himself with the Legions and allies of his enemies to them, in order to procure victory for the Romans and Quirites. Having repeated the words, he rushed into the midst of the Latin battalion, and fell covered with wounds. His enemies were dismayed and put to flight, his own men were reanimated, and the Romans gained the day.

This war was continued for two years longer, but in *Y. R.* 417 the whole of Latium acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. Some states were abolished and their



towns destroyed, but the greater proportion became faithful allies, and shared willingly in the future destinies of the republic. Part of the territory was admitted to form two new Plebeian Tribes. The State of Laurentum and the Knights of Capua, as they had throughout preserved their allegiance, were honoured with all the privileges of Roman citizens; and the Consuls who had brought this dreaded struggle to a conclusion, had bronze statues erected to them in the Forum.

About the year 422, Alexander, king of Epirus, a warlike Greek, concluded an alliance with the Romans. He had been invited from Greece to the assistance of Tarentum, a rich and powerful settlement of the Greeks in Italy. The Tarentines were constant allies of the Samnites, and had aided them to subdue Lucania. Had the Samnites now broken their treaty with the Romans, and joined the troops of Alexander against them, Rome must have been overcome. Alexander being very ambitious, presently quarrelled with the Tarentines and their allies, and strove to acquire a kingdom for himself in Italy. His first expeditions were successful, and the Romans meanly abetted him, and guaranteed not to prevent his conquests in Samnium, because they were jealous of the Samnites, and desired to see them weakened. Alexander of Epirus was soon after killed, and his army cut to pieces in Lucania. He was uncle to Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, who flourished at this period, and conquered the greater part of the known earth, from Greece to the banks of the Indus.

Ambassadors from the Romans and Etruscans waited upon Alexander the Great at Babylon,\* and it is believed that his fame reached even to Britain, through the Phœnician merchants who traded with Cornwall.

In Y. R 423 there was a pestilence in Rome, which the people endeavoured to cure by having a nail driven into the Temple of Jupiter; but suspicions arose that, besides the Pestilence, a number of Patricians were carried off by poison. Two ladies, Cornelia and Sergia, being detected mixing poisons, were forced to swallow the ingredients, and died in torments. No less than 170 Patrician ladies

\* Niebuhr,

9.

were executed for attempting to poison their husbands. Whether they suffered justly or not, we cannot tell ; but during our own times, whenever the cholera (a kind of pestilence) has raged in Europe, the people have uniformly suspected that they were poisoned, and in their delirium they have more than once destroyed the medical men who were their best benefactors.

In I. R. 425, Privernum, a small state of the Volsci, made war upon Rome, headed by Vitruvius, the Prætor of Fundi. The Romans sent two legions against Privernum, and after their departure, a report arose, that the Privernum. Gauls were marching upon Rome. The Senate hastily summoned all the men fit for service, and raised a large army to oppose the Gauls ; but as the report proved false, the new legions were sent to assist in the subjugation of Privernum. The Privernates, unable to resist so strong a force, surrendered to Æmilius upon terms, and gave up Vitruvius, who was beheaded. They despatched ambassadors to plead their cause in Rome, and obtain pardon. The Senate asked them what punishment they deserved for the blood and trouble they had cost. The ambassadors answered, "Such punishment as becomes those who love freedom." "Suppose," added the Senators, "that we grant you peace, how will you observe it?" They answered, "If it is a bad peace, we will break it as soon as possible, but if it is a good one we will keep it for ever." Plautius, the Roman Consul, knowing the importance of Privernum as a barrier against the Samnites, persuaded the Senate not only to pardon the citizens, but to confer upon them the Roman franchise, and to number them amongst the Plebeian Tribes, as the Tribus Ufentina. Æmilius triumphed, and assumed the name of Privernus.

The Romans next year ventured to send a Latin colony to Fregellæ, a town of the Samnites, in direct violation of their treaty. About the same time, the two Greek Palæpolis. settlements of Palæpolis and Neapolis, allies of the Samnites, attacked some of the Roman colonists in their neighbourhood, and the Senate despatched Feciales to complain of the injury. The Greeks, instigated by promises of assistance from Tarentum, returned haughty answers, and prepared for war, trusting to the immediate help of the Samnites, 6000 of whom garrisoned their

citadel. The Roman *Feciales* proceeded into Samnium, and remonstrated upon this account, with the Samnites. They answered that the garrison in Palæpolis consisted of volunteers, who were hired by the Greeks ; that they had not stirred up hostilities, though they had heavy causes of complaint against the Romans, for colonizing Fregellæ, in their territory, and that unless this colony was withdrawn, they would drive it away. The Romans maintained their colony, and declared war. They were supported by the Lucanians and Apulians, who espoused the side of Rome, in the hope of delivering themselves from the yoke of Tarentum.

The Consuls besieged Palæpolis, where the Samnite garrison disgusted the inhabitants by their overbearing pride, whilst the Tarentines delayed their succours. The Greek Prætors of the city, Charilius and Nymphæus, under these circumstances, made secret terms with the Romans, and promised to deliver up the place. Charilius deserted to them, whilst Nymphæus persuaded the Samnite commander, that all was secure within the walls, and that it would be a brilliant exploit to sail with the fleet, and attack Ostia. The wily Greek counselled the Samnites to depart at night, and watched the garrison down to the shore, until he saw them embark. As soon as the city was undefended, Nymphæus opened a gate on the opposite side of Palæpolis, and admitted Charilius with 3000 Romans, who, without a struggle, took possession of the fortress. Palæpolis, the old city, was destroyed, and the Greek rulers removed to Neapolis, or the new city, now Naples.

The Tarentine reinforcements having arrived too late, joined the Samnites, and enabled them to reduce Lucania. Many of the independent Apulian cities also united themselves with the Tarentines and Samnites, merely out of opposition to those which supported Rome. Arpi was always faithful to the Romans, and much assisted them in this war.

In order to carry on hostilities with more energy, the Romans created a Dictator, and they were fortunate in selecting Lucius Papirius Cursor, one of the most remarkable men of his time. He was called "Cursor," or "the Runner," from his swiftness of foot, and he was severe and unsparing as a commander, because he never knew

fatigue. The cavalry having distinguished themselves, upon one occasion ventured to ask some relaxation from their duties. He answered, "Certainly, you shall be excused stroking your horses' backs when you dismount." Another time the Prætor of the Prænestines having been tardy in bringing forward his division, Cursor commanded his attendance. When he appeared, the stern Dictator was accompanied by a Lictor, bearing the axe uplifted in his hand. The Prætor thought his last hour was come, but Cursor, after enjoying his terror, looked at him severely, and went up to the stump of a tree. "Here," he exclaimed, "Lictor, cut away this root, it is disagreeable to those who walk." He then fined the Prætor, and dismissed him.

Papirius  
Cursor.

Cursor appointed Quintus Fabius to be his Magister Equitum, or second in command; and as he was obliged to return to Rome, because some of the omens were unfavourable, he ordered that there should be no battle in his absence. Fabius, now general, perceiving that the enemy, aware of these orders, considered themselves secure, and might be attacked with great advantage, could not resist the temptation to engage them, and gained a complete victory. The spoil, which was abundant, he burnt, because the honour and profit of the action belonged to the Dictator, and he wrote letters to the Senate to excuse his breach of orders, by detailing in glowing colours his success, and the gallantry of his men. Papirius Cursor was in the Senate-house when the news arrived, and heard it with ungovernable rage. His commands had been disobeyed, and his authority slighted by the officer most bound to respect them, and he said that the discipline of his army would be completely ruined, if such flagrant misconduct escaped unpunished. He hastened back to the camp; but Fabius, being warned of his anger, gathered the Legions round him, and made them swear to protect him. Fabius's conduct throughout was wrong, but the extreme violence of Cursor was equally blameable.

As soon as Cursor arrived, he summoned the army by sound of trumpet, and cited Fabius to appear. He demanded why he had disobeyed the Dictator's orders, to which even Consuls and Prætors submitted, though at other times they had kingly power, and he asked him if

he was justified in risking the blood of his countrymen at the time when their chief was absent on account of unfavourable omens. Fabius could only reply that the same person ought not to be at once his accuser and his judge. Cursor ordered the Lictors to seize him, and cut off his head; but the chief officers interceded for him, and during the confusion, Fabius made his escape. He hurried to Rome and appealed to the Senate; but he had scarcely commenced his speech, when the indefatigable Cursor rode into the Forum, attended by his Lictors, and a guard of horse. He once more ordered Quintus Fabius to be seized, and threatened him with immediate death. Fabius's father would have resorted to extreme measures to save him, but wiser and cooler heads persuaded him to petition for his son's forgiveness. The Plebeian Tribunes, and all the Senators joined, and Cursor perceiving that his authority was vindicated, condescended to yield, and granted to the prayers of the Romans what he never would have surrendered to their violence. "Live," he exclaimed, "Quintus Fabius, and learn henceforward to obey the laws of your country. I grant you that life which your father could not have spared, had he been in my place." Fabius was degraded from his honours, and he never afterwards forgave the severity which Cursor had shown towards him.

During Cursor's second absence, the Samnites cut in pieces a party of Roman foragers, without Valerius, the General, daring to succour them. This increased the dislike of the army towards their Dictator, and when he returned and led them into the field, they fought reluctantly, and did not attempt to conquer under his banners. He saw that if he would have energetic troops, he must win their affections by more gracious manners, and he was too wise a man to be obstinate. He altered his conduct therefore, abstained from reproaches, praised the deserving, visited the wounded, expressed interest in their recovery, and completely gained the hearts of his troops by abandoning to them all the spoil, taken in their next contest.

The Samnites, after several defeats, proposed peace, but the Romans, thinking themselves the stronger party, refused, and hoped to reduce Samnium by continuing the struggle. The Consuls were encamped at Calatia, near

Capua, when Caius Pontius, the Samnite leader, was informed that they had rejected his offers of reconciliation. He said, "It is well, for now the gods will be angry with the Romans, and will visit the evils of war upon them, as men who thirst for blood and plunder." He concealed the position of his forces at Caudium, and sent ten soldiers, disguised as shepherds, to different stations where they might be captured by the Romans. When questioned, they were all to affirm that the Samnite Legions were besieging Luceria, an important city of the Apulians, and that it was about to surrender. This stratagem succeeded, and the Consuls believed that they must hasten to relieve Luceria by the shortest possible road. They found that their route lay through the Caudine Forks (now called the Valle Caudina), two narrow mountain-gorges, close to Caudium, which had an open meadow between them, abounding in grass and water for the horses. They reached the meadow in good spirits, but when they attempted to proceed, they found the pass blocked up. They sounded a retreat, but, alas! the pass by which they had entered was blocked up also. They were like game taken in a snare, which could neither move backwards nor forwards, and the heights above them were lined with their enemies. They fought one desperate battle to free themselves, in which they lost half their officers, without gaining any ground, and they perceived that they must be starved to death, unless they could persuade the Samnites to grant them peace.

They solicited terms, and Pontius, the Samnite Dictator, sent to his father, Herennius, the bravest and wisest of his people, to ask how he should treat the entrapped Romans. The old chief answered, "Release them unhurt." Pontius, not satisfied with the answer, sent to consult his father again. He replied, "Slay them all." Pontius thought that his father was mad, and had him conveyed to the camp for a personal discussion. There, in a council of war, Herennius was requested to explain his contradictory advice. He answered, "My countrymen, there is no middle course. Either make these people your friends by sparing their lives without ransom, or disable them for ever from hurting you, by putting them to death."

The Samnites heard their chief with reverence, but

the magnanimity of Pontius prevented him from distrusting the Romans, and his humanity did not permit him to destroy them. His terms were, the restoration of the ancient and equal alliance between Rome and Samnium, the withdrawal of the Roman colonies, and the abandonment of Apulia. Upon these conditions he offered to grant peace, and permit the Roman army, after it had passed under the yoke, to return safely to Rome. The Consuls would infinitely have preferred death to such indelible disgrace, but they had no alternative, and therefore submitted. They undertook to have the treaty ratified at Rome, and gave 600 knights as hostages, who were to be put to death if it was broken. The Centuries of Rome, in grief and dismay, confirmed the conditions, and the captured army was permitted to depart.

The whole of the Legions had now to pass under the Samnite spears. They stooped beneath them, stripped of their arms and armour. Even the Consuls were habited like slaves, and clad in a single shirt. Pontius, however, supplied them with provisions for their march, and gave them conveyances for the sick and wounded. The mortified Romans pursued their way towards Capua, and the Capuans, many of whose chief men were amongst them, advanced to meet them, and testified the deepest sympathy with their misfortunes. They brought robes for the Consuls, and dresses and armour proper for all the different ranks of the disgraced. They even offered Lictors to the Consuls, with their axes and fasces, and they assigned them a guard of honour to the frontiers; but nothing could rouse the depressed spirits of the vanquished, and they proceeded in mournful silence to Rome.

The people were prepared to receive them with anger, but when they beheld their inconsolable distress, compassion in every breast took the place of wrath. The troops slunk to their homes, and concealed themselves, and the Senate met to deliberate upon the treaty with the Samnites. Spurius Posthumius, the General, suggested that the Roman *Nation* were not bound by his vows, as the negotiations had not been conducted by their *orders*, and that nothing was forfeited in violating the treaty, excepting the persons of those by whom it had been signed. "Therefore," he exclaimed, "let the present Consuls raise an army and march into Samnium,

but let them not cross the frontiers until we who have signed the treaty have been delivered up." Two Plebeian Tribunes protested, that if the treaty was annulled, all things ought to be restored to the state they were in at Caudium, before it was made; but the Senate reviled these men, and applauded Posthumius, as one who shrunk not from braving the rage of the Samnites in order to save his country.

All the soldiers who had passed under the yoke volunteered to march back to Samnium, and the new Consuls conducted them to the frontiers, together with the officers who were to be surrendered. The Samnites, who were still at Caudium, waiting for the signature of the Senate, were astonished when they saw the Feciales approach, leading towards them those officers and magistrates who had so lately been sureties for the peace, each of them like criminals, with his hands bound behind his back; but their indignation exceeded their surprise, when they understood the perfidious farce which these men were acting. As the Lictor was tying the cord loosely round Posthumius, he exclaimed, "Draw it tighter, that the surrender may be regularly performed." The officers were no sooner delivered up as legally forfeited to the Samnites, than Posthumius, without delay, seized the Roman Fecial, by whom he had been conducted, and cried, "I am now a Samnite, and I commence war on the part of the Samnites, by abusing you, a sacred herald." He then kicked him hard upon the thigh, and pushed him away.

Pontius scornfully exclaimed, "This is mocking the gods, and neither I nor my people will accept of such a surrender. If the Romans will not ratify the peace, upon the faith of which we permitted you to depart, then let them send back their armies to the Caudine Forks. Your present conduct is infamous, for you have obtained what you required in the safety of your troops, and yet you are defrauding us of all that you promised in return. Lictor, take the bonds off these Romans; they do not belong to us, let them depart unhurt." The deliberate perfidy of the Romans upon this occasion has brought a stain upon their name which no time can ever efface. It was their first flagrant breach of faith, but unfortunately not their last.



War recommenced and continued with the Samnites for fifteen years. Papirius Cursor besieged Luceria, and took it. He also captured Caius Pontius, and it is probable that the 600 knights were exchanged by the Samnites for their illustrious chief. A truce of two years followed, during which the Roman citizens dwelling in Antium, Capua, and other foreign towns, requested that Prefects might be sent to them annually from Rome, who should be authorised to settle their disputes and manage their affairs. These Prefects issued coins, which were current amongst all the Roman citizens, and which were marked "Romanom."

When the Samnite war recommenced, it was not distinguished by any memorable event, excepting the siege of Sora. This town being very strongly situated on a rocky eminence, a deserter persuaded the Romans to remove their camp some miles off, and to retire as if they had abandoned the siege. The deserter then ordered a body of cavalry to conceal themselves in a wood near the town, whilst he conducted ten Roman soldiers up a steep narrow path which wound through the crags, and led to the fortress. Here he hid them till night, and he ordered them, as soon as they had entered the fort, by a narrow passage which he indicated, to shout loudly, whilst he frightened the citizens below. As soon as the Romans shouted, the deserter ran through the town in feigned alarm, declaring that the Citadel was taken, and urging the citizens to flee for their lives. As the terrified people opened the gates to escape, the Roman Legions met them, slaughtered them, and took possession of the place.

The chief towns of a country called Ausonia were, after this, betrayed to the Romans by their nobles, and almost all the Ausonians were exterminated.

In Y.R. 443, the Samnites induced the Etruscans to unite with them, and make a diversion of the Roman forces. One Consul had then to march into Etruria, whilst the other fought in Samnium. The Romans strove to break the Etruscan power by disuniting the states, and were gradually successful.

Quintus Fabius relieved Sutrium, which was closely besieged, and after a battle, in which the Etruscans lost thirty-eight standards, equivalent to the destruction of thirty-eight regiments, they were forced to retreat into

the Ciminian wood, a large dark forest which extended over the Mons Ciminus (now Monte Cimino, between Sutri and Viterbo), which no hostile army had ever traversed, and which the Latins believed to be haunted and impassable. Quintus desired to fall upon the rich country beyond it; but not knowing how to penetrate the forest, he consulted his brother Kæso, who had been educated at a Tuscan college, and was well acquainted with the language and manners of the Etruscans. Kæso undertook to discover the passes for the army, and if possible, to penetrate to Camerte in Umbria, a state which was at variance with the Tuscans. He was accompanied by a single slave, who had been educated with him. They disguised themselves as shepherds, and carrying hatchets and javelins in their hands, arrived, without betraying themselves, at Camerte, where Kæso disclosed his errand to the Senate, and concluded a treaty of mutual assistance in the name of the Romans. Kæso then returned to his brother with assurances of co-operation if he could reach Camerte. Quintus followed Kæso's track, and stealthily marching his army past the Tuscan camp, not only gained the summit of the hitherto impassable Ciminus, but made inroads into the rich plains of Etruria on the opposite side, before the Etruscans knew that he had left his quarters.

As little did the Roman Senate anticipate his boldness, for they despatched five Tribunes to forbid him to attempt the pass. When the officers arrived, the daring exploit was already accomplished. This was considered so gallant a feat, that a triumph was granted to him on account of it; and ever after he was regarded as a hero. Quintus proceeded towards Perugia, where he gained a victory, which induced the states of Perugia, Cortona, and Aretium, separately to make peace, and soon after Tarquinia and Volsinii followed their example.

During this war Quintus obtained a victory over himself, which redounds as much to his honour as any of his military achievements. The Samnites had defeated his fellow Consul, and cut off all communication with Rome. The Romans found it necessary to create a Dictator, and no one was so well qualified as Papirius Cursor, but the Dictator could only be appointed by Quintus,\*

\* The Dictator could only be named by the Consul.

and the Senate feared that nothing would induce him to name his enemy. They deputed their most honourable members to entreat his compliance, but he heard them in such dogged silence, that they retired in despair. Nevertheless, Quintus rose in the middle of the night, when all was still, and named "Lucius Papirius Cursor, Dictator." The delighted ambassadors returned him their grateful thanks; but, unable to forgive the severity which Cursor had formerly shown towards him, he bowed haughtily, and vouchsafed them no reply. Cursor, as Dictator, gained a brilliant victory over the Samnites, and captured their gold and silver shields, besides much spoil. He was succeeded by Quintus Fabius, who was Consul three years running, and whose expeditions were crowned with uniform glory and success.

In Y.R. 419, the exhausted Samnites solicited peace, and acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. They renounced Lucania, by which means they became separated from their allies the Tarentines, and limited themselves to their own territory. The Æqui, who had zealously, though recently espoused their quarrel, rejected the terms separately offered to them. Being unable to contend with the Romans alone, after losing fifty towns in forty-one days, they also tendered their submission. The Tarentines, not having been able to march to their assistance in time, were now left to carry on the war by themselves.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XVII.

THE power of Rome had increased astonishingly during the last century, and began to shadow forth her future greatness. After the conflagration of the city by the Gauls, the Roman dominions would have been confined to their original narrow limits, had they not wisely incorporated the Lucumony of Veii with the Plebeian tribes. At the conclusion of the second Samnite war, Rome was acknowledged as supreme by Samnium, Campania, Apulia, Lucania, Latium, and part of the Sabines, and her name was known and respected not only by all Italy, but by many parts of Greece, Sicily, and Africa.

All these various countries had attained a point of civilisation nearly equal with each other ; and their arts, and arms, dress, and habits of life, were not greatly dissimilar. The Greeks gloried in the superiority of their poets and historians, their beautiful buildings, and tasteful military dress ; but the Italians lived under the best governments, and excelled in the suitableness and variety of their arms, and in their martial array.

In Y.R. 444, the Samnites brought two divisions of troops into the field, the one bearing shields embossed with gold, and the other with silver. The shape of the shield was like a boy's kite, flat at the top, broad in the centre, to protect the breast, and tapering to a point at the bottom. Their breasts were covered with sponges, over which they wore shirts of mail, composed of brazen scales. They had greaves upon the left leg, which was advanced forward in action. Their helmets were of bronze, adorned with plumes, or crests, and their under garment was a short full skirt of woollen. The soldiers with silver shields wore tunics of white linen, and those with gold had tunics of various colours, blue, yellow, and red. These tunics were worn next the skin, and hung below the mail, like a Scotch kilt. The Italian regiments, in circumstances of great danger, devoted themselves to the gods for their country. They swore solemnly not to retreat, but to conquer or die upon the spot, and a band so devoted, clothed itself in white armour and white linen.

The gold and silver shields which the Romans captured from the Samnites, were hung round the bankers' stalls in the Forum, as ornaments. The Campanian allies allotted theirs to the gladiators, an unfortunate race of men whom they condemned to fight with each other to death for public amusement, and whom they now in contempt nick-named "Samnites."

The Italian soldiers passed in and out of their camp by means of a watchword, which was chosen by the General, and written upon small tickets of wood. Each Tribune (or commander of a division) had one of these tickets, which he transmitted to the Centurions under him, and the Centurions conveyed the pass-word to the men. None but those who knew the word, could gain admission into the camp. The Roman sentinels were changed every watch, or vigil, and these vigils (into which their nights were

divided), lasted about three hours at a time. We have taken our watchwords and our sentinels from the Italians.

The Roman victories were mainly owing to their order of battle, which was better arranged than that of the other Italians. Their troops were divided into three lines, in this form,

Spearmen, or Javelin-men.	— — —	Hastati.
Heavy-armed	— —	Principes.
Veterans.	— — —	Pilarii or Triarii.

distinguished into Javelin or Spear-men, Heavy-armed, and Veterans; in Latin, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, or *Pilarii*. *Hasta* means a javelin, and *Pila* a spear with a long iron head. The javelin-men stood in front, and each *Maniple*, or division, was thirty feet distant from the next. If they were repulsed, they fell into the intervals of the heavy-armed behind them, who advanced and took their places. If both these lines were defeated, they fell in order behind the *Triarii*, or Veterans; and the whole army, in one compact body, then advanced to contend against the foe. If the *Triarii* were defeated, the day was lost, and therefore it passed into a proverb, when things came to the worst, that they “had come to the *Triarii*.”

At the commencement of an action, the Veterans knelt down behind the standards, with their left legs forward, their shields resting on their shoulders, and their spears fixed in the ground, with the points erect, so that they bristled like an iron fence.

Every Consul commanded two legions, and each legion contained at this time 4500 foot and 300 horse. The numbers in the legions continually varied, and the Allies were bound to furnish an equal number of infantry with the Romans, and double the amount of cavalry. The Army Tribunes were the commanders of the legions. There were six Tribunes in each legion, and they presided in turns. The name “Tribune,” means chief officer of a tribe. They were all Knights or Equites. The signal for battle was a purple cloak raised upon a spear, and displayed over the General’s tent.

The Romans subdued Antium during the Latin war. They destroyed the port, removed the ships, and conveyed the bronze prows, called *Rostra*, in triumph to Rome. These they built into the pulpit, or *Suggestum*, in the

middle of the Forum, from which the orators addressed the people, and it hence acquired the name of "Rostra." One side faced the Patricians in the Comitia, and the other the Plebeians in the Forum, so that the speaker could be seen and heard by both parties. The Romans having acquired so considerable an increase of maritime importance, now appointed two officers to take charge of their naval affairs.

During the second Samnite war, ambassadors were sent by Tibur to Rome, to vindicate the fidelity of that state to the Romans. A *Senatus Consultum* (or decree of the Senate) was passed, acknowledging their justification, and thanking them for their conduct. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, the model of whose sarcophagus, in stone, or marble, is so common in England, was Prætor at the time, and this decree is one of the oldest monuments of the Romans. It was engraved upon bronze, and hung up in the Temple of Hercules, at Tibur. It was found perfect amidst the ruins of that temple in the sixteenth century, and lodged in the Barberini Palace at Rome. It has unfortunately since disappeared.

In the year 442, the Tibicines, or Guild of Flute-Players, whose services were necessary at religious ceremonies, took offence because the Censors forbade them to feast in the Temple of Jupiter, and they absconded in a body to Tibur. The Senators, dreading the wrath of the gods, entreated the Tiburtines to send them back. The Tibicines, however, refused to return, and the Tiburtines made feasts in their houses, to which they invited them as a special honour. At these entertainments, the Tibicines were persuaded to drink until they became tipsy, and whilst they were asleep, the Tiburtines put them into waggons, drove them into the Roman Forum, and left them. When the Tibicines awoke, they could not imagine where they were, nor how they came there; and before they had time to recollect themselves, the Romans surrounded and welcomed them. The anger of the Tibicines vanished, and they promised to remain, upon condition that they should ramble about the city three days every year in full dress, accompanied by music, and that they should feast in the Temple of Jupiter as before. The Censor who affronted the Tibicines was Appius Claudius, a stern domineering man, descended from the wicked

Decemvir, who had caused the death of Virginia. Appius desired the public benefit, though he loved still better his own proud will. He constructed a magnificent road from Rome to Capua, still called the "Via Appia," paved broad enough for two carriages to travel abreast, with ditches on each side as drains. This Via passed by bridges over rivers and swamps, and it was carried through rocks and over hills, traversing a beautiful and difficult line of country. The Latins called it "the Queen of roads," and acknowledged that they had learned road-making from the Carthaginians.

Appius also constructed an aqueduct (or channel for water) which he collected from springs near Præneste, eight miles distant, and brought into Rome. This was called the "Aqua Appia." Previously all the spring water used in Rome was drawn from deep wells, one of which still remains hewn in the Tarpeian rock.

Admirable as these works were, Appius broke the laws to accomplish them. He continued Censor for five years instead of eighteen months, and could not be forced to resign his office, having always a party to support him either amongst the old Patricians or the common people. As it was the Censor's place to nominate to the vacant seats in the Senate, Appius passed over the powerful Plebeians, because they had prevented him from becoming Consul, and substituted the sons of freedmen, who had been Roman slaves. This brought upon him so much detestation that, in order to maintain his power, he introduced the Libertini into all the Tribes, and raised them to be Plebeians, thus securing to himself a number of partisans who would always vote for his measures. The Plebeian order, incensed at this degradation, roused itself in a body to oppose his mischievous innovations.

Appius persuaded the Potiti,\* a noble family, to whom the Priesthood of Hercules had always been appropriated, to instruct public slaves how to perform the rites of that Deity. In consequence all the Potiti, to the number of thirty men died, and the *gens* became extinct. Appius in time was struck blind, which was attributed to the anger of the gods for his many lawless deeds, and for this sacrilege in particular. Through Appius's influence, Cnæus

\* Livy, ix. 29.

Flavius, head of the notaries, lately admitted into the Tribes, and whose father had been merely a freedman, was elected Curule Edile, and was permitted to dedicate a temple, an office hitherto sacred to the Patricians.

This Flavius caused the Calendar to be made public, having it written on whited boards, and hung up round the Forum, that the people might themselves become acquainted with the times appointed for the feasts, the elections, and the sitting of the different courts, called "Dies Fasti," which before they were obliged to learn from the Pontiffs. Upon one occasion he went to visit the Edile his coadjutor, Q. Anicius of Præneste, who was sick, and when he entered the room the young Patricians refused to rise, or to pay him any deference. He immediately ordered in his Curule chair, and whilst he remained seated upon it they were all obliged to stand and to pay him the same respect as if he had been a king. This punished them severely, and the Patricians so keenly felt the insult aimed at their order by the elevation of Flavius, that they laid aside their gold rings and armlets; the knights removed the silver caparisons from their horses, and the nobles observed a general mourning.

To prevent the recurrence of such an election, and to diminish the influence of the Libertini, Quintus Fabius and P. Decius were made Censors. They applied an effectual remedy to Appius's measures, by changing the Law of Elections; and as the merit is due to Q. Fabius, the Romans ranked it as a benefit superior to his military exploits, and conferred upon him in recompense the honourable title of "Maximus," New division of the people. or "Most Great," which descended to his children. He expelled Appius's Libertini from the Senate, and introduced the noble Plebeians. He also banished those from the Tribes who had been arbitrarily admitted, and forced them to limit themselves to the four city Tribes of Servius Tullius. The Classes and Centuries of King Servius he abolished. All who possessed above a million of Asses he enrolled in the twelve Plebeian Equestrian Centuries; all rated beneath that sum down to 4000 Asses, he admitted into the Country or Rustic Tribes; the Municeps (or foreigners who had the rights of citizenship, and who were called Romans) he confined to one Tribe; and the Ærarians, or tradespeople, were included in the four city



Tribes, along with the *Libertini*. The *Equites* and *Rustic Tribes* voted first, and the *Prerogativa* (as precedence was called amongst the Tribes) was determined on each election by lot.\* The presiding magistrate selected the man in the *Prerogative Tribe* who was first to vote, and his opinion usually decided all the others. After the Tribes, the *Patricians* voted in the six *suffragia*, and as they were now present, the auspices had to be taken, by which the whole people became consecrated. The City, or *Urban Tribes* voted last, and had little or no influence. The poor with less than 4000 *Asses* were called *Proletarii*, and had no votes. Each Tribe was divided into two *Centuries*, major and minor.

During the forty years included in this chapter, the *Plebeians* had gradually gained possession of all the magistracies, owing to the quarrels of the *Patricians* amongst themselves, and their desire to mortify each other. In the time of the Latin war the Consul *Æmilius* was denied a triumph, and ordered to nominate a Dictator. He named out of pique the *Plebeian*, *Publilius Philo*. *Publilius* was a man of great capacity, and did not let his power lie idle. He abolished the *Veto* of the *Curiae* upon the decrees of the people, and made a *Plebiscitum* (or law of the *Plebeians*), if confirmed by the Senate, binding upon the whole nation. He ordained that one of the *Censors* should always be a *Plebeian*, and that the *Prætorship* should be held by *Patrician* and *Plebeian* alternately. He was himself the first *Plebeian Prætor*, and exercised in rotation every other magistracy. He was the first who triumphed out of office, and the first whose military command was prolonged under the new title of *Proconsul*. This office was created that *Publilius*, who had begun, might finish, the *Campanian war*. The *Pro-consul* was an *Ex-consul*, who retained his authority over the *Legions*, although he abdicated his office in all other respects.

\* Nieb, iii. 339.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THIRD SAMNITE WAR.

B.C. 304 TO 287. Y.R. 449 TO 466.\*



ISLAND OF TIBER.

THE peace concluded with the Samnites could not last, because it was unequal and oppressive; and the Romans, conscious of this, employed the few years of quiet which succeeded, in planting forts and colonies in such positions as might serve them for defence when war should recommence. They irritated the *Æqui* and *Hernici* by appropriating Alba, on the Lake Fucinus, and were obliged to purchase their permanent fidelity by conceding to them all the privileges of native Romans. Such persons were styled "Roman citizens." The word *citizen* in Italian history does not imply one who lives in a city, but a native subject. The *Æqui* and *Hernici* were enrolled amongst the Plebeian Tribes of Rome under the

\* Authorities : Livy, x., Epist. xi.; Nieb. Hist. iii.; Ancient History, xii.

names of "Tribus Aniensis, and Tribus Terentina." At the same time a law was passed rendering it illegal to scourge or put to death a Roman citizen, unless his sentence had been confirmed by authority. This law was quoted in his own defence by St. Paul.

Hostilities in Etruria were carried on languidly, though the strong fortress of Nequinum, partly garrisoned by volunteer Samnites, was taken by treachery and destroyed. A Roman colony was established in its place, and called Narnia, now Narni.

A treaty was concluded with Tarentum, in which the Romans engaged that their ships should not sail north of the Lacinian Cape. The Tarentines and Samnites, who had long been in strict alliance, together invaded Lucania. The Lucanians invoked the aid of Rome, and the Romans insolently commanded the Samnites to withdraw their troops. The Samnites answered by an immediate declaration of hostilities. C. Fabius Maximus and Lucius Scipio Barbatus being sent into Samnium, gained a great victory at Tifernum. Decius Mus at the same time kept Apulia in check and captured Maleventum. The Romans and their allies colonised this place, and changed its name, which meant *bad fortune*, into Beneventum, or *good fortune*.

The Samnites were an energetic, persevering, noble-minded people, and not easily depressed by misfortune. Their chiefs were men of great capacity, but unhappily the states were divided into four principalities independent of each other, and they did not often act in concert. The Pentrians were the only tribe engaged in this war, and they were organised under Gellius Egnatius, a general of consummate ability, whose plan it was to transport his troops into Etruria, and there to form a grand combination of Gauls, Umbrians, Etruscans, and Samnites, with whose united forces he should overwhelm his enemies. The Romans in the greatest terror raised four armies, besides 30,000 men of the allies; and the Consuls in Samnium and Apulia ravaged those unfortunate countries from border to border. Decius destroyed forty-five, and Fabius eighty-six villages, yet without diminishing the resistance of the lion-hearted natives. The Consuls did not attack the towns, but strove to create a famine by burning and destroying all the produce of the country.

In Etruria, Appius Claudius, the Roman leader, remained timidly on the defensive, and the Senate, imagining him to be in difficulties, ordered Volumnius from Samnium to assist him. When Volumnius appeared the soldiers cheered him, hoping that they should now be led into action; whilst Appius, being angry at his interference, sternly ordered him to return. But the troops entreated him to lead them forth to battle, upon which he undertook the office, and said to Appius, who remonstrated with him loudly, "You shall teach me eloquence, and I will teach you fighting."

Fortunately for him, Gellius Egnatius was absent foraging, when he attacked the Samnites, and he mastered their camp before that chief's return. Volumnius immediately marched back into Samnium, and surprised a victorious Samnite army upon the Vulturnus. He retook the booty, and armed the liberated prisoners who seized the unwary Samnite general, Statius Minacius, and delivered him, bound, to the Roman Consul. The Romans secured their conquests by founding Minturna on the Liris, and Sinuessa in the Vescian forest. This last is now Santa Agata, and it retains some interesting ruins of the ancient town.

The Romans were aware that their fate depended upon the military skill of their leaders, and therefore suspended the law which forbade the same man to be Consul twice in ten years, and re-elected Fabius Maximus. He accepted the honour, but with this condition, that he should have his tried friend, Decius Mus, as his colleague. The new Consuls consulted the omens before they departed, and found them favourable. When they approached the fortified camp of Appius at Aharna, they met his soldiers in scattered parties collecting wood; and upon Fabius asking what they were doing, they told him that they were gathering materials to make themselves more secure, by erecting a third stockade opposite the enemy. Fabius answered, "You have already wood enough, and too much. Return to the camp and pluck up your barriers; a Roman defends himself with iron, and not with wood." The men obeyed the Consul with alacrity, and their commander, Appius Claudius, was dismissed to Rome. The Romans had now 90,000 men in the field. Lucius Scipio led a legion near to Camerinum,

where it was entirely cut off by the Gauls; and the Consuls were first informed of it by parties of Gallic horsemen, who had Roman heads tied to their horses' manes, or fixed upon their spears. The strength of the enemy lay at Sentinum, and thither the Roman forces were conducted. They were informed by some deserters that the Etrurians and Umbrians were entrenched in one camp, and the Gauls and Samnites in another: the latter being appointed to engage the Roman army, whilst the former were to fall upon their camp.

Fabius, upon receiving this information, despatched a body of troops to ravage Etruria, which recalled numbers of the Tuscans to defend their homes, and during their absence the Consul brought on a general engagement. When both armies were drawn out, a deer ran between them pursued by a wolf.

*Battle of  
Sentinum.*

The deer turned to the Gauls and was killed; the wolf ran towards the Romans, who opened their lines and he escaped. The omen was hailed with exultation; "Fear," they cried, "has passed to our enemies, but conquest and strength have come to us. Mars, our god, has visited us in the shape of his favourite animal." With the certainty of victory, they began the battle, but after a time their hopes seemed to fail. The Gauls rushed down upon them with a thousand chariots armed with scythes,—machines which they had never seen before, and which instantly put them to flight. Then Decius Mus remembered how his father had once saved Rome in her extremity, by sacrificing himself. "This day," he thought, "I will imitate his example, for on its event depends the fate of my country." He called upon the Pontiff to receive his vow, and during the heat of the battle he stood and cried, "Let dismay and flight, slaughter and blood, the wrath of the gods above, and of the powers below, precede me. Let the arms, the weapons, and the standards of the foe be blasted with me, and let the

*Decius  
Mus.*

place of my fall be that also of the Gauls and Samnites." Having repeated these words, he spurred his horse into the thickest of his enemies, and fell covered with wounds. His generous purpose was accomplished, for the astonished Gauls believing that the gods warred against them, took to flight. The brave Samnite general, Gellius Egnatius, who thus saw at one blow his great designs overthrown,

and his confederacy dissolved, was fortunate in being numbered with the slain before he knew that his camp also was taken. The Gauls and Samnites lost 25,000 men in this action, but the Romans suffered so severely that they could not follow up their victory. Five thousand Samnites began their retreat into their own country, and 4000 of them reached it, after fighting their way gloriously for 150 miles.

These indomitable tribes, still governed by their noble chief, Caius Pontius, notwithstanding their frequent reverses, continued for four years longer to resist the arms of Rome, and not unfrequently defeated the forces sent against them. In Y.R. 459, Papirius Cursor, son of the famous Dictator, was opposed to a huge body of Samnites at Aquilonia. He consulted the omens, and the Augur answered that they were favourable, and that the sacred chickens (by whose feeding he judged) ate well. This was false, for they would not eat, and one of the officers thought it his duty to inform the general. Papirius answered, "The omen reported to me was good; the falsehood can only concern him who uttered it. Let him be placed in front of the line, and when he falls he will atone for his deceit by his punishment, and leave me the predicted success."

The Samnite leaders did not take omens, but observed a *Lex Sacrata*, or sacred war oath, in order to secure success, which seems rather to have inspired horror than courage. One of their venerable chiefs, Ovius Paccius, erected an altar within a linen tent, 200 feet square, and there stood offering up sacrifice. Ten of the nobles were admitted one by one, and required to swear under dreadful curses, that in the next engagement they would conquer or die. Each after having sworn, chose another to stand by him, until the number amounted to 16,000, and they were then formed into a legion, called "*Linteata*," which was distinguished by linen tunics, crested helmets, and glittering shields. These men kept their oaths in the ensuing battle, for they were found dead in their places. Papirius chose the moment for engagement when 8000 of the main army were absent, and gained a complete victory, after which he assisted his colleague to take and destroy the city of Cominium. The spoil of the Samnites was so rich, that Papirius gave bracelets and crowns

of gold to his principal officers, and collars and bracelets of silver to all the horsemen. He also at his triumph paid above two millions of pounds of copper, and 1300 pounds of silver into the Roman treasury.

In the next campaign the Samnites were commanded by Caius Pontius in person, who defeated Fabius, the son of Maximus. The Senate voted to recall Fabius, but his father entreated that he might be allowed to regain his reputation, and offered to serve under his banner. This being permitted, the penitent son obeyed his father's instructions, and the victory was gained by the reserve troops, whom Maximus knew better how to manage than any other general. He allowed his enemies to exhaust themselves before he brought up the force upon which he really depended. In this battle, the last regular field ever fought by the Samnites, Caius Pontius was taken prisoner. He was carried to Rome, and led in the triumph of the Fabii, and afterwards, to the eternal disgrace of the Republic, he was scourged and beheaded. The Romans, instead of respecting him as an incorruptible patriot and a generous enemy, viewed him as an implacable and hitherto invincible foe. If he had not spared the Romans at the Caudine Forks, Rome might, ere this, have become a province of Samnium. Fabius Maximus followed his son's chariot in this melancholy triumph, and died soon after. The Senate decreed him a public funeral, to which high and low alike subscribed. As his kindred were very rich, Fabius Gurges expended the subscribed money in a feast for the poor.\* *Herculaneum*, now buried under the earth, belonged to the Samnites, and was taken in this war.

Curius Dentatus triumphed over the Samnites in *x. r.* 462, and also over the Sabine Cantons which had assisted them. A peace was then concluded, but the terms of it are unknown. This Curius Dentatus afterwards became the patron and protector of the Samnite nation. Colonies were planted in Samnium, which may be considered as so many Roman garrisons, whilst the forfeited lands of the Sabines were given to the allies, and portioned out at seven *jugera* per man. Curius was offered 500 *jugera*, and a house at Tifata, for his share, but he answered

\* Nieb. iii.

sternly, "A good citizen is contented with a legal portion," and refused to possess more than his comrades.

The Plebeians had contracted so much debt to carry on this war, that their embarrassments had again become grievous, and the difficulties of relieving them, without injustice to their creditors, appeared insuperable. They had once more, and for the last time, recourse to their old expedient, of a secession. They removed in a body from Rome, and posted themselves upon the Janiculum. The Senate, in alarm, appointed Q. Hortensius Dictator, and he induced them to return by yielding up the last exclusive privilege of the Senate, viz., its veto upon laws passed by the Plebeians. Henceforward every decree approved of by the Plebeians was to be binding upon *all* the citizens of Rome. This destroyed the proper balance of power, and, finally, led to the ruin of the Republic.

Hortensius died in his Dictatorship.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XVIII.

IN the Y.R. 459, Rome was afflicted by a pestilence and famine, which lasted for three years, and the Sybilline books were consulted for a remedy. They replied, that the Romans must send an embassy to Æsculapius, the god of medicine, at Epidaurus, a town in Greece, and bring him to Rome. The Senate accordingly deputed ten Ambassadors, whom the Epidaurians permitted to transport whatever the god should grant them. They carried home a meteoric stone and a tame snake, in both of which they believed the god to reside. It is said that the snake, as if guided by inspiration, glided through the town into the Roman vessel, and coiled itself up in the cabin of the Ambassadors. On their way home, a violent storm arose off Antium, which obliged them to put into port. Here the snake swam ashore, glided into the courts of Apollo, the father of Æsculapius, and wound itself round a palm-tree, where it continued for three days, and then again sought the ship.

When the Ambassadors arrived at Rome, and whilst they were engaged in giving an account of their expe-



dition, this snake swam to Tarquin's corn island, on the Tiber, and there disappeared. Upon that spot, accordingly, a temple to Æsculapius was raised, and the island was shaped into the form of a Trireme, the species of vessel which had conducted the snake and the ambassadors. The island is now called "*Isola Sacra*," or the *Sacred Island*, and still retains its shiplike figure.

The chief of the embassy was the Plebeian,\* Q. Ogulnius, who, when Consul, had carried a law to elect Pontiffs and Augurs from the Plebeians. This had become necessary, because every design of the Plebeians might be obstructed by an Augur, declaring that it was unlawful or unfortunate. Appius Claudius violently opposed the measure, but Ogulnius reminded him, that he was himself only a Patrician in consequence of ancient adoption; and he said, "If Jupiter Capitolinus did not object to a Plebeian Triumpher offering up sacrifices in his temple, why should he be offended when the same man appeared there, wearing on his head the veil of the Augur, instead of a crown, and bearing in his hand the chalice and lituus (or wand), instead of a sceptre?" Four Pontiffs and five Augurs were added from among the Plebeians to the sacred colleges.

The spoil taken during the third Samnite war was so rich and abundant, that the Knights from this time forward were permitted to wear, at the public games, the crowns they had won in battle. To the victors, also, were now first presented palm-branches, in imitation of the Greeks, with whom the Samnites had made the Romans well acquainted. Papirius Cursor adorned the Forum and the temple of Quirinus, vowed by his father, with the gold and silver shields of the Samnites, and with their precious vessels. He also dedicated a sun-dial in the temple, the first we hear of in Rome, although it is probable that they were used much earlier. The dial of King Ahaz, mentioned by Isaiah, xxxviii. 8, dates about 440 years previous, and through the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians, these measurers of time had probably passed into Italy. War-chariots armed with scythes were first seen by the Romans at the battle of Sentinum, but war-chariots of iron, which were similar

\* Liv. x. 6.

in species, were used by the Canaanites in the days of Deborah and Barak. Almost all the instruments of war, as well as the refinements of life, were introduced into Europe from Asia.

Carvilius, the colleague of Papirius, had the bronze armour, which fell to his share, melted down and cast into a statue of Jupiter, which he placed upon the Capitol, and which was so large, that it was visible from the Great Temple of Mount Alba, twenty miles off. He made a statue of himself from the metal which fell off in polishing, and this he fixed at the foot of the Colossus.

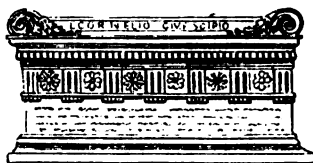
Q. and C. Ogulnius, being Ediles in Y.R. 453, and having in hand a number of heavy fines, expended them on works of art. The public fines were dedicated to erect, adorn, and preserve the public buildings, and could not be used for any other purpose. The Ogulnii substituted a brass statue of Jupiter, in a car drawn by four horses, for the clay model procured from Veii, which had hitherto crowned the Capitoline Temple. They also cast an image of the Roman Wolf sucking the Twins, which may still be seen in the Capitoline Museum. One of the sides is indented by lightning, which injured it in the reign of Augustus.

All these works were surpassed by the stupendous undertaking of Curius Dentatus, who may be said to have created the river Velinus and the beautiful falls of Terni. Near the town of Reate, lay the large lake Velinus, which overflowed continually, having no sufficient outlet for its waters. A mile distant from it, and at a much lower level, ran the river Nar, now "Nera." Curius cut a broad and deep canal from the lake to the precipice, which overhangs the Nar, and down this, a descent of 140 feet, he caused the stream from the Velinus to rush in one continued fall. The lake was drained at once, and the land which it formerly covered (now called "La Rosea") is the most fertile in Italy. Across the channel Curius threw a bridge of one arch, which exists to this day as perfect as at its first formation.

During the Samnite war, the Censor, C. Bulbulcus, vowed a temple to Salus, which C. Fabius, one of the Gens Fabii, adorned with excellent paintings. The Romans testified their admiration by conferring upon him the title of "Pictor," or the Painter, which descended

to his children. He is supposed to have selected for his subject a battle with the Samnites.

The beautiful stone Sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, also belongs to this age. It has one of the old funeral songs inscribed upon it, detailing the great acts and many magistracies of its tenant. It was discovered in A.D. 1780, along with several others, in a many-chambered rocky cavern, which had been the family vault of all the Scipios, and which still bears their name. It is situated close to Rome.



SARCOPHAGUS OF SCIPIO BARBATUS.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### WAR WITH PYRRHUS.

B.C. 287 TO 268. Y.R. 466 TO 484.\*



STATUE OF PYRRHUS.

**AFTER** the termination of the third Samnite war, Tarentum became more jealous than ever of the increasing power of Rome, and more anxious to restrain that power within safe limits. Not daring to avow openly their hostility, the Tarentines secretly stirred up the Lucanians

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epist.* xiv.; Nieb. *Roman Hist.* iii. n. 549; Plut. *in Pyrrhus*; Ant. *History*, xii. *Egypt*, &c.

and Bruttians, and endeavoured to reanimate the enmity of the Etruscans and Gauls.

The arms of the Republic were, however, triumphant, the Gauls were defeated, and half of the Etruscan States agreed to a separate treaty of peace and alliance. The Gauls, in revenge, besieged Aretium, now Arezzo, and cut off the Prætor Metellus, who had advanced to relieve it with 13,000 men.

The Romans sent an embassy to treat for the ransom of their prisoners ; but Britomaris, the ferocious Gallic chief, seized the Feciales and murdered them, to appease the manes of his father, who had fallen at Aretium. The Consul, Cornelius, revenged this outrage, by marching into Cisalpine Gaul, wasting the land, and carrying off the people as slaves. Britomaris was defeated and captured in battle, exhibited in the triumph of Cornelius at Rome, and afterwards put to death. The Gallic war was then terminated by an equal peace, because the Romans were anxious to turn their arms towards the southern part of the Peninsula.

Those Etruscan States, which still continued hostile, gave little uneasiness, as they carried on the contest without energy, and chiefly stood on the defensive.

Meanwhile, the Tarentines incited the Lucanians to attack Thurii, a rich Greek city on their borders, which had become their rival. The Thuriians immediately sought assistance from Rome, and were promptly succoured, the Romans not only delivering them from the Lucanians, and leaving a garrison in their fortress, but sending ten Triremes into the harbour, in order to keep open a communication with the place. Thurii lay north of the Lacinian Cape, and therefore this was a breach of the treaty lately concluded with the Tarentines ; and the Roman commander so far forgot himself, that in a spirit of bravado he sailed to Tarentum, and displayed his little fleet in the roadstead there. It happened that a concourse of people was assembled in the theatre, which looked towards the sea. Indignant at the presumption of the Romans, they attacked the galleys, killed the commander, murdered the mariners, and made the rowers slaves.

The Tarentines followed this up by sending an army against Thurii, which reconquered it, but dismissed the Roman garrison unharmed. The Romans, desirous

of recruiting themselves after their late wars, sent ambassadors to Tarentum, who required only such reparation as their honour absolutely demanded, viz. that the authors of the late outrage should be surrendered, and that Thurii should be restored to freedom. But the Tarentines longed for war, and treated the Feciales with contempt. L. Postumius, the chief speaker, addressed them in Greek, which he spoke imperfectly; and whenever he made a mistake, the Tarentine Senators laughed loudly, ridiculing at the same time his Roman accent and costume. The place of audience was the theatre, and as the Envoys retired, a drunken buffoon came up to Postumius, mocked at him, and dirtied his robe. He returned into the theatre, and held up his toga, to show the Senators how he had been insulted. The people clapped their hands, and shouted with mirth, their hilarity increasing with his indignation. "Laugh on," said Postumius, "you will have long enough to weep. This robe of mine shall be washed clean in your blood." He returned to Rome, and upon reporting what had happened to the Senate, they declared war, though with great unwillingness. An army was sent against Tarentum, which took some fortified places, but before coming to a final breach, the Consul again offered peace. The Tarentines rejected it, and, according to their usual custom, sent to Greece to hire troops for their expected conquests.

The most illustrious and warlike Prince in Greece at that time was Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, a man whose life had been spent in a strange series of successful military exploits and civil negotiations, and who was revered as the descendant of Achilles. The Tarentines invited him upon stipulated terms, and he presently landed with twenty elephants, supplied him by his father-in-law, the king of Egypt, and 25,000 men. He hoped to gain for himself a kingdom in Italy, by uniting the numerous Greek settlements there under his dominion, and of these he intended to make Tarentum the capital. When the Tarentine Senate passed the decree to invoke his assistance, Meto, a nobleman of respectability, appeared in their assembly, attired in a festive robe, wearing a chaplet of faded flowers upon his head, as if he had just returned from a banquet. As he was attended by a young female flute-player, the Tarentines cheered him, and called upon

him to dance. "Yes," he said, "we must seize the time to dance and feast now, for our merriment will cease when Pyrrhus arrives." He meant that they knew neither the ease they were giving up, nor the hardships they were courting. Pyrrhus at first confined his men to the Citadel, but presently wanting recruits, he ordered the Tarentines to reinforce his legions. He placed guards at their gates, shut up their theatre, stopped their amusements, and forced them to exercise themselves in military labours and the use of arms. He then offered his mediation between Rome and Tarentum, but the Roman Consul refused to treat unless he left Italy, and disposed his forces so skilfully, that the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites, who were allies of the Tarentines, could not afford them any assistance.

Pyrrhus approached the Romans on the river Siris, near Heraclea, and sent a spy to observe their camp. The Consul Lævinus took the man prisoner, showed him every part of his arrangements, and then dismissed him to his master. Pyrrhus, upon this, remarked to his officers, "These barbarians have nothing barbarous in their method of making war." The armies engaged the next day; the Romans were seven times driven back, and seven times returned to the charge, until at length the elephants frightened their cavalry, and scattered them over the field. The victory of the Greek King was so complete, that it is supposed not a man would have escaped, had not one wounded elephant turned against his own side, and thus given the Romans an opportunity to flee. The remains of their army took refuge in Venusia, and Pyrrhus did not pursue them, for he was so accustomed to conquer, that he believed he could overcome his enemies when he pleased. He examined the field, on which 7000 Romans lay dead, all with their faces to the foe. "With these troops," he said, "the world were mine; or it were theirs, with me for their general." He offered the prisoners to enter his service, but they all refused, to a man. Pyrrhus, respecting their patriotism, had their fetters taken off; and he burned and buried the Roman dead with the same honours as his own. He conceived the highest admiration for the Romans, and became so desirous to convert them into friends, that, though all the South of Italy had now

joined him, he sent his counsellor Cineas to Rome, and offered them peace. He demanded that all offences between Rome and Tarentum should be forgotten, and that the property taken from the Samnites, Lucanians, and other Allies, should be restored. Upon these conditions he promised to give back the prisoners without ransom, and to quit Italy.

The Senators were sorely pressed. They could not maintain a war at the same time with the north and the south. They were endeavouring to accommodate a peace with the Etruscans, whose terms were somewhat unreasonable; and if they failed, they had no alternative but that of submission to Pyrrhus. Hopeless of better fortune, they were on the point of yielding to Cineas, whose eloquence and courteous manners had gained him many friends. Appius Claudius, though now blind and lame, being informed of their intentions, roused himself to oppose a measure which he felt would be his country's ruin. He caused himself to be carried in a litter to the steps of the Senate-house, where his sons and sons-in-law came out to meet him, and whence they bore him, with filial veneration, to his long vacant seat. Here he stood up, and, like an ancient prophet, thundered reproofs upon those who listened to the terms of Pyrrhus. "Shall we see him," he said, "returning thanks for his victories in our temples, and offering us his protection against our enemies? No; let us rather grant the terms demanded by the Etruscans, with whom we are connected by religion and ancient ties, and let us make no peace with the Greek, so long as he remains in Italy." The voice of Claudius prevailed, — peace with Etruria was concluded, and Cineas was ordered to leave Rome. He returned to his sovereign, and told him that "the city was a temple, and the Senate an assembly of kings." The appearance of the Senators in their purple robes and curule chairs, had made this impression upon him.

Pyrrhus forthwith renewed the war, and marched to Capua, where he found Lævinus, the Consul, whom he had lately defeated, with a more numerous army than before. An engagement took place, and though the victory was undecided, the King marched on Rome, and advanced to within eighteen miles of the city, from Præneste, which was put into his hands. The Etruscans



are supposed to have joined the Romans in repulsing him, and Pyrrhus retreated and spent the winter at Tarentum. Here Fabricius and two other Ambassadors waited upon him, to treat for the ransom of the prisoners. Pyrrhus, appreciating the noble qualities of Fabricius, used every means to gain his friendship, in hopes of being able, through his influence, to conclude a peace between Rome and Tarentum. The story is, that he first tried to bribe him, and then to terrify him, both in vain. Whilst Fabricius was conversing with him, a curtain was withdrawn, and an enormous elephant threw its trunk over his head, and roared. Fabricius calmly smiled, and said, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your great beast to-day, can make me betray the interests of my country."

Pyrrhus permitted his prisoners to go to Rome, to enjoy the Saturnalia, under a promise that if the Senate did not make peace, they would return. No treaty was concluded, and they all returned. When the hostile armies again took the field, Pyrrhus opened the campaign with the siege of Venusia, but as the Consuls advanced to relieve it, he met and came into action with them at Asculum. The Romans being on a height, had at first the advantage, but the King drove them into the plains, and attacked and defeated them by means of his elephants. He lost, however, 3500 of his best men, and exclaimed, as he contemplated the dead, "One such victory more, and I am lost." He was disgusted with his allies, who, during the engagement, had quarrelled and plundered his camp : and he could draw no reinforcements from Greece, as the Gauls were now in Macedonia, and threatening Epirus. Besides this, Rome and Carthage had concluded a treaty of mutual assistance. Pyrrhus, therefore, became seriously anxious to end the war. He did not wish to subvert the Roman power, and he was desirous of passing into Sicily and rendering himself supreme there, being invited by the inhabitants, who were distracted amongst themselves, and oppressed by the Carthaginians. It is said, that his physician offered the Romans to poison him for an adequate reward, and that they, in horror, not only rejected the proposal, but informed Pyrrhus of it,\* upon

\* Fabricius is alleged to have conveyed the information to

which he restored them their prisoners without ransom, and concluded a truce, leaving Italy, two years and four months after he had entered it.

Pyrrhus was a man of a generous and romantic disposition, but of an unsteady character. He loved to engage in successive, new, and brilliant undertakings, rather than to enjoy the fruits of victory, or to confer upon his subjects the blessings of peace. He was a great general, but an unstable ruler. He crossed into Sicily, and warred there for three years, during which time he reduced nearly the whole island, but he did not keep possession of any part of it, and he returned again to Italy, at the earnest request of the Tarentines to assist them once more in their wars with Rome. As he quitted Sicily, he said, "What a field do we leave here for the future contests of Rome and Carthage!"

The news of Pyrrhus's arrival at Tarentum spread such consternation in Rome, that the legions refused to enlist. The bold Consul, Curius Dentatus, confiscated the property of the first who disobeyed, and the levies then proceeded. The people had been discouraged because the head of their mighty God Summanus was struck off his statue by lightning, and disappeared. However, to their great joy, it was found in the Tiber, and the Augurs interpreted the omen to signify, "That victory should still be theirs, in spite of the most threatening appearances."

Pyrrhus marched to meet Curius at Beneventum, and prepared to attack him before he could be joined by his colleague. He was disturbed at night by a dream which inclined him to recall his orders, but his generals urged him not to delay, and he sent forward his troops and elephants to surprise his foe. The Greek columns lost their way, which occasioned them to fall into confusion, and they were wearied by the time they reached their ground. Still they fought bravely, and repulsed the Romans, but when the elephants came to the charge, they were resisted by burning arrows, barbed hooks, and tar set on fire. This drove them frantic, and they fell back upon their own camp, clearing the way for the Romans, and causing so complete a defeat, that Pyrrhus himself only reached

Pyrrhus, upon which he turned to his Councillors and remarked, "Noble Fabricius, it were as easy to turn the Sun from his course as that man from the path of honour."

Tarentum with a few horsemen. He shortly after abandoned Italy, never to return, and left his general, Milo with a small garrison to defend the city. His friend and adviser, Cineas, being dead, Pyrrhus sank into a reckless soldier of fortune, carrying on useless wars in Greece for two years. He was at last killed at Argos by a stone which a woman threw upon his head.

When the news of his death reached Italy, the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites, who had fought for him, lost all hope, and submitted themselves to Rome. The conditions imposed upon them were not severe, but they were obliged to deliver hostages, and to resign portions of their public land.

The Samnite ambassadors, charged with the submission of their people, presented themselves to Curius Dentatus at his new Sabine farm. They called themselves his clients, and as such offered him gold, and entreated him to plead with the Senate on their behalf. Curius was seated upon a bench, eating out of a wooden bowl a mess of turnips, which he himself had roasted in the ashes. He stroked his stomach, and said, "As long as I can control this, I shall not want riches. Keep your gold. I had rather command rich men, than be rich myself." It was in the same spirit, that he took only two grooms with him when he went to head the army as Consul, instead of the pompous retinue which the Senate placed at his command, choosing rather to be distinguished by noble actions than by magnificence and outward show.

Milo, Pyrrhus's general, made himself so hated in Tarentum, that part of the inhabitants went over to the Romans. The remainder applied for aid to the Carthaginian admiral in Sicily, who, without consulting his government, brought his fleet into the harbour. The Romans under Papirius, and the Greeks under Milo, were equally annoyed. Milo persuaded the magistrates to dismiss the Carthaginians, and empower him to make peace. They trusted, alas! to a faithless traitor. Milo made terms for himself alone, and as he sailed away, allowed the Romans to take his place in the citadel. Tarentum was delivered to her bitterest enemies, and the Fecial's robe was washed in blood. The walls of the town were levelled, the ships were removed, and a Roman Legion was permanently quartered in the citadel. Thus perished X. R.

480, one of the richest and most refined of the Greek settlements, and one of the most subtle and dangerous of all the adversaries of Rome. Paintings, statues, and many articles of luxuries, which the Romans had never seen before, were now transferred from the conquered to their own city.

The fortress and town in ancient cities were separated and placed under different governors.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XIX.

THE year before Pyrrhus quitted Italy, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sought the friendship of the Romans, and his embassy was received with great distinction. The honour was returned by the Prince of the Senate, Fabius Gurgus, being despatched on a mission to Alexandria. He was accompanied by two Senators, who were, like himself, Greek scholars. They bore from the Senate the present which was always sent to kings, of a purple robe, an embroidered tunic, and an ivory throne. Ptolemy, in return, presented them with golden crowns. They accepted the gift, but civilly declined to take them home, and deposited them upon the statues of the King. An alliance with Egypt was important to Rome in case of a war with Carthage.

The invasion of Pyrrhus first brought the Romans into intimate contact with the Greeks, and obliged them to study Greek literature. It also introduced them to an acquaintance with the numerous Eastern nations, which were under the dominion of the Greek kings. Pyrrhus was son-in-law to Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and the friend and ally of the kings of Macedon and Syria. When Rome had mastered Tarentum, she was obliged to watch the movements of all these sovereigns, and for that reason, a knowledge of the Greek language became indispensable to her statesmen.

Numerius Fabius, one of the ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus, wrote annals in Greek; and it is by no means improbable, that during his stay at Alexandria, where 100,000 Jews were established, he may have be-

come slightly acquainted with the history of their nation, and have heard of their sacred writings. The Jews were held in high honour by the Ptolemies, for their superior learning and morality; and the King, it is said, had lately selected seventy of their most distinguished elders to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, for a famous library which he had just founded. This translation was the first ever made from the Hebrew, and was called the "Septuagint," from the number of the translators.

The Roman ambassadors saw with admiration the Pharos, an immense lighthouse, which Ptolemy Lagus, the father of Philadelphus, had built in the bay of Alexandria, and they were the quickest of all nations to profit by the improvements of others. Ptolemy Lagus was the first king who instituted a philosophical society. He called it a "Museum," and attached to it botanical and zoological gardens.

Many Greek arts and luxuries were now adopted by the Romans. They began to disuse their national copper coinage, and to introduce silver instead.\* A mint for silver was placed under the superintendence of Triumvirs, but it is supposed that all the great families coined in it, and that it was not under proper restrictions until many years later. The heavy copper coins used to be carried in waggons when they were required in large quantities, and were stored up in caverns excavated under the Capitoline hill, called "Æraria." An oracle at Præneste had predicted that the Senators of Præneste should one day occupy the Roman Ærarium. This they interpreted to mean that they should be lords of Rome. But, like most of these lying oracles, it was fulfilled in a contrary sense, for the hostages of Præneste were confined in these caverns, and cruelly perished in them, after the retreat of Pyrrhus. A few years previous, Q. Anicius, of Præneste, had been one of the Curule magistrates of Rome.

In the year 477, the Censors excluded Cornelius Rufinus from the Senate, because he possessed silver utensils for banquets which weighed eleven pounds. They believed that he had purloined them from the booty of the Greeks, and they themselves used no plate in their domestic feasts.

\* The silver Denarius superseded the copper As.

Each noble Roman possessed a silver cup, and salt-bowl, which were dedicated to the service of the family Lar, or Genius. The Romans adopted from Pyrrhus several improvements in their military tactics, and augmented the size of their Legions. With him, they first beheld elephants, which they named "Boves Lucas," or Lucanian oxen. With him also they first saw the Greek artillery, i.e., engines which propelled large stones from the Tarentine ships against their columns.

After Pyrrhus's death, Roman supremacy was established over the south and east of Italy, and the subject states were distinguished into Strangers or *Alieni*, Latins, or *nomen Latinum*, and Allics or *Socii*. The rights of the *Socii* were very various. In general they preserved their own lands, language, and laws, elected their own magistrates, officered their own troops, held their own diets, were free from any land-tax, and shared in the Roman colonies and conquered lands. Each great city was represented at Rome by a Patron,\* who was bound to espouse its interests, even against his own relations. On the other hand, the *Socii* could not make war without the permission of Rome, and were bound to assist her in all her quarrels. The Latins were placed under Roman law, their own diets and laws being abolished, and their magistrates were appointed by the Roman Senate. But, on the other hand, every Latin magistrate, on being elected to office, became a full Roman citizen, and might rise to power in Rome. Both Latins and *Socii* had a right to possess houses in Rome, and to have their names inscribed amongst the citizens. None of the *Socii* could serve in the Roman legions, but they chiefly furnished mariners for the navy.

Magistrates were now first appointed to take charge of the highways, and a police called *Quinqueviri* was instituted to watch over the peace of the city after sunset. The Roman houses were formerly roofed with shingles, but after the war with Pyrrhus, tiles were substituted, which continue in use to this day.

The winter of 482 was one of the most severe ever known in Italy. The Tiber was frozen, and snow lay in the Forum for forty days. The vines and olive trees were

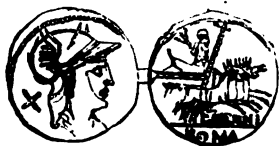
\* Ex. Curius Dentatus for the Samnites.

destroyed, much cattle perished for want of nurture, wolves entered the city, and even attacked the dead bodies for food. The next year, Italy was desolated with tempests, earthquakes, and volcanoes, and acres of fruitful land near Cales were burnt, and buried under ashes.

Appius Claudius the blind was a Poet and Orator, and fragments of his works are the earliest Latin compositions of which we know the author's name. Curius Dentatus, the architect of the falls of Terni, applied the booty of the war with Pyrrhus, to constructing the aqueduct of the Anio Vetus. It was the first structure of this kind any part of which appeared above ground, and was brought from a distance of twenty miles near Tiber. It was carried upon arches for about seventy-four yards, after fetching a great circuit, in order to avoid valleys. It entered Rome near where the ruins of Caracalla's baths now stand, and formed there a large public bathing place or reservoir.

About this period, the Picentines, a Gallic tribe on the Adriatic, were subdued, and a large body of them were transferred to a district near Salernum, in order to separate the Samnites from the sea, that they, in case of war, might not be able to join the Carthaginians, a nation with which Rome was already anticipating a rupture.

In 485, a civil war summoned the Romans into Volsinii, where they took the part of the nobles against their vassals, and after conquering them, they razed the city, and carried off 2000 bronze statues, which were transported into the Roman Forum. Volsinii ceased to belong to the Etruscan league. A new city was built in the plain, near the site of the old one, and the remains of it may now be seen in the small town of Bolsena, on the lake of that name. The Romans secured the fidelity of Etruria, by always upholding the aristocracy, so that the influential families, and ancient blood of the people, became directly interested in the prosperity of those who invariably supported them.

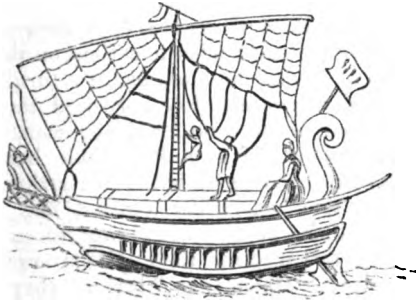


SILVER COIN. A ROMAN DENARIUS.

## CHAPTER XX.

## FIRST PUNIC WAR.

B.C. 268 TO 242. Y.R. 485 TO 511.\*



SHIPS OF WAR.

ALL the south of Italy now acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, and the various states were bound to furnish a definite proportion of troops to serve in the Roman armies. The Campanian Legion, quartered in Rhegium, had lately rebelled, having massacred the Roman

\* Authorities: Livy, Epist. xvi. &c.; Nieb., Lect. i.; History, iii., p. 361, &c.; Michelet, ii. Hist. Rom. p. 50, &c.



garrison, and seized upon the city. When the war with Pyrrhus was concluded, the Roman Consul attacked Rhegium, and took it, and brought the guilty Legionaries prisoners to Rome, where they were executed by fifties per day.

The Campanians had long been in the habit of hiring themselves as mercenaries to the Greeks, Sicilians, and Carthaginians. Almost fifty years previous to this period, numbers of them had fought for Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse. Under him, they had besieged Carthage, conquered Bruttium, and subdued the greater part of Sicily. As they were cruel and fought for gain, both they and their chiefs were heartily detested; and when Agathocles died they were dismissed to their own country. The Campanians pretended to set out on their homeward march, but having no intention of returning to live under laws and discipline, they surprised the town of Messana on their route, murdered the men, and established themselves there as a formidable band of freebooters. During the struggle between Pyrrhus and the Carthaginians, they sometimes assisted one side, and sometimes the other; always contriving to extend their own territories, and increase their own strength. They called themselves "Mamertines," because they said they were the children of Mamers (Mars), the god of war, and their detestable government is known as the "Mamertine Republic."

After Pyrrhus left Sicily, Hiero, a descendant of the old Sicilian princes, ruled Syracuse, and he and the Carthaginians together endeavoured to expel the Mamertines. They took from them all their conquests, excepting the town of Messana, in which Hiero besieged them, and was upon the point of forcing them to submission, when a Carthaginian admiral sailed into the port, and treacherously offered to deliver them, if they would place the citadel in his hands. His offer was accepted, but the governor of the town not trusting the Carthaginians, sent to ask aid from the Romans, to whom he offered to deliver the place, upon condition of immediate succour. The Roman Senators at once rejected the offer, because the Mamertines held Messana through crime; the same crime which they had so lately punished in the Campanian soldiers at Rhegium. But the Consul and Tribunes urged,

on the other hand, that Governors must often consider, in affairs of state, what is expedient, rather than what is just; and that it was folly in the Romans to cherish scruples, which would allow the Carthaginians quiet possession of a town and port from which they could at any time attack the south of Italy. The matter was referred to the Comitia Tributa; and this assembly, being one where no man's individual vote was known, and therefore where no man's want of honour could be detected, voted to assist the Mamertines. This was the commencement of a series of faithless and disgraceful acts on the part of the Romans, which lost them their ancient character of an upright nation.

Appius Claudius, son to the blind Consul, was sent with an army to Messana. He landed with much difficulty, and invited Hanno the Carthaginian to a conference, in order, as he pretended, to avert war. When Hanno came, he seized him, and terrified him into yielding up the citadel as the price of his liberty. Thus the Romans at once gained a footing in Sicily; the Carthaginians were driven away from Messana, and Hanno returned to Carthage, where he was crucified for being unfortunate. In Rome he would have been degraded, until, by some brilliant deed, he had recovered his honour.

The Carthaginians sent fresh troops under another Hanno, to co-operate with Hiero against the Romans and their Mamertine allies, but the Consul prevented the two armies from meeting. He attacked and defeated both singly, and forced Hiero to retire into Syracuse, where he strictly blockaded him. Unfortunately, the Syracusans dreaded the aid of the Carthaginians, who for 250 years had been their rivals or enemies, more than the ambition of the Romans, who were a new people, from whom they feared nothing. The former continually threatened Sicily with their ships of war; the latter had no fleet. The Syracusans, therefore, besought their prince to make an alliance with the Romans, and dismiss the Carthaginians. He gladly yielded to their wishes, for he said that he had been vanquished by the Romans almost before he had time to see them. Hiero continued to the end of his life to be the faithful ally of the Romans; and without his aid, and that of the Mamertines, they would soon have

been starved out of Sicily. From this period dates that war between Rome and Carthage which is called "the first Punic war."

The Carthaginians were originally a colony of Phœnicians from Tyre, conducted to Africa by Dido, the persecuted widow of a Tyrian prince. She was the grand-niece of Jezebel, the wicked queen of Israel, and she settled her followers close to colonies of their own countrymen, who had long been flourishing at Utica and Tunis. Dido obtained permission from the Libyans to build Carthage, and paid them tribute as long as she lived. After her death her people conquered Libya, and colonised or rendered tributary all the north coast of Africa. They passed into Spain, where they founded Gades. They possessed the western part of Sicily, erected a line of forts along the west coast of Africa, as far as the Canaries, and traded from Tyre through the Mediterranean, and up the Atlantic as far as the British Isles, which they called the Cassiterides. As long as Tyre existed, the Carthaginians, every year, sent thither a ship laden with presents, to do homage to the mother city. The Carthaginians were the greatest naval power in the world,—a mighty people, rich and commercial; but they were neither so warlike nor so wise as the Romans. They fought with hired troops, whom they gladly dismissed the moment a contest was over, and whose interest it therefore was to prolong their wars for the sake of employment. These stipendiaries were ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, without any zeal for one cause more than another. The Romans, on the contrary, fought with their own men, whose lands and fortunes suffered by their absence, and who were ruined unless they were successful. The Carthaginians imposed heavy tributes upon their allies and dependants; the Romans gave theirs an equal share in all their conquests and booty. Therefore the allies of the Romans fought for their own honour and glory; but the allies of the Carthaginians for nothing better than pay or plunder.

Sixty-seven Sicilian towns threw off the yoke of Carthage, and at once placed themselves under the protection of Rome. Hanno sailed to Sardinia, whence he harassed the coasts of Italy, and obliged the Romans to divide their forces. Hannibal Gisco threw himself, with 50,000 men

and sixty elephants, into the large city of Agrigentum, and here the Romans besieged him and kept him enclosed for seven months, until he began to suffer from famine. Hanno attempted to relieve him, and reduced the Romans to such distress, by taking all their corn magazines, that they must have raised the siege, had not Hiero now supplied them and forced the Carthaginians to fight, in order to relieve Agrigentum. Hanno was completely defeated, with the loss of thirty elephants killed and eleven taken. He fled to Heraclea, and Hannibal Gisco fought his way through the Roman camp to the coast. Agrigentum\* was plundered and destroyed, and 25,000 citizens were sold as slaves.

Hannibal Gisco's army was composed of Gauls, Spaniards, Greeks, Macedonians, Libyans, and Numidians. The Gauls were very disorderly, and revolted for want of pay, telling their General that they would join the Romans. This threat prompted him treacherously to lead them into an ambush, where they were all massacred.

The maritime towns were all inclined to declare for Rome, but dared not, on account of the Carthaginian ships, which would immediately have destroyed them. The Romans perceived, therefore, that in order to retain their advantages in Sicily, they must create a fleet; and they forthwith commanded one to be built. They took for a model a Carthaginian war-ship, called a "Quinquereme," which had been wrecked off the coast of Bruttium; and in sixty days they had 130 similar to it ready for sea. But these vessels, being made of green wood, could not last, for they were heavy, clumsy, and unfit to stand a storm. Cneius Scipio sailed with seventeen of them to Messina. The Punic Captain, Bogud, drove him into a port of the Lipari Islands, where he obliged him to surrender; and his countrymen, as a memorial, conferred upon him the title of "Asina," or the Ass. Hannibal Gisco considered the Roman fleet so contemptible that he sailed out to capture it. He met it off the Italian coast, and was so confident of victory, that he did not even form in line, but attacked it at random. His ships and seamen were far superior to those of his opponents, but he did

\* This place exists as a town still, and contains many beautiful and interesting ruins.

not know the worth of an able commander. The Roman Consul, C. Duilius, had invented a machine called a "Corvus," which deprived the Carthaginian vessels of their superiority in manœuvring, and made a sea-fight resemble a land one, hand to hand. He contrived boarding bridges, which held two men a-breast. These being stretched from their own to the enemy's ships, seized them with hooks and held them fast, whilst the soldiers ran across and dropped down upon their decks. The Carthaginians were panic-stricken at these machines, and soon yielded. They lost fourteen ships and 7000 prisoners, and Hannibal's own ship was amongst the prizes. It had once belonged to Pyrrhus, and was conquered from him in Sicily.

The Romans estimated this their first naval victory so highly, that Duilius was permitted ever after, when he returned to his house at night, to be accompanied by torch-bearers and flute-players, as if he were returning from the banquet of his triumph.

The Romans experienced varying fortunes in Sicily, but they defeated the Carthaginians in Corsica and Sardinia; and the brave, but vain and ill-tempered Consul, Regulus, gained a naval triumph at Ecnomus. The Romans with 330 ships defeated a Carthaginian fleet of 350, and took 64. Regulus was so elated, that he transferred the war to Africa. He landed near Cape Hermæum (now Cape Bon), and took Clupea, which he converted into a magazine for his arms and prisoners, and for the immense booty which he plundered from the houses and lands that lay between Clupea and Carthage. The country was like a garden, and the numerous palaces scattered over its fertile surface had excited the wonder and admiration of the Greeks when they had invaded it sixty years before.

Seventy-four towns submitted to the Romans, and the Numidians became their allies. Hasdrubal was recalled from Sicily, and Bostar was joined with him in order to repel the Romans. When they came to action, the Punic forces kept upon the heights, where neither their elephants nor cavalry could act. They were consequently defeated, both Generals were taken prisoners, and the Senate sent deputies to Regulus to treat of peace. Regulus desired to conclude the war before a successor

could be sent to replace him, and his time of command had nearly expired; but he forgot moderation in his demands, and proposed such insolent terms, that the Carthaginians left him without deigning a reply. Amongst their mercenary troops was a band of Greeks, headed by Xantippus, a Spartan, who had formerly distinguished himself against Pyrrhus. This General having affirmed that the Carthaginians would conquer the Romans if they knew how to fight them, the Senate committed the Punic army into his hands. He drew the Romans into the plain, and with a force much inferior to theirs, by means of his elephants and horse, gained a complete victory. Above 30,000 Romans perished, and amongst the captives was the haughty Regulus, who remained for five years a prisoner in Carthage. Xantippus was richly rewarded, and withdrew in glory to his own country; for he knew the envy of the Carthaginian nobles, and dreaded to remain amongst them.

The Punic soldiers reduced the Numidian rebels, and besieged Clupea; but the Romans being victorious in a sea-fight, raised the siege. They, however, lost their fleet by violent storms, on its return to Italy. Not discouraged, they built a new fleet of 220 ships in three months, and took Panormus (now Palermo), a rich city in Sicily; but all the vessels which carried the booty were either lost in another storm, or captured, so that the Romans resolved to have no more large ships of war, but only to keep Triremes as in former times.

In Y.R. 502, their army in Sicily gained a glorious victory over Hasdrubal at Panormus, and took thirteen generals and 104 elephants. These animals had been exceedingly dreaded by the Romans, but now the soldiers were accustomed to them and had lost their fear, for they found that if they could wound or frighten them, the elephants would turn against their own side, and thus give victory to those whom they were armed to oppose.

After their defeat, the Carthaginians despatched an embassy to Rome to solicit peace. Along with the ambassadors they sent Regulus, under promise that if the negotiations failed, he would return into captivity. The contemporary Latin poet Nævius, composed a story about this embassy, which is too beautiful ever to be forgotten.

According to him, Regulus refused at first to enter Rome, calling himself the Slave of the Carthaginians. Afterwards he would not appear in the Senate without the ambassador's permission; and when he heard the Roman fathers discussing the arguments for peace, he desired them by no means to grant it unless Carthage yielded up Sicily, which was certain to be conquered if the war were continued. He knew that his words irritated the envoys, and that he must ultimately suffer for that advice; yet, true to his oath, he returned with them to Carthage. There, his exasperated enemies cut off his eyelids, and exposed him for some days to the painful blaze of the sun. Afterwards, they thrust him into a cask filled with serpents and pierced with nails, where he died in agonies. Fortunately this famous story is not true in the detail of its cruelties. So much, however, is fact, that the Romans refused to conclude a peace, and Regulus returned with the ambassadors and died in captivity. He fancied that they had administered a slow poison to him, and the Roman Senate delivered up Bostar and Hasdrubal to his family, as sureties for his life; but Regulus's wife treated them so infamously that Bostar expired in torments, and the Senate released Hasdrubal from his dungeon, to rescue him from sharing a similar fate.

The war recommenced and raged with more fury than before. It was the custom of the Carthaginians for the aristocratic families to command their armies in turn, and the turn now fell to Hamilcar Barca, a descendant of Queen Dido's brother. He is best known as the father of Hannibal the Great, who was the most intrepid warrior and the ablest general of all antiquity: yet Hamilcar was himself a distinguished soldier, and, for ten years, baffled all the efforts of the Romans and their allies. He posted himself upon Mount Ercte, now the "Monte Pellegrino," above Palermo, and thence ravaged the coast of Italy as far as Cumæ, whilst he protected the Carthaginian settlements in Sicily. He reinforced the Generals in other parts of the island, made the Romans often change their plans, and abandon the sieges they had undertaken, and he defeated them in almost every skirmish.

P. Claudius, son of Claudius the blind, attempted to surprise Drepanum, and though told that the auspices were unfavourable, and that the sacred hens would not

eat, he still ordered the assault. He said, "If the ill-omened fowls will not eat they shall drink; throw them into the sea." His soldiers fought without spirit, from the belief that the gods would punish them for their chief's profanity. They were completely vanquished, ninety-three Roman ships being taken, and 20,000 men made prisoners. When this news reached Rome, one Senator proposed peace, but he was met by a storm of indignation, and slain. We cannot but esteem the Romans for not abandoning a war in which they were so often defeated, because the object of it was their future security; and we must admire the patriotism with which they made every sacrifice demanded by their circumstances, in order to obtain a great result. Had the Carthaginians exercised as much self-denial and perseverance, it is possible that they might have finally conquered; but they preferred ease, riches, and a prosperous commerce, and to these they yielded up their national glory.

As the Roman state could not afford to equip another fleet, the wealthy Senators and merchants came forward, and furnished one themselves. In the year of Rome 511, the Consul Lutatius was sent with 200 ships thus voluntarily raised, to blockade Drepanum. The Carthaginians were also at great expense with their navy, and with difficulty provisioned a fleet and sent it under Hanno, with orders first to take Hamilcar Barca and his army on board, and then to fight the Romans. Lutatius skilfully prevented Hanno from joining Hamilcar, and fought him alone. The consequence was, that the Carthaginians, heavily laden with corn, and manned with only inferior troops, could offer no effectual resistance to Lutatius's trained bands. They lost seventy ships and 10,000 men, their fleet was annihilated, and Hanno only escaped home to be crucified. Hamilcar was commanded by his Senate to conclude a peace; and this doubtful war of twenty-four years, at the commencement of which Hanno swore that the Roman Consul should not even wash his hands in the Sicilian sea, was eventually terminated by the Carthaginians agreeing to evacuate Sicily for ever, to release all their prisoners, and to pay the enormous sum of 3200 talents in the space of ten years. Their dominion had subsisted in the Island for two centuries and a half.



## AFTER CHAPTER XX.

BOTH the Romans and the Carthaginians were exhausted by this war; but the Romans suffered the most severely, and notwithstanding their recently extended dominions, were greatly inferior in wealth to their rivals. The Romans lost 700 ships, and the Carthaginians only 500. The Romans were besides obliged to burden themselves with taxes, and to sell almost all the domain lands, which thus were lost to the government, and enabled those who bought them to become lords of whole districts, and to accumulate large fortunes. The tribute from Carthage, though it supplied the present wants of the state, did not compensate for these lands.

The Carthaginians oppressed the nations subject to them intolerably in order to raise the stipulated tribute, and made their rule hateful. Besides doubling the usual assessments of the Africans, they taxed them in half their corn, an exaction, which, being little short of ruin, was discharged with execrations. The tribute imposed was valued in talents of silver. A "Talent" was the name for a certain *weight* of Greek money, which was current throughout the Mediterranean. It varied according to different standards, but was usually exchangeable for 72,000 Asses; therefore when one As would buy a peck of corn, and ten Asses a sheep, the talent would represent as much wealth as 72,000 pecks of corn, or 7200 sheep. The silver talent weighed about 4000 of our shillings, and for that reason is often estimated at 200 pounds, expressing not its value, but its ponderosity. The Romans were so much in want of coin at this period, that they gradually reduced their As from eight ounces to one ounce in weight; and as the Greek towns could not understand the value of a coin which was always changing its size, the Romans were compelled to buy from them in silver, which thus first became the current coin of Rome. The silver *Denarius*, which in Scripture is called "a penny," was a small coin like a shilling, and worth ten small Asses. Its initial letter, "D," we still use to express "penny," in our arithmetical calculations. When the Romans ruled in Britain, there is no doubt

that a Denarius would purchase as much as a shilling will now.

Before the Punic war, the Roman Senate always provided for the sacred games out of the treasury, but from this time forward it only allowed a certain sum, and the deficiency had to be voluntarily supplied. The games thus became an engine of ambition in the hands of those who sought to please the people, and coveted their votes in order to be elected Ediles. The Edileship being the stepping-stone to all the superior magistracies, the rich, rather than the meritorious or the capable, thus began to rule the Republic. Another evil custom now introduced, was the exhibition of those unfortunate slaves called Gladiators. The victor's only chance of life was in killing his adversary for the amusement of the spectators. This cruel sport was exhibited by M. and D. Brutus at the funeral of their father, *Y.R.* 488.

The Romans had no fleet worthy of the name previous to the Punic war. They had open boats called "Penteconters," and transports for troops and provisions called "Triremes," but no fighting ships of war, no Quadriremes or Quinqueremes, which latter were built to carry 120 marines, and 300 rowers each. After the first fleet was prepared, Duilius drilled his men in their marine exercises upon scaffolds erected for the purpose. One man played the flute, and the others moved their oars up and down in time. Besides the festal honours conferred upon Duilius, the Romans erected a column to him, which was adorned with the prows of his Carthaginian prizes, and on which a long panegyric was inscribed. It was called the "Columna Rostrata," and was destroyed by lightning in the reign of Tiberius, but a copy was then made of it in marble, and this still exists in Rome.

The Punic war occasioned the appointment of a Prætor for the coasts of Italy, as well as for the city of Rome. At the siege of Lilybæum, the Romans first made use of artillery, which was supplied them by King Hiero. Artillery had been used by the Greeks long before, and was known to the Phœnicians, Hebrews, and Syrians, so far back as the reign of King Uzziah, *B.C.* 810.\*

Elephants in an ancient army were equivalent in

\* 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

power to cannon in a modern one. The Carthaginians first learned the use of elephants from the Greeks, who employed them under Alexander the Great. Those taken at Panormus were driven about in the Roman circus, and then killed with spears, to teach the people not to fear them.

Carthaginian history is often perplexing from the number of Punic commanders who bore the same name, such as *Hannibal*, *Maherbal*, *Hasdrubal*, *Hamilcar*, &c. &c. They had not Surnames, like the Romans, but the nobles usually bore a name made up from their great gods, *Bel* or *Bal*, and *Milkom*. *Barca* was a title of honour, and meant lightning. It is told of *Hamilcar Barca*, that after an action which he had lost, he asked leave from the Roman Consul to bring away the dead. The barbarian Roman answered, that *Barca* ought rather to concern himself about the living, and make proposals to capitulate. Afterwards, when this Consul lost a battle, he made the same request to *Hamilcar*. The Carthaginian answered, "Let him take his dead. Tell him I war with the living only." The wars with Carthage were called *Punic*, from Phœnician, which the Romans pronounced *Pœnic*, or *Punic*, instead of *Phœnic*. "Punic" faith has become a proverbial expression for bad faith, but it has been well observed that the Romans behaved so deceitfully, that it was owing to their success alone, that bad faith was not denominated "Roman faith."

The Consul, P. Claudius, after his shameful defeat at Drepanum, was ordered to name a Dictator. He had the insolence to nominate a freedman of his own house, *Claudius Glycias*. The Senate annulled his appointment, and named *A. Calatinus*, called also *Serranus*, or "the Sower," because when the Lictors went to him to announce his elevation, they found him sowing his field with his own hand. He was the first Dictator who commanded out of Italy. Claudius was accused of high treason, and went into exile, where he died. His sister *Claudia* was a Vestal Virgin, with a temper as haughty and ungoverned as his own. Upon one occasion, the crowd annoying her as she drove through the Circus, "I wish," she cried, "my brother were still commander of the fleet, that he might rid the world of many more of this rabble." She also was accused of high treason, and fined heavily. The

Romans never mistook insolence for magnanimity, when it was exercised towards themselves.

One instance of real nobleness amongst their military leaders deserves to be mentioned, or rather ought never to be omitted in the account of this war. Under the Dictatorship of Calatinus, the Roman army was proceeding from a town they had sacked and burned, across the mountains, to besiege Camarina. Being ignorant of the country, they entered a defile in which they found themselves enclosed, as their predecessors had been at Caudium, and they were consequently threatened with extermination or disgrace. Under these circumstances, one of the Tribunes, M. Calpurnius Flamma, devoted himself and 300 of his men, to save the remainder. They mounted a hill in view of the enemy, attracted their forces to themselves, and maintained the fight with the bravery of despair, and the spirit of men who seek immortality, until the Roman army had escaped. The different annals which record this deed, each give the Tribune a different name, which the historian Niebuhr supposes to arise from more Tribunes than one having distinguished themselves by the same lofty intrepidity. Such men were worthy of victory, and an army composed of many such could only belong to a nation brave and free. Flamma was found amid the corpses of his companions, still breathing. He recovered, and often distinguished himself afterwards in the battles of his country.

In the treaty of peace with Carthage, Rome stipulated for the Greeks, the Mamertines, and the good king Hiero. They were all enriched, loaded with honours, and established in their freedom. The rest of Sicily passed under the absolute dominion of Rome, and became the first Roman province.

A *Province* meant "taxable land," to distinguish it from the Italian land, which paid no tax. Land in the Provinces did not belong to the government, like the public land in Italy. It was all private property, but paid tribute; and this tribute was sold at Rome before it fell due to stock-brokers, who were called *Publicani*, and who then collected the dues for themselves, often with great harshness and extortion. The officers employed to collect the money for the chief and rich *Publicani*, are those

whom our Lord in the Gospel so often addresses as "publicans."

The towns of a *Province* had no Patrons to plead their cause at Rome, but they were under a Roman Governor appointed for a year, or term of years, who during his government was despotic. The Provincials were not suffered to serve in the Roman army, and might neither make war, nor defend themselves. They were also not allowed to buy or sell out of their own district, which was a very great hardship, because every Roman citizen might buy from them, and settle in their place.

We must remember that whole nations of Italy had now the citizenship of Rome.

## CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND PUNIC WAR, TO THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ ; WARS  
IN GAUL, SPAIN, ITALY, AND ILLYRIA.

B.C. 241 TO 216. Y.R. 512 TO 538.\*



GENERAL SACRIFICING.

THE peace between Rome and Carthage lasted for twenty-three years, but it was a peace without amity, though at first the Romans behaved with honour. Had they continued to do so, or had the Carthaginians been a self-denying and high-minded people, Carthage might have existed as long as Rome. Unfortunately the two ruling families in the Punic Senate, that of Hanno and

\* Authorities : Livy, xxi. xxii. ; Nieb. Lectures, i.

that of Hamilcar Barca, were at enmity with each other. The former cared only for the wealth and ease of his people, the latter for their honour and power; and Hanno, whose disposition was most accordant with the genius of his countrymen, always thwarted the nobler views and wiser plans of Hamilcar.

Part of Hamilcar's army, composed of Italians, was transported from Sicily to Carthage, in order to be paid off. But the large sums required to discharge the Roman contribution, had distressed the treasury for ready money, and the wealthy Carthaginian merchants were not willing, like the Romans, to make sacrifices in order to assist their Government. The consequence was, that the mercenaries being unpaid, mutinied, and headed by Spendius, a Campanian, besieged Carthage. Numidia and Libya at the same time rebelled, and the city was reduced to despair. Hamilcar being replaced in command of a fresh army, his soldiers, gradually, by force or famine, reduced the mercenaries, brought back the Africans to their obedience, and saved the State. This mercenary war was so savage that it received the name of the "Inexpiable." It lasted upwards of three years, and during that time Rome gave no encouragement to the rebels, and listened to none of their offers.

But in Y. R. 416, the Romans could not resist the temptation of assisting the revolted Sards, and expelling the Carthaginians from Sardinia, which they formed into a Roman province. When Hamilcar remonstrated, they answered, that the Carthaginians had given them so much trouble, and so greatly injured their shipping, that to compensate for it, they must pay an additional 1200 talents, and abandon the island. The Carthaginians being too weak to resist, were obliged to submit, but this flagrant breach of faith sunk deep into the breast of Hamilcar Barca, and was the primary cause of the second Punic war. It made him the enemy of Rome for ever, and from this time all his plans were laid with a view to revenge his insulted country. Hanno, who feared his becoming too powerful in Carthage, in order to get rid of him, proposed that he should be sent with his army to strengthen the Carthaginian settlements in Spain. Hamilcar readily gave his consent,\* for his plan was to found a Carthaginian

\* His wife is said to have been a Spaniard.

kingdom in Spain, whence he could at all times draw troops for Carthage, without employing the fickle Gauls and Campanians, and whence he could check the Romans, or even, if opportunity offered, invade Italy. He was persuaded that the possession of Spain might be made to compensate for the loss of Sardinia and Sicily.

His son, Hannibal, then nine years old, hearing him anticipate a career of conquest and glory, entreated leave to accompany him, and to learn the art of war in his camp. Hamilcar granted his request, upon condition that he should always employ his arms against the enemies of his country; and just before leaving Carthage, he took him up to an altar, and made him swear upon it, that as long as he lived he would be the implacable enemy of cruel and perfidious Rome. The noble boy swore, and never forgot his oath. Along with him, Hamilcar also took his younger sons, Hasdrubal and Mago, and his son-in-law Hasdrubal. The latter he made second in command, and nominated to be his successor.

Hamilcar ruled in Spain for nine years. When he landed in that country, Carthage possessed only Granada and Murcia, then called Bastuli and Basitania. In a short time he reduced Andalusia, Valentia, Estramadura, and Lusitania; and he ruled with so much wisdom and justice, that he gained the hearts of the brave natives, by whom he was equally beloved and feared. He treated his allies and his new subjects as his equals, and encouraged marriages between the Carthaginians and the Spaniards. His son, the great Hannibal, married a Spanish lady of Castulo. Hamilcar Barca was killed in battle about the Y.R. 524, and was succeeded by Hasdrubal, who both governed and warred upon the same principles, and with the same success. He increased the Carthaginian possessions, and made the Iberus (now Ebro) his boundary; and he founded the town of Carthagera, which he intended to make his capital, and to exalt into a city as opulent and magnificent as the metropolis of Dido.

The Greek settlements along the coast being afraid of his power, sent to Rome to beg that the Senate would interfere with him in their behalf, that he might be bound not to give them disturbance. The Romans concluded a treaty with him to this effect, in which he promised to respect all the Greek liberties and possessions, and not to



extend his conquests north of the river Iberus. He was assassinated in Y. R. 532, by the slave of a Lusitanian noble whom he had offended.

We must now return to the affairs of Rome. After the Romans had so unworthily appropriated to themselves Sardinia, they closed the temple of Janus, because they were outwardly at peace with all the world. But at this very time two desperate contests were threatening them from Cisalpine Gaul and Spain, each of which brought them to the brink of destruction. Hamilcar had been preparing for war with Rome from the moment that he set foot in Spain. The Gauls were roused to arms by indignation, both because a Roman colony was settled in their late district of Picenum, and because the common lands there and in Northern Umbria were, at the instigation of Flaminius, apportioned for ever to the Roman Plebeians.

As early as Y. R. 514, the Boii and Ligures had threatened to invade Rome. They invited a tribe from beyond the Alps to help them, and advanced to Ariminum; but here they quarrelled amongst themselves, killed the king of their allies, and returned home. Now, however, the Boii of Mutina and Bononia, anticipating an attack from the new Roman colony in Picenum, prepared against it by allying themselves with a distant tribe of Germans, and with a formidable race who dwelt upon the Rhine, called by the Romans *Gæsataë*, because they fought with *Gæsa*, or long iron javelins. Supported by these reinforcements, they advanced from the Po down into Etruria, as far as Clusium; and as all Italy, without exception, dreaded the Gauls, so all Italy united with the Romans to repel them. Each nation sent an account of the number of troops it could furnish, and the brave Samnites alone offered 70,000 foot and 7000 horse. The number of those capable of bearing arms amounted to 800,000 men, out of which the Senate selected 150,000 to oppose 70,000 Gauls. Such a panic seems to us childish, but no Italian could ever forget the burning of Rome, and the Gauls were so tall and strong that the Romans regarded them as giants. Three separate armies were raised, one being commanded by each Consul, and one by the Prætor. This last was defeated at Aretium, with the loss of so much booty, that the Gauls wished to place it in safety in their own homes before proceeding further. They therefore avoided a battle with

the Consul Æmilius, and went round the coast to enter Cisalpine Gaul more quietly. The Consul Atilius had just landed at Pisa with his army. He met them unexpectedly near Telamon, and placed them in such a predicament, with Æmilius in their rear, that they had no alternative but to fight. They were defeated in consequence of the inferiority of their soft blunt swords and brittle shields. Æmilius was killed, but his enemies lost 40,000 men and 10,000 prisoners, and in the next year the Boii were subdued. From their country the Romans invaded Insubria (now the Milanese), and refused the overtures which the Insubrians made for peace. Cn. Scipio and C. Marcellus, both great generals, commanded the Roman armies with success. Viridomarus, King of the Gæsataë Gauls, challenged the latter to single combat before a battle at Accerræ, and was killed by him. Marcellus stripped off the spoils with his own hands, and placed them as the third *spolia opima* in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius. After Marcellus had triumphed, Mutina was colonised, and Cremona and Placentia were founded. The inscription which celebrates the triumph of Marcellus, and names the Germans as the Allies of the Gauls, is to be seen in Rome at this day.

We now come to the most memorable and important war of all antiquity, that of Hannibal Barca against the Romans, and we shall see in it the struggle of a great people against a great man.

Hannibal had no equal in his day; he was at once the ablest of statesmen, and the most skilful of generals: a man as distinguished for the superiority of his moral qualities, his truth, justice, and magnanimity, as for his unrivalled military genius. Hannibal, in Y.R. 532, was unanimously elected by the army to succeed his brother-in-law, Hasdrubal. Like him, he applied himself to win over the Spaniards, and he gained their hearts whilst he forced their submission. He extended the dominions of Carthage to Salamanca, and possessed himself of the two Castiles, called Capetania and Arvarici, but the interior of the country remained independent, and was only bound to furnish him with troops. Hannibal ruled all the south of Spain, excepting the Greek city of Saguntum. Hoping to gain this also, he stirred up his allies the Edetanians, to quarrel with the

Saguntines. Being applied to for aid, as he had foreseen, Hannibal sent troops to assist his allies, and the Saguntines, soon perceiving that their real enemies were the Carthaginians, appealed for help to Rome. The Romans had been for many years so occupied by the Gauls, that they had abandoned all interference with Spain, but now they sent Ambassadors to remind Hannibal of the treaty concluded with Hasdrubal, and to desire him to desist from annoying the Saguntines. Hannibal, who was then besieging Saguntum, sent to warn the Ambassadors before they landed, that it was unsafe for them to approach him, and that he was too busy to come to them. He therefore advised them to proceed to Carthage. The Ambassadors angrily took the advice, and at Carthage required the Senate to deliver up Hannibal. As the Senators hesitated, Q. Fabius Maximus, folded up his toga and said, "Pœnians ! on one side of this is peace, and on the other war. Take which you please." They answered, "Give which you please." He unfolded his robe, and said, "I give you war." They echoed with a shout, "War ! war !"

Saguntum resisted Hannibal nobly for eight months, and it was not until the besieged were reduced to the utmost extremities by famine that the city was taken. Much silver was found in it ; and all, that was not sent to Carthage, Hannibal reserved for the expenses of his future campaigns. Having stationed his troops in quarters at Carthagera, he employed the winter in confirming his late conquests, and in securing the fidelity of Spain and Libya, by garrisoning each country with the troops of the other.

War, the second Punic war, was now formally declared between Carthage and Rome. Hannibal drew his sword, and as he brandished it, prepared to fulfil the oath of eternal enmity which he had sworn to his father.

This great General formed the extraordinary resolution of crossing the Alps, in order to attack the Romans in their own land. For this purpose he had made treaties with all the Celtic tribes between the Ebro and those mountains. He quitted Carthagera and commenced his adventurous march in the spring of Y.R. 535, with 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and thirty-seven elephants. He pene-

trated with little difficulty to the Pyrenees, and at the foot of these mountains sent back 15,000 men to his brother Hasdrubal, whom he had appointed Governor of Spain. He also allowed all to return home who were afraid to follow him through the perils and dangers which he never attempted to disguise. The night before he crossed the Iberus, he dreamed that he saw a bright youth who told him that he was sent by Jupiter to guide him into Italy. "Follow me," he said, "and do not look behind you." Hannibal followed until he was tired, and then could not help looking back. Behind him he saw an immense serpent, which felled all the trees and bushes in its track, and as it proceeded, a dark cloud closed the rear with loud thunders. Hannibal asked the meaning of this, and was told it signified the desolation of Italy, but that he was to proceed and inquire no further. He crossed the Pyrenees near Roussillon, and the Gauls granted him a safe conduct thence to the Rhodanus, or Rhone. Here the people on the opposite banks, being friendly to the Romans, refused him a passage. He sent Hanno some miles up the river to cross with the cavalry, and take the Gauls in the rear, and when this was accomplished, and the Gauls saw a Carthaginian army behind them, and their camp on fire, they gave themselves up for lost, and fled. Hannibal then passed over at his leisure, and made rafts covered with turf for the elephants, which, with some manœuvring, were persuaded to walk over them. The place at which he crossed is now called Pont St. Esprit, in Languedoc.

The Romans, meantime, had sent Sempronius into Sicily, with orders to invade Africa; Manlius into Cisalpine Gaul; and Scipio, father of the great Scipio, into Spain. Scipio landed at the mouth of the Rhone, in order to gain some tidings of the Carthaginians, and was much astonished when he learned that they had already passed that river. Three hundred of his foragers fell in with five hundred Numidian horse, and forced them to retire, which he considered an omen of future success. But as he had failed to check the progress of Hannibal, he sent his brother, Cneius Scipio, with half his forces into Spain, returning himself to Italy with the other half, and landing at Pisa, that he might be ready to meet Hannibal when he should descend, wearied and exhausted, from the Alps.

The Romans looked upon Hannibal's project as crazy and impracticable.

In four days Hannibal reached the capital of the Allobroges, now Vienne, not far from the confluence of the Rhodanus and Isara,\* and here he found two brothers at war for the crown, who agreed to accept of his arbitration. He took the advice of their chiefs, and awarded it to the elder Prince, who, in gratitude, escorted him to the foot of the Alps, and supplied him with clothes and food. But now the difficulties of the march commenced, and as the troops contemplated those mighty mountains, their hearts fainted with fear. Hannibal, whom nothing appalled, represented to them that the Gauls in thousands had already and often surmounted those barriers, and not the men only, but the women and children. "Soldiers!" he said, "you have no choice. Behind you lie slaughter and famine; before you the rich plains of Italy, and the glorious magnificence of Rome." The troops cheered, and followed on. His route had been by Chamberry and Montmelian. Now he came into the passes and found the heights lined with hostile Gauls. Having discovered that they only fought by day, he lay quiet whilst they were on the alert, and at night took possession of the heights which they had quitted, and advanced to the fruitful valley of the Tarentaise. Here the people offered him hostages and guides. He accepted both, but distrusting them he sent his baggage first, and kept his soldiers in the rear. The Gauls, as soon as they perceived the baggage and elephants, came out of their ambush and hurled down large rocks to overwhelm them; but Hannibal dispersed them, plundered them, and proceeded on his way. It was the beginning of October when Hannibal crossed the Alps by a frequented road over the Little St. Bernard, and halted near a white rock still called "La Roche Blanche."

He and his army were nine days before they reached the summit of the mountain, and no words can describe what they suffered from want of food, want of rest, the toils of a rugged march, the depressing aspect of sterile desolation, and the chill of intolerable cold. Ice, snow, storm, slippery paths, barren rocks, raging torrents, and

\* Rhone and Isère.

deep morasses: these were the objects by which they were encompassed. At length, on the tenth day, they began their descent, but after two days more of toil and peril they arrived at a place where the ground had given way, and whilst they stood upon a fearful chasm, the old road which had slipped lay a thousand feet below them. Hannibal was obliged to encamp and make a new road, which seemed to the Romans an achievement so incredible, that they believed in the wildest tales to account for it, and said that he had heated the rocks, and then split them with vinegar. At length, on the fifteenth day, his task was over, and he and his army lay encamped in the vale of Aosta, at the foot of the Alps. "Soldiers," he said, "here is your future home. This is Italy, and before you lies Rome."

Hannibal was only twenty-nine years old when he led his army across the Alps. It was five months since he had left Carthage with upwards of 100,000 men, but the battles he had fought, and the frightful privations he had endured, had now reduced his gallant host to 12,000 Africans, 8000 Spaniards, and 6000 Numidian horse, a mere handful when compared with the Italian forces which were at the command of Rome; nor did Hannibal for more than two years receive any reinforcement from his own timid and misjudging country. He advanced through the Taurini, now Piedmont, and took the capital by storm. He treated his prisoners very severely for some days, and then led them out before his army, and divided them into two bands. Beside them were laid robes, crowns, arms, and all the trophies of conquerors. "If," said Hannibal, "you will fight together to the death, I will bestow these spoils upon the victors along with their freedom; and the vanquished, though they fall, will end their miseries with applause and honour." The prisoners engaged each other with alacrity, whilst the troops, after what they had witnessed of the sufferings of these wretched men, esteemed those who fell almost as happy as those who conquered. After distributing the rewards, Hannibal said to his men, "This is an image of your own situation. If you are victorious, all the wealth of this rich land will be yours: if you perish, you will die lamented and admired; but if you are prisoners, you will groan like these poor men so lately in hopeless slavery."

Hannibal's soldiers felt new courage, and the Taurinian Gauls became his allies.

He advanced to the Ticinus, near the present Pavia, and P. Scipio marched from Pisa and crossed the Padus (or Po) to give him battle. Reconnoitring parties of both armies met, and the Numidian horse (the best light cavalry in the world, and the strength of the Punic armies) repulsed the Roman. Scipio was severely wounded, and but for the courage of a brave youth, said to have been his illustrious son, would have been killed. Perceiving that the troops of Hannibal were superior to his, he retired to the Trebia, near Placentia, and there awaited the arrival of Sempronius, who had been sent for, with his legions from Sicily. Sempronius landed at Ariminum filled with contempt for the Carthaginians, and as soon as he had joined Scipio, pressed him to fight. Scipio, estimating his enemy better, declined coming to action, and Hannibal annoyed the Gauls in his neighbourhood in order to force the Romans to help them. As he had foreseen, they demanded Roman protection, and Sempronius, who commanded the army on alternate days, was willing

to afford it. The banks of the Trebia were, and still are, covered with shrubs, and Hannibal sent his younger brother Mago to lie in ambush with 1000 horse, whilst he despatched his Numidians to defy the Roman forces. Sure of a battle, he made the rest of his men breakfast, anoint themselves, and put on their armour before warm fires. It was in November. Sempronius's troops were not prepared, and he made them, though fasting, follow the Numidians through the Trebia, the water of which was breast-high, and which, besides fatiguing them, struck them with an icy chill. Starved and wearied, they were vigorously attacked by Hannibal's forces, and his elephants and ambushed cavalry soon decided the day. His victory was complete, and was followed by the alliance of all Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman camps were taken and the Consuls retired to Ariminum, now Rimini, whence they sent the news of their defeat to Rome, disguising the circumstances, and basely imputing it to the wind and cold.

Hannibal distributed his army into quarters, and passed the winter quietly in Cisalpine Gaul; but the Gauls were so fickle a people, that he did not feel himself

safe, and he used to appear amongst them in so many different disguises, that never being sure of his identity, they came at last to fear him as a supernatural being. He was strong, tall, and handsome, with a very pleasing countenance, but he would sometimes appear in their councils in a brown wig, as a coarse, harsh, middle-aged commander; and sometimes he would hobble in with a white wig as an old man, until they thought that he could take what form he pleased, and must be a spirit, and invulnerable. In the spring he was informed that C. Tolumnius, who had distinguished himself in the late Gallic war, was sent with the Legions to Aretium, in Etruria.

The Etruscans were now united with the Romans in all their interests, and hated the Gauls and Carthaginians. Hannibal met his enemy by a march, almost as extraordinary as the passage of the Alps. He led his men for four days and three nights through the swamps of Mutina and Lucca to Fiesole, and thence down upon Cortona. Such were the hardships encountered, that the horses' hoofs dropped off, all the elephants perished, excepting one, upon which Hannibal rode, and he himself lost an eye. The new Consul, Flaminius, actually followed him below Cortona, and thought he had caught him in a trap, but Hannibal turned round the Lake Thrasymene, and ascended the hill from behind in columns, thus <sup>Thrasymene</sup> placing himself in the rear of his adversary, who thought he was still marching forward. The hills at Cortona approach each other, and leave a valley, which is closed at one end by the lake, and at the other by a height. Flaminius's troops were in this vale, and they ascended the height in order to attack Hannibal, whose position they entirely mistook. A thick fog prevented them from seeing that his troops crowned the Cortona hills, and they fancied that a body sent to turn them was his rear-guard. They were enveloped on all sides. Flaminius was killed by a Gaul, numbers were driven into the lake, 15,000 were slain, and a brook, now called the Sanguinetta (or Bloody) is said to have run red with their blood; 15,000 men were made prisoners, and 6000 surrendered to Maherbal, Hannibal's commander of the the cavalry. A body of 4000 Romans advancing with the other Consul was cut to pieces, and the Romans and



their allies sustained such a defeat as was never before known in their history, and which no after victories ever served to obliterate. An earthquake occurred during the fight, and was not observed by either party. It is truly remarkable, that after such a victory not an Italian should have joined Hannibal; it is equally remarkable that he never changed his own wisely-calculated plans, however many his disappointments. From the spoils of this battle he armed his cavalry in the Roman manner, and made them practise fighting with the *Pilum* until they knew how to use it perfectly. The Numidians were so careful of their horses, that at the end of a swampy march they used the wine which was given them to drink, to wash the poor animals' feet. After this, and indeed after every other victory, Hannibal dismissed all his prisoners, except the Romans. He said he had no quarrel with the allies, and that he was come to deliver them from the Roman yoke. He kept the Romans for exchange or ransom, and usually treated them well. Another Hannibal, a general of his, was very cruel.

When the Roman Senate were apprised of the destruction of their army at Thrasymentum, they created Q. Fabius Maximus (the declarer of the war) Dictator, expecting Hannibal at Rome. But he was bravely repulsed at Spoletum, and he had not troops enough to besiege so strong a city as Rome, or to surround so wide an extent of wall; besides that, his troops must have encamped about it in June, and would have died of pestilence. His hope was to raise the south of Italy, and he marched through the territories of the Marsii into Apulia. The Dictator met him at Arpi, but could not be induced to fight. He proposed to wear out Hannibal, who had no allies, and who, he calculated, would irritate and oppress the Italians by living upon them. Fabius also knew that Carthage, under the influence of Hanno, would not send him reinforcements, and that Spain could not, because Cn. Scipio had been successful in every engagement in that country, and a hundred Spanish towns, including Saguntum, had surrendered themselves into his hands. The Roman horizon, therefore, was not all clouded, and Hannibal's existence depended on his success. He besieged and took towns in Samnium, but Fabius would not fight. He entered Campania, and encamped on the

Vulturnus, but Fabius only followed; he destroyed the lands and burned the villages, but Fabius kept on the ridges of the Monti Massa, and looked on. Hannibal called him his Pedagogue, and said, "He follows me as the tutor does the child." At length Fabius entrapped Hannibal in a gorge of Mount Callicula, from which he thought there was no outlet; but Hannibal sent at night 2000 oxen up the steep, with torches tied to their horns, and Fabius, supposing it was Hannibal striving to escape, withdrew his troops from the mouth of the gorge to fight the oxen. By the time he discovered his mistake, Hannibal's army had marched quietly through, and were on their way to Geronium.

The Dictator stationed himself at Larinum, and was thence recalled to Rome. Minucius, his master of the horse, was left in command, a man who had long been irritated at the slow proceedings of Fabius, whom he thought over-timid and cautious, and whose opinions on this point were shared by the Roman Senate. This body had given Fabius the nickname of "Cunctator," or the Dawdler, and to punish him they invested Minucius with an equal degree of power. Minucius gained the advantage in some skirmishes with Hannibal, and after Fabius's return, he wished to command on alternate days, as was the custom of the Consuls, but Fabius preferred to divide his forces, and to make two separate camps. Hannibal easily tempted Minucius to an engagement, in which he was only saved from utter destruction by the timely and generous aid of his colleague. After the fight was over, Minucius acknowledged his error, and placed himself and his army once more under the entire command of Fabius. When Hannibal heard it, he said, "That cloud at last has come down from the mountains, and has burst over us in rain and tempest."

The Consuls of Y.R. 537 were Æmilius Paulus, a Patrician, who had distinguished himself in Illyria, and C. Terentius Varro, a Plebeian, and the son of a butcher. They led an army into Apulia of 80,000 foot, to oppose Hannibal, who had only half that number, and they quartered themselves at Canusium. Hannibal distressed them by taking Cannæ, which was full of their magazines, so that their enormous host was soon exposed to famine, besides being threatened by a revolt of the Allies, and

the Consuls felt that they could not maintain their position, unless they speedily dislodged Hannibal. Æmilius shrunk from encountering him, but Varro, trusting to his superior numbers, and to the usual fortune of Rome, longed to give him battle on his day of command, the 2d of August, 537. Hannibal drew him into action, and opposed to him Hanno, with the Numidian horse. The contest soon became general: Æmilius fought with Hasdrubal, who commanded the Spaniards and Gauls; and Minucius and the late Consul Servilius opposed Hannibal and Mago in the centre. Hannibal had arranged his army in a half-moon, so that when the centre retreated drawing the enemy after it, the wings closed upon them. The Allies were cut to pieces, the Roman horse fled, Æmilius, Servilius, Minucius, and eighty Senators, were left dead upon the field. The Roman camps were taken, 10,000 men were made prisoners, and upwards of 40,000 were killed or left weltering in their blood. Varro escaped to Venusia with only seventy horse, and for some time it was not known what had become of him.

The main body of the Romans fled to Canusium, where they placed themselves under the command of two young military Tribunes (answering to Colonels), Appius Claudius, and P. C. Scipio, afterwards the famous Scipio Africanus. Most of the men of rank who were there met in the house of Cæcilius Metellus, and consulted whether they should not place themselves in safety at some foreign court; but Scipio, hearing of their debate, rushed into the room with a drawn sword, and said that no man should leave it until he had sworn not to desert his country. Scipio was not then twenty years of age.

Hannibal won his glorious victory with the loss of only 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards, and 200 horse. Maherbal said to him, "Despatch me to Rome with the cavalry. I will bear the news of the battle, and in five days thou shalt sup in the Capitol." Hannibal smiled, and answered, "It is a fine idea, but impracticable." "Alas!" answered Maherbal, "thou knowest how to gain a victory, but not how to use one." Hannibal gave his men rest, and the Romans themselves believed that this delay saved their country. The Italian allied states, supposing the Roman power to be utterly annihilated,

gradually fell off, but the first to join Hannibal was Capua. The Governor of this luxurious and beautiful city, Pacuvius Calavius, desiring that it should take the place of Rome, acted, in order to accomplish this, with dastardly perfidy and base ingratitude. He was the son-in-law of Appius Claudius, and the father-in-law of Livius, both Roman Senators. His country had always been honourably treated by the Romans, and he had no cause of discontent, excepting unsatisfied vanity. Only one man in Capua, Decius Magius, had the courage to adhere to Rome, and this man Hannibal protected, and placed in safety. The Capuans were a contemptible people, corrupted by habitual indulgence. Upon the approach of Hannibal, they slew the Romans who were living amongst them, by stifling them in hot baths. They stipulated that they should not serve in the Carthaginian army, and that they should be relieved from all the contributions in men and money which they had paid to Rome. Upon these conditions they promised to be friendly and faithful to the Carthaginians. Campania, Apulia, the Greek cities, and all the south of Italy, followed the example of Capua, and became the friends of Hannibal upon the same terms. The Bruttii alone fought for him.

Hannibal sent his brother Mago to Carthage with a bushel of knights' golden rings which had been collected from the dead at Cannæ, and by him he asked for reinforcements to maintain the position he had won. Hanno, his hereditary enemy, not only opposed him, and said he had effected nothing of importance, but urged his disgrace and recall. The Senate, however, sent him forty elephants, some money, and some cavalry, and allowed Mago to raise troops in Spain, whence they permitted Hasdrubal to be withdrawn, that he might join his brother.

After the victory of Cannæ, Hannibal being distressed for money, fixed a ransom for the Roman prisoners, and sent ten of them with one of his officers to treat concerning it in Rome. The Carthaginian was not suffered to enter the city; the ransom was refused, and the Senate answered, that men who preferred Carthaginian slavery to death were not worth ransoming. The fatal catastrophe of Cannæ, which put every family

in mourning, excited the most awful consternation in Rome; and we cannot but admire the courage and constancy of a people, who, under such circumstances, never dreamed of despair, or spoke of submission. The strength and quality of human character is shown by adversity; and the Romans were never so truly great as after this defeat. To drive the invaders out of Italy, and to resist them to the last, was the resolution of every heart; and for this they shrunk from no sacrifices, were depressed by no disappointments, and murmured at no privations. They limited the period of mourning to thirty days, and ordered that no woman should weep in public. The Knights and Senators brought all their gold into the treasury, excepting their rings and bullas. They manned their walls, strengthened their fortifications, enlisted all the men above sixteen, and even freed 8000 slaves, and placed them in the army.

Hiero was true to them in Sicily; Scipio had brilliant success in Spain; a noble woman, named Busa, had the astonishing wealth and courage to provide for 10,000 of their men, who had taken refuge at Canusium; and when the mortified and unfortunate Varro came to Rome, and halted without the gates to render an account of his proceedings, all the Senators went out to meet him, and thanked him for not having despaired of the Republic. "How different," says Livy, the Roman historian, "would it have been with a Carthaginian General! He would have been met with yells and cursing, and must have expiated his defeat by a death of torture."

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXI.

WE have not yet mentioned a war waged by the Romans in Illyria, from x.r. 522 to 535, that we might not interrupt the sequence of narrative about Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal. The King of Illyria died, and his Queen, Teuta, became the guardian of her son Peneus. The Illyrians had long been Pirates, who endangered the commerce of Greece and of the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. They now attacked some of the Italian towns; and these towns sought the protection of

Rome. The Senate sent an embassy to Teuta, desiring that she would restrain her subjects for the future; but she answered, that though she would promise not to act against Rome herself, she could not curtail her people of their ancient privileges. Coruncanius, one of the envoys, having insolently replied, that Rome would teach her to govern better, she sent after him, and killed him. The Romans upon this began hostilities; Demetrius, the Governor of Corcyra, rebelled against Teuta, and not only delivered that island into their hands, but assisted them to subdue all the towns upon the Illyrian coast over which they appointed him their Governor. The state of Epirus put itself under Roman protection; and Teuta soon found herself obliged to make peace, upon condition of paying a yearly tribute, and destroying all her navy, excepting two unarmed ships. After Teuta's death, Demetrius was installed in her place; and as his power depended upon the Romans, he remained their firm ally.

The Romans courteously sent to inform the Greek states of Ætolia, Achaia, Athens, and Corinth, that the Illyrian piracy was annihilated. These worn-out, but once illustrious governments, returned the greeting, and granted them the rights of Isopolity. They also invited them for the future to join in the Isthmian games, which were held at Corinth. These games were called Isthmian, because they took place upon an Isthmus, and they consisted (like the Roman Sacred Games) of boxing, wrestling, horse and chariot races. At Rome only hirelings contended in the games, but in Greece all the competitors were noble. Besides the athletic contests, prizes were distributed at Corinth for music and poetry, and in these two departments women were allowed to compete. A lady named Aristomache once won the poetic prize, and presented a golden book to the Isthmian Society. The victors had their statues erected in the avenue which led to the temple in which they were crowned. The reward they carried off was only a garland of pine or ivy, but the honour they gained was a distinction to them and their family throughout the civilised world, and the Romans highly valued the privilege of being admitted amongst the candidates.

During the Gallic wars, it is said, that the Boii, on

leaving their homes, girded on their belts embroidered in gold, and swore that they would not unloose them until they were in the Capitol. After their defeat at Telamon, Æmilius, who knew of this vow, did not strip his rich prisoners as was usual, but made them continue to wear their ornaments, and to follow him thus adorned at his triumph. When he was in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, their belts were stripped off amidst the mockings of the people, and their fatal vow was fulfilled. The Gauls, armed with the *Gæsum*, terrified and shocked the Romans by stripping their large bodies quite naked before the battle of Telamon, and retaining only their armour. The Gauls usually fought naked down to the waist.

Flaminius, the Plebeian Tribune, whose law for the colonisation of Picenum originated the Boian war, was opposed by his own father when he first proposed it, because the Plebeians being now allowed to hire the common land as well as the Patricians, the appropriation of them in small private lots was a great grievance to the rich who might otherwise have enjoyed them. As the Tribune spoke zealously from the Rostra, his father mounted beside him and ordered him home. Such was the Roman notion of filial obedience, that he immediately obeyed, and the assembly dispersed. He gained influence by this act, but he afterwards enraged the Patricians by passing a law which forbade them to enrich themselves as merchants, or to build large ships; and no Patrician was allowed to possess one larger than what was necessary to convey the produce of his own estate to Rome.

In Y.B. 528 Flaminius gained a victory over the Insubrians between the Adda and Lake Garda, by arming his front line with the *Pilum* as well as the sword. The men received upon this the attack of the Gallic sword, which, though long and broad, was so soft that it bent at the first blow, and could not be used again until it was straightened. Whilst the Gauls were employed in flattening their damaged weapons, the Romans threw away their *Pila* and rushed upon them with their strong short swords, so that they were either killed or disabled. The Romans were assisted in these wars by the Cenomani, a Gallic nation who occupied the territory about Brixen and Verona; and by the Veneti, a mixed race, who dwelt on the north of

the Adriatic Sea, and who seem ever to have continued undisturbed. They were governed by their own countrymen, and ruled by their own laws, because they never wavered in their allegiance to Rome. About this period the thirty-five Roman Plebeian Tribes were completed, and their number was never afterwards increased.

In the year 529, C. Papirius Maso subdued the island of Corsica, and demanded a triumph for his prowess, but the Senate thought fit to refuse. Papirius, instead of disbanding his army and entering Rome as a private citizen, marched off to Mount Alba, and there celebrated his triumph with the same pomp which would have attended him at the Capitol, only he wore a crown of myrtle instead of laurel, because he had defeated the Corsicans close to a myrtle-grove. Many generals afterwards followed the example of Papirius, when they were denied triumphs in Rome.

Before the second Punic war, Rome commanded the whole of Italy from north to south, either as subjects or allies, besides Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Illyria, and many towns in Greece. The Romans had also extensive connexions in Spain, and protected Tarraco (Tarragona) and the province now called Catalonia. They did not, however, derive from Spain the same benefits as were enjoyed by the Carthaginians, who worked the rich mines, and are said to have fabricated even their anchors of silver from the ores of the Pyrenees. At Tartessus the common domestic utensils of the wealthy were made of gold and silver. The Carthaginians traded for tin to Cornwall, and took four months to reach it from Tartessus. A Roman ship once observed a Carthaginian bark making this voyage, and followed it; upon which the captain of the latter ran his ship aground and wrecked himself to prevent the Romans from discovering the passage. Massilia, not far from the Rhone, was a zealous ally of Rome from enmity to Carthage and rivalry in commerce. Many persons are surprised that Hannibal did not proceed to Italy by sea, instead of through the midst of savage nations, and by an unknown road over the dangerous Alps; but Carthage had no navy which could have transported Hannibal; and the Carthaginian Senate was too parsimonious, and too much under the influence of Hannibal's enemy, Hanno, to be trusted for



the necessary supplies. Hannibal, besides, hoped to raise all the Gauls, and expected to influence them in his favour by entering Italy as they had done.

After the battle of Thrasymene, the Romans, in their distress, ordained a sacred spring, that is, they <sup>Sacred  
spring.</sup> dedicated all the cattle and children of that spring to the service of Mars. The children, when eighteen, were to form a sacred colony, and settle away from Rome.

Before the battle of Cannæ, a strong prejudice existed against the Consul, Varro, because he was a butcher's son, and therefore his father could have held no higher rank than that of a *Libertinus*, or *Ærarian*, and Varro must have been the first Plebeian of the family. His election was opposed by the Pontiff Atilius Serranus, and the Augur, E. Pætus, both of them being Plebeians.

After their defeats, the Romans consulted the Sibylline books to know how they might avert further misfortune; and as they found it written that the Greeks and Gauls should possess the Roman Forum, they buried alive in it a man and woman of each nation, to fulfil the prophecy. Hiero, king of Syracuse, acted the noble part of showing confidence in the Romans, and offering them support, in the hour of their deepest distress. After their tremendous loss at Cannæ, he sent them 1000 archers and slingers, with advice to pass over from Sicily and attack their enemies in Africa. He also presented them with a golden statue of Victory, weighing 320 lbs., which he desired them to keep as an emblem of Rome for ever. This was probably the origin of figures of Rome being always represented with a statue of Victory in the hand. The Senators gratefully accepted the omen, and appointed for this statue a shrine in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, from which it was never removed.

In Y.R. 523, the poet Nævius, a Campanian living in Rome, had his first play acted in the theatre at Tusculum. He was the author of both tragedies and comedies, besides a Latin History, from which the first books of the *Æneid* are supposed to have been borrowed; and a history, in seven books, of the first Punic war, in which he himself had served. These histories were composed in Saturnian verse, according to the custom of the times. Nævius was delivered over as a slave to the Metelli, to punish him

for some lines he had written against them. He afterwards was banished, and is supposed to have died in Africa.

Livius Andronicus flourished before Nævius, and is the most ancient Latin poet of whom we have any distinct account. He was a native of Tarentum, and a freedman of Livius Salinator, who made him tutor to his children. His tragedies were represented upon a scaffolding in the Circus, and superseded the dumb shows and short unconnected songs with which the people had before been entertained. In his plays, which were represented in Y.R. 514, he acted himself. Upon one occasion, being too hoarse to speak, he employed a slave to recite his part whilst he gave the appropriate gestures. Livius abridged the *Odyssey*, and translated it into Latin.

The theatrical amusements of the Romans had previously been confined to three classes. 1. The *Pantomimes*, borrowed from Etruria, which consisted of gestures to music without words. 2. The *Atellanæ*, from which our Punch is derived, a sort of genteel, ironical, musical comedy, acted by noble Romans; and 3. The *Prætextatæ*, which were poetical recitations eulogising the Roman kings and heroes, not unlike the funeral songs. Greek literature was now generally studied at Rome, and the Greek histories, dramas, and poems, were imitated by Italians in the Latin language.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## SECOND PUNIC WAR. PART II.

B.C. 216 TO 210. Y.R. 537 TO 543.\*



ROME AND VICTORY.

**AFTER** Hannibal's alliance with Capua he was anxious to possess himself of some sea-port which would secure to him an uninterrupted and easy communication with Carthage and Spain. He relied upon these countries for his reinforcements and supplies; and his plan of war was to enclose Rome between an army led into northern Italy by his brother Hasdrubal from Spain, and another conducted by himself from the South. He attempted to take Neapolis and Cumæ, but being repulsed from both, he abandoned them and was allured to undertake the siege of

\* Authorities: Livy, xiii. 12 to 19 inclusive; Nieb. Lectures, i.; Michelet, ii. p. 130, &c.

Nola, an important city, the inhabitants of which longed to free themselves from the thralldom of their alliance with Rome.

Almost all the large towns in Italy were the capitals of small republics, governed by a Senate and Prætor ; and as the Romans always supported the Senatorial families, whether right or wrong, in the states of their Allies, these families adhered to them even in adversity, and were generally opposed to the wishes and feelings of the Plebeians and common people over whom they ruled. This was the case at Nola ; the magistrates were partisans of the Romans, and the populace of Hannibal. A nobleman named Bantius, whose life Hannibal had spared at Cannæ, promised to deliver up the city to him, but Marcellus (the conqueror of the Gauls), who was sent to counteract Hannibal, gained Bantius by flattery, and preserved the city to the Romans.

Hannibal never lingered over sieges, he was rapid in all his movements, like his own name, "Barca," or lightning ; and if he could not carry a town at once, he usually abandoned it in disgust. For this reason he quitted Nola, surprised and conquered many of the Roman colonies in Campania and Samnium, and then went into winter quarters at Capua. It is said that the luxuries enjoyed there by his troops, and the relaxed discipline he permitted for several months, corrupted that hardy valour and contempt of fatigue, which had hitherto been the main spring of their success. Certain it is that the invincible Hannibal, though always formidable, and often victorious, was invincible no more.

In the spring he besieged Casilinum, and forced it to surrender from famine, though the Romans fed the townsmen some time by floating barrels of meal and nuts to them down the river Volturnus. Hannibal then returned to Nola, but Fabius Cunctator and Marcellus gave him battle, and forced him to retreat. His severest loss was 1200 excellent Numidian cavalry, who upon some offence went over to the Romans, and did them good service to the end of the war. It is painful to read of these soldiers fighting against their former commander, first at Rome, afterwards in Africa, where their desertion was rewarded by the gift of large estates.

Hannibal found some consolation in concluding a treaty of alliance with Philip III. of Macedon, a warlike prince, who wished to dispossess the Romans of the towns they had acquired in Illyria. Philip, however, only consulted his own interest, and had no desire to increase the strength of Hannibal, whose ambition was universally dreaded. The Romans captured the Macedonian envoys on their return home, and having become acquainted with the treaty, sent Valerius with a fleet to Tarentum, whence he was to keep the Greek king in check, and attack him at a seasonable opportunity. The Macedonian war lasted for eight years, but as Philip never sent men or money to Hannibal, he was of no further assistance than by keeping two Roman legions employed out of Italy. The Romans raised him up a dangerous war in his own home, and allied themselves with the Trojans, whom they claimed as kindred; with the Ætolians, whom Philip had offended; with Attalus, king of Pergamus; and with many of the Grecian States, especially Lacedæmon and Athens. Philip's allies were Hannibal, and Perseus, king of Bithynia; and this war, though of no immediate consequence, brought the Romans into nearer connexion with the powers of Asia. At length, in 548, Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, and the Rhodians, negotiated peace between the belligerents, and the Romans granted Philip favourable terms, because they were anxious to turn their whole strength against Hannibal. They intended to renew the war with Macedon, and resume their concessions when the struggle with Carthage should be terminated.

The same year that Hannibal made a treaty with Philip, the Sicilians offered to divide their island with him, if he would expel the Romans. King Hiero  
Y. R. 539. died, after having been the zealous and useful ally of Rome for fifty years; he was succeeded by a weak grandson, aged fifteen, who desired to govern the whole island by himself, and who thought he could accomplish this if he employed the Punic forces to drive off the Romans. Hannibal gladly accepted of this ally, and sent to his aid Hippocrates and Epycides, two nobles of Sicilian families, born and living in exile at Carthage. These men gradually acquired the whole direction of affairs at Syracuse, and for more than three years withstood the

efforts of the Romans to displace them. The feeble king having died, these semi-Sicilians gained over most of the towns in the island.

The Romans lost half of their possessions in consequence of their treachery to the town of Enna, upon which they let loose the garrison, after having assembled together the unarmed magistrates, under pretence of a council. The inveigled victims were murdered in cold blood, and their houses plundered. The Sicilians, far and wide, burning with indignation, joined the Carthaginians, whose *Punic* faith they found more trustworthy than the faith of Rome.

Meanwhile, Hannibal, who had wintered at Arpi, returned to make a third attempt upon Nola, but Fabius and Marcellus being together in the neighbourhood to defend it, he could effect nothing. Whilst in this vicinity, deputies secretly waited upon him from the Tarentines, who offered to place their city in his hands, if he would deliver them from the Roman garrison. Lured by such a prize, he moved from Nola to the vicinity of Tarentum, in order to have some correspondence with his friends there, and finally, as if he had changed his plans, he led his army into winter-quarters.

In the spring he advanced nearer to Tarentum, and feigned sickness to account for remaining so long inactive on the same spot without any apparent object. At length he mastered this important city by stratagem, and in doing so gained an advantage over the Romans which they heard of with the deepest dismay, and which was only exceeded by his previous victories. This conquest was somewhat counterbalanced, first, by the defeat of his general, Hanno, at Beneventum, the siege of which Sempronius forced the Carthaginians to raise, and secondly, by the loss of Sardinia, a reverse which gave Hannibal great vexation. The successful revolt of Hampsicora, a native chief, had lately freed this island from the dominion of Rome. Hasdrubal Calvus (the Bald) hastened with a large force to support him, but Mantius overthrew the united armies in a pitched battle, and brought the whole island back to submission. Hampsicora destroyed himself, and Hasdrubal was taken prisoner.

Hannibal remained at Tarentum, or lingered in Apulia

and Lucania a longer time than military men think consistent with the ability and energy of his character. He must have foreseen that Capua would be besieged upon the defeat of Hanno at Beneventum, and yet he did not advance to prevent the Roman armies from investing it. They encamped about it without resistance, but this was for some time of little consequence, as the inhabitants believed that Hannibal could succour them, and drive away their enemies at will. He probably thought the same, and when the Capuans first applied to him for assistance, he despatched Hanno again to Beneventum, with a large supply of provisions. The Capuans ought to have sent a body of troops, and many hundred waggons, to convey home these supplies, but they were such a lazy and inconsiderate race, that, as if they had been in profound peace, they sent forty waggons only. Hanno was indignant, and refused them his assistance, unless it were accepted in a more becoming manner. This occurred under the prætorship of a stranger, a man of low birth, who was chief magistrate in Capua, because the effeminate nobles found it too much trouble to attend to their own affairs.

The Capuans again visited Beneventum, attended by 2000 waggons, but unfortunately Hanno was absent from his camp foraging, and Sempronius, aware of this, attacked the waggons, and defeated the Punic forces which came out to protect them. His troops gradually becoming excited, threw their standards into the Punic camp, and before Hanno could return, they had entered it by storm, and made it their own. Hannibal, on hearing of it, sent Mago to retrieve the loss, who drew Sempronius into an ambush, and destroyed him, with all those by whom he was accompanied. The loss of the brave and humane Sempronius was severely felt by the Romans; and Hannibal, with a generosity which reflects credit on his character, lamented him, and gave him an honourable funeral.

Hannibal then advanced to relieve Capua in person, and fought with both the Consular armies under Claudius and Fulvius.\* He had gained the advantage, when the deserted troops of Sempronius, who had just lost their

\* Livy, xxv. 10.

general, appeared upon the heights, and marched forward to join their countrymen; but as neither party knew to which side these troops belonged, the combatants simultaneously retired from the field. The Consuls separated, in order to perplex Hannibal; Fulvius went to Cumæ, and Claudius marched into Lucania. Hannibal pursued the latter, who returned by the shortest route again to Capua; whilst a presumptuous Centurion, named Centenius, threw himself in the way of the Carthaginian hero, and attempted to stop his progress with a force of 16,000 men. Hannibal without difficulty annihilated this army, excepting 1000 who fled; and soon after he gave a similar overthrow to Cneius Fulvius, who ventured to engage him at Herdonia. Fulvius himself appeared at Rome to render an account of his defeat. The Senate did not crucify him, after the manner of Carthage, but they said he ought not to have survived the misfortune of his men, and he exiled himself to Tarquinia.

At the time Hannibal retired from Nola to Tarentum, Marcellus was despatched with his victorious troops into Sicily. He invested Syracuse, which was defended by Carthaginian officers; but his most dreaded opponent was Archimedes, the cousin of King <sup>Siege of</sup> Syracuse. Hiero, a renowned natural philosopher, and the greatest mechanic of ancient times. Hiero had supplied him with the artisans, money, and materials necessary for his inventions, and he had discovered many of those properties of air, water, and fire, and those powers of the lever, the screw, the pulley, and the wheel, the improvements upon which form the glory of our own age, in the wonders of steam and electricity.

Syracuse was divided into five parts or townships, named Ortygia, Acradina, Tyche, Neapolis and Epipolæ. These were enclosed by a common wall protected by towers and gates. The sea washed one side of Acradina, and the other joined the island of Ortygia by a bridge. Of this vast city Ortygia is the only part now inhabited, and the rest of its ancient extent is marked by twenty-two miles of ruin. The royal palace, the treasury, the fountain of Arethusa, and the granaries, were in the island. The Senate-house was in Acradina; a celebrated temple of Fortune gave name to Tyche: Neapolis was adorned by six beautiful gates, called Hexapylon; and Epipolæ,



the furthest from the sea, was crowned and defended by a noble fortress. This great city the Romans besieged both by land and water. They drew their ships close into the shore, and erected upon them towers higher than the walls, by means of which they expected to launch javelins and missiles of all sorts upon their foes. Archimedes, however, made slits in the wall for arrows, so that his men could take aim against their enemies without being seen. He also set up posts higher than the wall, with iron levers on the top of them. One arm of these levers stretched over to the Roman vessels, and to this arm was appended a strong chain and hook, or sometimes a claw of iron, like that of a bird of prey. These hooks and claws Archimedes caused to pounce down upon the unfortunate soldiers who were near the wall, and haul them up to his own men. The ships were seized by the poop, swung up, twisted round in the air, and then suddenly plumped down and submerged beneath the sea. The Roman battering-rams and military engines were broken to atoms by immense stone bullets which Archimedes shot down upon them; and all this was executed with so little appearance of apparatus, that the Romans regarded it as magic, and they at last would not stand to their arms, but ran away and trembled with fright, whenever they saw a stick, or a cord lifting itself above the enemy's wall. For three years Archimedes kept the Romans in terror, opposed all their efforts, and defeated all their plans.

Marcellus could only wait the slow effects of time, whilst he removed his ships and men beyond the reach of Archimedes' machines, and surrounded the city so as to prevent the entrance of any provisions. Once the Punic fleet threatened to attack the Roman, but in an unaccountable manner sailed away to Tarentum without making the attempt. At length the Romans took prisoner an envoy of King Philip; and Epycides the Governor, being anxious for his release, held frequent parleys on the subject beneath a tower which joined Tyche to Acradina. One of the Romans took this opportunity of measuring the wall, and found it could easily be scaled. He had friends in the city, and through them was informed that the whole population was engaged in celebrating the feast of Artemis (or Diana), the great goddess of the

place; and that Epycides, to please the people, had distributed a quantity of wine amongst them, by which they were intoxicated. Marcellus sent a thousand men at night who scaled the wall, surprised the drunken guards, and mastered the gate. They then marched through Tyche, admitted the Roman army at the Hexapylon on the other side.

The next day the Romans mastered Epipolæ, therefore only Acradina and the Island remained to the Carthaginians. Epycides very improperly abandoned his post, and took refuge with the Punic forces at Agrigentum. Marcellus then offered honourable terms to the Syracusans, but as the deserters and mercenaries believed that in the event of a surrender they should certainly be sacrificed, they persuaded the Governor of the Fort to hold out. Six prætors were now chosen,—six heads to rule instead one; we need not therefore wonder that one should have been gained by the Romans, and should have proved a traitor. The Prætor Mericus made terms for himself, and admitted Marcellus into Acradina. Thence he attacked Ortygia, and as he with good policy allowed the deserters to escape, the whole city quickly surrendered. Y. R. 541.

Marcellus spared the buildings, and secured the royal treasures, which were afterwards all removed to Rome, but he abandoned the houses to pillage, and drove the freemen into the fields to perish with famine, so that many pretended to be slaves in order to gain food.

Marcellus wished to save Archimedes, and to exhibit him in triumph, but a soldier plundered the room in which he was studying, and being angry at his indifference, struck the philosopher on the head and killed him. Marcellus buried him, and erected to his memory a monument which Archimedes himself had devised, viz., a column with a sphere at the top, inscribed within a cylinder, in reference to one of his cherished discoveries, viz., that the solid contents of a sphere were exactly two-thirds of the circumscribing cylinder. The Romans of that period not being able to appreciate his merits, his tomb was forgotten, but a hundred years afterwards it was searched for, and restored by Cicero, when Italy had learned better to estimate his extraordinary genius.

Marcellus has been celebrated for his great mildness to Syracuse, but in truth, at the time of its surrender, he

could scarcely have behaved more cruelly. All that was glorious in the city he transported to Rome, including pictures, statues, magnificent bas-reliefs, and superb vessels of gold and silver. All the inhabitants whom he did not drive out to perish with cold and nakedness, he sold as slaves. The wretched nobles complained of him to the Roman Senate, and prevented his triumph, upon which he took the wiser part of becoming Patron to the city, causing Syracuse to be reinstated amongst the Roman Allies, and entailing upon his family to uphold its rights at Rome. In after ages, whenever any of the family of Marcellus appeared at Syracuse, the nobles went out to meet them, and received them with garlands, music, and every sign of rejoicing.

After the fall of Syracuse, the Romans attacked Agrigentum, which was defended by an able Numidian officer, named Mutines, whom Hannibal had substituted for Hippocrates, lately dead. Mutines might have caused the Romans years of trouble, but Epycides and Hanno, becoming jealous of him, deprived him of his command. The Numidians resented the unworthy treatment of their chief, and as he was not a man of lofty principles, he and his horsemen went over to the Romans. After their defection, Agrigentum followed the fate of Syracuse. The Carthaginians were not only expelled from Sicily, which became wholly Roman, but Mutines was made a Roman citizen, and turned his courage and ability against Hannibal, his former friend and master.

Whilst one Consular army was occupied at Syracuse, another was blockading Capua, and Hannibal marched to the relief of this city, in the expectation of raising the siege after his victory at Herdonia. The Romans had now twenty-three Legions, or 138,000 men in the field, 50,000 of whom were encamped round Capua. Hannibal planned an attack to be made by the garrison within, and his own army at the same time, but his design being betrayed to the enemy failed. As he did not choose to linger before the walls, and as he could not expect the Capuans alone to drive away the Romans, he was in hopes of forcing the Consuls to abandon the place by obliging them to return to their own homes. With this view he suddenly disappeared from the camp at Capua, crossed the Vulturnus, and terrified the inhabitants of the

Via Latina, by appearing amongst them in full march for Rome. He met with no opposition, and passing rapidly by Tusculum and Gabii, appeared within three miles of the imperial city. The Romans were in dreadful consternation, Hannibal was encamped upon the Anio, and they believed that their perdition was inevitable.

But Hannibal had neither time nor men to surround and blockade so strongly fortified a place as Rome. He continued in his camp long enough to accomplish his purpose of drawing away one of the Consuls from Capua, and if the Capuans had been sufficiently brave to take advantage of this diversion they might have saved themselves. But they waited for fate to act for them without their own exertions; and Hannibal, disgusted with their folly, marched with extraordinary rapidity through the country of the Sabines and Marsi to Rhegium (the only Greek city adhering to Rome), which he almost gained by surprise. Fulvius returned to Capua, and then all hope of its deliverance was over, for even the prospect of slavery and death could not rouse these imbecile citizens to fight like men. The magistrates agreed to an unconditional surrender; but before the gates Y.R. 542. were opened and the Romans had entered, Vibius Virrius, chief of the Senate, invited twenty-eight Senators to sup at his house, and after a feast they all drank poison. Seventy nobles were executed in the presence of Fulvius, whilst he had their pardon concealed in his robes. So much for Roman faith!

All the other nobles perished either in chains or in dungeons shut out from air or light. No freemen were left in Capua, and it became, what it had never been before, the property of the Roman people. We cannot pity Capua; her nobles had become unfit for trust or government. They were despicably unfaithful to Rome in the day of adversity, and afterwards wanted the courage and spirit to defend themselves. The loss of Capua hurt Hannibal's cause so far, that it made many small states doubt his power of defending them against Rome, but he could not himself grieve much, for the doom of an effeminate and contemptible race. Hannibal's troops joined him in Bruttium.

One of the Consular armies now passed with Claudius

Nero into Spain, where the two Scipios had been lately killed; and Roman affairs were at a low ebb. Claudius enclosed the hero, Hasdrubal Barca, in a valley in Ausitania, which resembled the Caudine Forks, and he believed that he had at one blow terminated the Spanish struggle, by obliging the Carthaginian to purchase the safety of his army on condition of evacuating the Peninsula. But Hasdrubal did not, like the Romans at Caudium, solemnly conclude peace, neither did Claudius, like the Samnites, watch vigilantly the passes. Hasdrubal for many successive days had always some new preliminaries to settle, and during this time he was sending off his army in detachments. At last the astonished Claudius perceived that his enemies had vanished, and that their empty tents were alone left for him to triumph over!

Hasdrubal now believed himself free to march through Spain into Italy. There he was to assist his brother in placing Rome between two disciplined and formidable armies, commanded by men whom few in any age have rivalled, and none excelled. Had this plan succeeded, the history of the world would have been changed. The fortunes of Rome and Carthage were at this time almost equally balanced. The Romans had gained Sicily, Capua, and Sardinia, and were allied with Pergamus and the Grecian states. Hannibal ruled in Africa, Spain, Lucania, Apulia, and Bruttium, and was allied with Macedonia and Bithynia. From this time, however, their equality disappears.

Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, was chosen to be the opponent of Hannibal in southern Italy. The Romans recruited their legions every year, but the Carthaginians received no additional succour. Marcellus took Salapia by treachery, and followed all Hannibal's movements. The two generals were often opposite to each other during the whole day, when at night Hannibal would march off, and the Consul had to discover which road he had taken. Marcellus came to action with him at Canusium, but being defeated, he assembled his soldiers the day after, and reproved them so sharply, that they entreated leave to recover their reputation by renewing the fight. They were successful in the second encounter, and Hannibal exclaimed, "Surely this is an enemy that

can bear neither good fortune nor bad. If he conquers he is fierce towards the conquered, and if he is vanquished he renews the fight with his victors."

Hannibal overthrew Marcellus shortly after at Numistro, but his satisfaction was sadly diminished when he heard that Fabius, who had been investing Tarentum, had recovered that strong and important place by treachery. Upon this bad news the Punic General retired to Metapontum, and as his fortune appeared to be on the wane, all Lucania forsook his cause, and made terms with Rome. The Greek cities also, with their time-serving spirit, all abandoned him excepting Locri; and Marcellus continued to follow his steps, and to dodge him from place to place. Marcellus and Crispinus attempted the siege of Locri. Hannibal was separated from them by a low hill, and they rode together to examine the spot, in order to ascertain how they might best occupy it, not suspecting the ambush he had placed there. The unwary Consuls were both surrounded. Crispinus was so severely wounded, that he soon after died, and Marcellus was killed on the spot. Hannibal gave the latter a magnificent funeral, and openly mourned his death. He loved an opponent worthy of him, and ranked Marcellus as the ablest of the Roman leaders. He called him "The lion of Italy, and the sword of Rome," and said that this General always kept him on the alert, and urged him to play his subtlest powers.

The siege of Locri was now raised, and Hannibal, hoping to regain Salapia by stratagem, sent to the governor Marcellus's signet-ring, with a message that the army of its owner would be with him at night. The governor was saved from falling into the snare by Crispinus, who on his death-bed remembered the ring, and sent to warn the Salapians, that it was now in Hannibal's possession. Being thus baffled, this great general marched to Canusium to oppose the new Consul, Claudius Nero, the same man who had aided to subdue Capua, and who had afterwards been so pitifully foiled by Hasdrubal in Spain. Hannibal knew that his brother was marching to join him, and resolved to wait on the defensive in this part of Italy, until he should receive intelligence of his movements. This intelligence came, alas! too soon, and in a shape he little expected!

## AFTER CHAPTER XXII.

WHILST Hannibal was lingering for the last time in the neighbourhood of Nola, he made an expedition to the Lake Avernus, and offered sacrifice to the Genius of the place, who was supposed to dwell in a cave there, full of mephitic gas, which affects the brains of those who inhale it. The ancients believed that it was the residence of a god, and one of the inlets to Hades, the place of souls.

From Avernus he returned to Nola, and thence proceeded to reconnoitre Tarentum, on his way to winter-quarters in Salapia. At this last place he wasted much precious time, by lingering in the society of a lady with whom he was in love. This lady, if not a traitoress and gained by the Romans, was at least one of those contemptible characters who exult in seeing a man sacrifice his interests and his glory to their seductions.

After leaving Salapia, Hannibal, as we have related, pitched his camp not far from Tarentum, and pretended to be sick as a blind to the Romans, who neither understood his movements nor suspected his purpose. In reality, he was all the while plotting with Philemenus, a young Tarentine noble, how he might best enter the city. This young man used to leave Tarentum under pretence of hunting, and often visited the Carthaginian camp, when his countrymen believed that he was engaged on some distant chase. Hannibal gave him game to take back with him, and he always shared his booty with the soldiers at the gate. He went out and returned by night, from fear, as he pretended, of the Carthaginians; and when he had arranged all his plans with Hannibal, he came home with a large wild boar, borne on the shoulders of his attendants, and told the guards to open quickly, for they were sinking under its weight. When the gate was unclosed, the young men stretched the boar across it, and began to cut up the carcass. Whilst thus engaged, a body of Hannibal's men rushed in, killed the sentinel, who was admiring the boar, overpowered the guard, and possessed themselves of that quarter of the city. Philemenus crossed to the opposite gate, and lighted fires to

warn Hannibal of his success; and when the fires were answered, he himself admitted the Punic army, whilst the citizens were still asleep. The Carthaginians proceeded to the market-place, and blew a Roman trumpet-call, in order to attract the Roman soldiers and overpower them. At the same time Philemenus was engaged in keeping his countrymen quiet, that they might not run into danger.

The Roman Governor, suspecting treachery, escaped to the citadel, which stood on a height apart from the town; and when morning dawned, Hannibal was the welcome master of Tarentum, a prize of the highest value to him, and a loss to the Romans, which they heard of with consternation.

Hannibal, however, not being able to storm the citadel, was obliged to blockade it; but the Tarentine navy being inclosed in the land-locked bay which the citadel commanded, the ships of the Tarentines were thus rendered useless. Hannibal drew them on four-wheeled drags across the Isthmus, which separated this bay from the open sea, and launched the released vessels on the opposite side; so that they sailed round, and, to the consternation of the Romans, appeared free and safe, close to the castle, and behind the place where they had been the day before.

After this important stronghold had surrendered, Hannibal confided it to one of his Bruttian allies; and this generous policy of nominating an Italian to be Governor instead of a Carthaginian was the occasion afterwards of its loss. Fabius invested the place, perhaps knowing that the Bruttian noble was in love with a lady whose brother served in his camp. This lady, holding the maxim that all stratagems are lawful in war, persuaded the Governor to admit her brother, with a party of his men, into the town. The Romans immediately possessed themselves of one of the gates, which they opened to a body of their troops, whilst Fabius occupied the attention of the garrison by an assault on the opposite side from the sea. The place was soon taken; and when Hannibal was informed of it, he remarked, "The Romans also have their Hannibal; we have lost Tarentum as we gained it." The riches found in it were immense; and Fabius carried the gold and silver vessels, the in-



valuable pictures and statues, to Rome. Being asked what should be done with the images of the gods, who were chiefly represented as half-naked warriors in action, he answered, "Leave to the Tarentines their angry gods."

When Hannibal sent his General, Hanno, to attack Beneventum, the strongest Roman colony in Samnium, it was defended by the benevolent Sempronius Gracchus, who had under his command the 8000 enlisted slaves called "Volones." He promised these men, that if by their means he defeated the enemy, he would give them their freedom; and, animated by such a prospect, they fought desperately, drove away Hanno with great loss, and mastered his camp. The Beneventines received their deliverers with joy, and feasted them at tables set out in the open streets, where the Volones sat, each wearing the *pileus*, cap of liberty, or white fillets, upon his head. Sempronius went through the lines applauding them; and found such pleasure in the scene, that he afterwards selected it to be painted in the Temple of Liberty, built by his father, on the Aventine Mount. Most men would have perpetuated their own heroism; but his exalted mind found purer joy in commemorating the merit and happiness of others.

The appearance of Hannibal before Rome tried the courage of the Senate and the constancy of the people to the utmost, and their spirit almost gave way. It seemed as if the god of war was at their gates, and they were inclined to believe that the fate of their city was sealed. So great was their terror, that upon one occasion, when Hannibal rode up to the Temple of Hercules, which stood upon the Monte Pincio, and Mutines, in order to oppose him, moved the quarters of his Numidian horse from the Aventine to the Esquiline, the people called out that the city was taken, and killed many of those troops, mistaking them for enemies.

Fulvius, as Hannibal had foreseen, was recalled from Capua, but only withdrew 16,000 of his troops. Hannibal on two separate days offered him battle, but it is said that each time when the armies were drawn out, violent storms prevented the engagement. Hannibal at length retired, exclaiming, "Sometimes the *will* is wanting to me, and at others the *power*, to take Rome." He

was told of various bravadoes, some of which amused, whilst others annoyed him. By one he was informed that the city swarmed with armed men, and that a detachment had been sent off to reinforce the army in Spain; by another, that the ground his camp covered had been put up to auction, and had brought its full value. This last insolence enraged him so much, that he offered for sale the silversmiths' shops round the Forum, and had them bought in at a valuation.

After he retreated from Rome, the people celebrated his departure by building a temple to the god *Rediculus*, or Turner-Back; the name is a barbarism of *Redigo*, or *Reduco*. When the dread of Hannibal had subsided, the Romans altered the name of this god to *Ridiculus*, or laughter, in ridicule of their own fears. The ruins of this temple still exist near the Grotto of Egeria.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## SECOND PUNIC WAR.—PART III.

B.C. 216 TO 201. Y.R. 537 TO 552.\*



GREEK PHILOSOPHER WRITING.

WE must now review the war in Spain, where Rome and Carthage had opposed each other ever since the year 534. Each party foresaw that the victor there would be triumphant in the end, because the resources of the Spaniards were inexhaustible, and their troops were ex-

\* Authorities: Livy, xxiii.-xxix, inclusive; Nieb. Lectures; Michelet.

cellent. Superiority in their country was, therefore, justly regarded as second in importance only to success in Italy. To Cn. and Publius Scipio, both great Generals, was committed the management of the war. They took the Celtiberi into pay, recaptured Saguntum, after it had been five years under the Carthaginian yoke, and advanced as far into Andalusia as Cordova. They also formed an alliance with Syphax, king of Numidia, whom, being at war with Carthage, they encouraged in his hostility, and sent officers to discipline his infantry in the Roman manner.

The Carthaginians, on the other hand, allied themselves with Gala, king of Massilia, who had claims upon Syphax's dominions, and whose brave son, Masinissa, aged only seventeen, had defeated Syphax in a pitched battle, and almost annihilated his power in Numidia. Syphax fled, hoping to join the Romans in Spain, but Masinissa not only prevented him from quitting Africa, but passed over himself, with a body of horse, to Hasdrubal. The Romans, to encourage Syphax, sent him their usual royal presents of an ivory chair, a purple robe, and a golden bowl of considerable weight. Having afterwards made peace with Carthage, he recovered so much power that he became a desirable ally to both the belligerents, and had his vanity gratified by embassies from each.

At the time when Masinissa joined Hasdrubal, that able General was driving back the Scipios, and by the aid of Indibilis and Mandonius, powerful princes of the Ilergeti and Ausitani, he defeated and killed, first Cn., and then Publius, so that the Roman troops, deprived of leaders, were forced once more to retire beyond the Iberus. They elected, as their temporary commander, Marcius, one of the military Tribunes, who secured them in a strong position, and prevented the advance of the Punic army. The Spaniards and Numidians were encamped seven miles from him. He ascertained that their tents were composed of dry wood and leaves, and that they had no ditch excavated round their quarters, and no proper sentinels to keep the night-watches. The idea struck him of attacking them by night, and firing their camp;\* and this he executed with consummate skill,

\* Livy, xxvii. 8.

without treachery, and without sacrificing his own men, destroying 37,000 of the enemy, and forcing them to retire. Much elated, he sent an account of his victory to Rome, and styled himself "*Marcus Proconsul*." But the Senate, though they thanked him for his gallantry, would not permit him to assume honours which it was their province to bestow; and his ready submission to the young Proconsul, whom they immediately placed over him, does him more credit than even his victories.

The Senate desired Candidates to appear for Spain, but the war was thought so hazardous that no one came forward, excepting young Publius Scipio, then aged twenty-four, son and nephew to the two chiefs who had so lately fallen beneath the sword of Hasdrubal. The people were astonished at his offering himself, because of his youth and the misfortunes of his family; but when he represented himself as born to avenge those misfortunes, they elected him with enthusiasm.

Publius Scipio, afterwards the Great, was handsome, elegant, and graceful, and had those manners, and that style of eloquence, which win from the people confidence and love. He never undertook any action of importance without first going to the temple on the Capitol, and remaining there some time, as if in converse with the gods; and he allowed reports to be spread without contradiction, that he was the child of a Genius, who visited his mother in the shape of a serpent, and that he himself was a seer of visions, and predictor of events. Young Scipio undertook the Spanish command in the belief that he should conquer, and he inspired his men with the confidence which he felt himself. He established his head-quarters at Tarraco (Tarragona), and gave the highest praise to Marcus for his skill and courage.

Scipio endeavoured to strengthen and extend the Roman alliances with the native princes, and when the winter was over, he desired his able coadjutor, Lælius, to conduct the fleet to Carthage. This city was the Spanish capital of the Carthaginians, their strongest fortification, the repository of all their military stores, and the place of security for their hostages. Scipio surprised it, almost before Hasdrubal knew that he was on the march, attacking it by land and sea at the same time.

The Punic troops made a brave defence, but one part of their fortifications was weak and slightly guarded, because it was supposed to be defended by the ocean. In fact, however, this part was a shallow, which in particular winds and states of the tide, was reduced to a mere marsh. This circumstance did not escape the quick eye of Scipio, and his ready wit turned it to advantage. He told his men that Neptune had worked a miracle for the Romans, and would himself be with them as they crossed the sands, and assist them in their attack upon the citadel. The men believed him, and followed him in high spirits, unsuspected by the enemy. Whilst one large body of the army attacked the walls from the land side, another supported them from the harbour, in order completely to engross the attention of the defenders. Scipio and his band scaled the unguarded sea-walls, and were in the city before their enterprise was discovered. They opened the gates to the main body, and Carthagera was forced to surrender, the Generals esteeming themselves fortunate to make their escape.\* The treasures found in the city were immense—the very artizans made prisoners were an irreparable loss to the enemy, and Scipio, following the example of Hannibal, released all the hostages, including a nephew of the young Masinissa. He gained the friendship of many Spanish States by restoring to them their Princes. The mother of Mandonius, and the daughters of Indibilis, after the most respectful and honourable treatment, were sent home, and the Ilergeti became Allies of the Romans. It is said, that one Princess of great beauty was brought to Scipio, whom his natural disposition inclined him to detain, but finding that she was betrothed to Allucius, a Prince of the Celtiberi, he sent for her parents and her lover, and restored her to them without ransom. He even refused the gifts which they offered, affirming that he desired only that they should be friends to the Romans. Allucius, in gratitude, employed the gold he had brought, to raise a regiment of horse, with which he joined Scipio.

Hasdrubal, failing to retake Carthagera, departed to fulfil his long-cherished project of joining Hannibal in Italy, and he was not deterred even by a defeat which

\* Livy, xxvi. 47.

he sustained from Scipio, near the Tagus. He left three large armies behind him to oppose the Romans, and pursued his course uninterrupted, accompanied by the friendly wishes of every State in Spain and Gaul through which he passed. Finding that Scipio commanded the eastern coast, he turned to the west, and crossed the Pyrenees into Aquitania, marching with such celerity, that he occupied only two months on his route from the Tagus to the plains of the Po. Many of the Spaniards joined him. Eight thousand sturdy Ligurians placed themselves at his disposal, and all seemed to prosper in his path, until he allowed himself to be arrested by the Roman colony of Placentia, which he besieged, and failed to take. Meanwhile the Romans, having perfect intelligence of his force and movements, sent two large armies under L. Porcius and Livius Salinator, to resist him. Hannibal, in similar circumstances, would have marched forwards, and passed them, but Hasdrubal contented himself with sending messengers to his brother, to desire him to advance directly into Umbria.

It seems surprising that, never since Hannibal passed through their country, had the Gauls given any annoyance to the Romans. Soon after the battle of Cannæ, the Consul Postumius had been sent against them, and they annihilated his army by inveigling them into a forest, the trees of which they cut half through, and caused to fall upon their enemies. Postumius being killed, they chased his skull in gold, and used it afterwards for a drinking cup. This vain triumph seems to have satisfied them, and they remained quiet until the arrival of Hasdrubal. The Gauls and the Carthaginians never acted in masses together to destroy Rome, and never avenged their animosities at the same time, or it is probable that the Roman power would have been overwhelmed. Hasdrubal occupied only two months in traversing a longer space of country than his brother had been able to march over in five. Therefore, he arrived in Italy considerably earlier than was expected; and Hannibal had reckoned upon amusing himself for several weeks longer with forcing Claudius to march and countermarch, as he had formerly done with Marcellus. Hasdrubal's messengers to him unfortunately lost their way, and were taken prisoners and carried into Tarentum. They were thence

sent to Claudius, who read Hasdrubal's letters and forwarded them to Rome. He wrote to the Senate at the same time, that it was now in his power to deceive Hannibal, and perhaps to destroy the Carthaginians. That for this purpose he intended secretly to withdraw from his camp at Canusium with a select body of men, and by forced marches to join the Consular army now opposed to Hasdrubal in Umbria. The Senate applauded his designs, and ordered preparations to be made for expediting them. Claudius announced to his men that he meant to attack a small fort near them, and with this presumed intention he led forth at night 6000 veterans and 1000 horse. But he had no sooner passed his own lines than he turned towards the north, and conducted them with the utmost possible rapidity to the camp of the Consul Livius.

Hasdrubal had advanced as far as Sena Gallica, now Senigaglia, on the coast, and his opponents were not far from him. Claudius sent to ask Livius how he should join him, whether openly or privately, whether by day or night? The astonishment and joy of Livius at the receipt of such an unexpected message are not to be expressed, both because of the reinforcements, and because his colleague had been able to outwit Hannibal. He besought Claudius to join him secretly by night, and caused his officers and men each to receive into their tents those of their own rank. In this manner the camp was not enlarged, and Hasdrubal could not discover his enemy's advantage. Hasdrubal, however, had an eye not easily deceived. He observed amongst the Romans some old-looking leathern shields, and some thin horses, which made him suspect the arrival of a reinforcement, and he sent scouts to the watering-place, to ascertain whether any of the soldiers were unusually sun-burnt, as if off a journey, and whether the trumpet-call sounded once or oftener throughout the lines.

Two Roman camps, the Prætor's and the Consul's, were now together, and the scouts reported that the trumpet sounded once in the Prætor's, but twice in the Consul's. This convinced Hasdrubal that the southern army had joined Livius; but whether in consequence of his letters being intercepted, or the defeat of his brother, he could not divine. In either case it was a great mis-



fortune, and he perceived that he could neither, as yet, expect Hannibal nor any tidings from him. He therefore considered it best to retreat into Gaul, and wait for information.

At night, he fell back upon the Metaurus, and tried to cross the river, which is usually shallow, but it had been swelled by rains to a furious torrent, and he could not find the fords. His treacherous guides ran away, and, ignorant of the country, he wandered farther from the sea to where the banks of the river rise higher and higher. The next day the Romans overtook him, fresh and in spirits; whilst his troops were exhausted, and he was in perplexity. He saw that he must fight, and he made all the preparations for it which consummate ability could suggest. When the battle had once begun, he maintained it with a coolness and courage that never flagged. But the Gauls were soon routed, the wearied elephants had to be killed by their own riders, and after the loss of ten thousand men, Hasdrubal rushed into the centre of a Roman cohort, and there met his death. He had been the soul of the war in Spain, and was only second to his great brother as a Patriot and General; yet the Romans left his body on the field unhonoured and unburied. Claudius Nero, with savage ferocity, cut off his head, and carried it with him on his return to Canusium. In six days he reached this place. He sent some of his prisoners in chains to inform Hannibal of his victory, and he threw the head of Hasdrubal within his camp, as he would have tossed over a dead dog. How unlike the noble conduct of Hannibal to his enemies, Sempronius and Marcellus! When the shocked eyes of Hannibal looked upon the ghastly features of his beloved brother, whom he was expecting at that moment to reinforce him, he wept, and said, "Alas! I see the doom of Carthage."

The Romans estimated the abilities of Hasdrubal so highly, that they considered the victory of the Metaurus as a compensation for their defeat at Cannæ. A splendid triumph was granted to both the Consuls, in which Claudius Nero, though the cause of the victory, chose to ride on horseback, as being the inferior authority in the field. But the soldiers in their rude songs attributed to him all the merit, and he was the hero of the day. The

Senate ordered three days of thanksgiving. Even the heathen knew that the events of this world are ordered by God, and that we must seek to glorify Him in them, if we would not have them turn to our own disadvantage. The ill-used successes of Rome were afterwards the cause of her decay.

Hannibal never recovered the death of his brother, and never again received succours in Italy. All the Greek states, in Lucania and Bruttium, had abandoned him, Philip of Macedon had made a separate peace, and deserted him, and Sicily was entirely lost; yet he never relinquished his first plan of fighting the Romans in Italy, and he maintained himself there, through four years of gradually sinking fortune and accumulated disasters, with a courage and perseverance worthy of success, though they could not command it. Livy says, that his talents and firmness in adversity were even more admirable than in prosperity, and he does not withhold his meed of generous praise from the man, who, under such depressing circumstances, still continued to be a formidable adversary. "Carthage," he says, "deserted Hannibal, and attended only to Spain, as if all in Italy were prosperous. Yet that great General kept together a body of men composed of the refuse of all nations, who had not one single tie in common. They were of different languages and laws, habits and countenances, and even of different religions; black Africans, sallow Spaniards, fair Gauls, and dark Italians;"\* yet none mutinied or murmured—none raised either hand or voice against Hannibal, and none deserted him in his fallen fortunes. He was the beloved head of a band of determined warriors, who had been with him in good and evil, and who with him were content to stand or fall. Strange to say, on account of this very influence, Hannibal was mortally hated, and unceasingly opposed, by a body in the Carthaginian Senate, and their base envy brought upon themselves their own final ruin.

Hannibal retired from Canusium to Crotona, and the Romans contented themselves with keeping him at bay, and pursued the war vigorously in other quarters.

The Punic forces in Spain were commanded by three able generals, Mago Barca, the brother of Hannibal;

\* Livy, xxviii. 12.

Hasdrubal Gisco, with whom Masinissa was joined; and Hanno: but unfortunately these generals quarrelled, and would not act in concert. Silanus, the Legate or Deputy of Scipio, a skilful and experienced officer, defeated Mago and Hanno, and took the latter prisoner. Mago then joined Hasdrubal, but both generals were worsted in a contest with Scipio; and, after sustaining a severe loss, Mago threw himself into Gades (now Cadiz), the oldest Punic settlement in Spain, and Hasdrubal went to Africa to solicit the assistance of Syphax. Hasdrubal remained in Africa, and, what is singular, met Scipio at the Court of Syphax, upon the same errand as himself. The Numidian Prince for some hours held the balance between Carthage and Rome. Hasdrubal Gisco was one of the Princes of Carthage, and he had a beautiful daughter named Sophonisba, who was the most accomplished and fascinating woman of her day. It is said that both Syphax and Masinissa were in love with her, and that Hasdrubal purchased the hearty alliance of Syphax by giving him her hand. At the same time he lost Masinissa, who, not being noble enough to declare himself openly, ever after acted a treacherous and hostile part towards the Carthaginians.

Scipio returned to Carthagena and chastised several Spanish tribes which had risen against the Romans. His brother Lucius reduced Orynx, the capital of the Milesians, the Spanish tribe from which the Irish claim their descent. Scipio was ill for a short time, and reported to be dead, which had a detrimental effect upon the Roman interests all over Spain. A Legion of the Italian Allies at Sucro, a town at the mouth of the river of that name, believing the report, mutinied, being angry at the long delay of their pay, and at the number of years they had been kept in Spain. They elected two Latins to be their leaders, and invested them with the Consular ensigns of sovereignty. Scipio recovered, and sent seven of his officers to ascertain the extent of the revolt, and to take measures for its suppression. The Deputies announced to the troops the Proconsul's recovery, and assured them of his anxious wish to redress their grievances, for which purpose the heads of the Legion were invited to visit him at Carthagena. There were thirty-five ringleaders, and each of Scipio's envoys invited five of them to be guests

in his house. The friendly offer was accepted, and the Legion marched towards the city. On their arrival, they found Scipio's garrison quitting the place, and were informed that the men had been ordered away to reduce a Spanish fort. The Italians understood from this, that Scipio had placed himself in their hands, to be guarded by them. They doubted not, therefore, to obtain from him such terms as they should prescribe.

The next day they were summoned to meet him, unarmed, in the Forum; and Scipio received them, throned on his judgment-seat, his youthful countenance beaming with majesty. He had a guard of Lictors around him, and deep rows of bristling spears glittered from behind. Little had the mutineers suspected what now flashed upon them, that the troops whom they had met marching out of the town, had halted as soon as the Italians were safe within the walls, and had then returned. These were now present to support their General. The revolvers were surrounded by an armed host, and had no resource but submission. Scipio made them a prudent speech, laying all the blame upon their leaders; and these unhappy leaders were brought forth from the houses of their traitorous hosts, where they had been stripped naked, and bound ready for the stake. In the presence of their helpless followers, they were scourged and beheaded, whilst not one who favoured them dared to utter a groan. Scipio pardoned the remainder, gave them their pay, and distributed them to other quarters.

A dreadful tragedy was about the same time acted at the Spanish town of Astapa, besieged by Marcius. The place being surrounded, the citizens had no hope of saving themselves. The men, therefore, <sup>Astapa.</sup> having opened one of the gates, and sallied forth against the Romans, fought to the last gasp, and all perished, after killing as many of their enemies as they could. Meanwhile, their treasures had been gathered into a heap in the market-place, and the women and children were seated upon the summit. Fifty young warriors stood round with torches. As the Romans entered Astapa, these men fired the pile—the women, children, and treasures, were consumed, and the warriors stabbed themselves, that they might share the common ruin. Such was the character of the Spaniards, and it made the loss

of their enemies certain, while their booty was not worth the blood it cost.

Scipio attacked Gades, and though he was repulsed he gained over Masinissa, who visited him under pretext of exercising the Numidian cavalry. This evil man returned to Mago, and remained an unsuspected spy and traitor in the Punic camp.

Mago received orders from the Punic Senate to abandon Spain, and to join Hannibal with all the troops and money he could raise. Unfortunately, in order to increase his store, he oppressed and incensed the citizens of Gades, forcing them to give up their treasures, and even spoiling their temples. He made an attempt upon Carthagera, but, being unsuccessful, he returned to Gades, and found the gates shut against him. Extremely incensed, he sent for the governors (called in Punic "Suffetes") to parley with them, and, upon their appearance, he seized them and had them crucified. This was very opposite to Hannibal's policy, and was followed by the immediate revolt of Gades to Rome. Mago put to sea with his army, and wintered in the minor Balearic Isle, now called Minorca. In the spring he landed at Genoa, which he took and destroyed. He was joined by many Gauls and Ligurians, and advanced into Insubria. Here he fought a pitched battle, where he was defeated, and so dangerously wounded as to be disabled; in consequence of which he was recalled to Carthage. He left in Liguria a division of his army, under a chief named Hamilcar, and he died of his wound off Sardinia. With Mago Barca, departed for ever the Punic influence in Spain.

The whole Peninsula submitted to Scipio, and he returned to give an account of his victories in Rome. He laid down his command in the Temple of Bellona, where none of his predecessors had better deserved the triumphs thence decreed. But Scipio was not yet capable of such honours, for he was not old enough, and had never been either Prætor or Consul. He was elected Consul the following year, but many of the Senators were jealous of him, especially Fabius Cunctator, and they thought it advisable that Scipio's career of victory should be checked. With this view the Senate withheld their consent to his plan of the war, denied him the province for which he was a candidate, and refused to supply him with troops.

Scipio was not a character of the highest stamp, as his preference for cunning over truth has already shown. He was more anxious for his own glory, than for the supremacy of law and order; and he told the Senate that if they continued to oppose his wishes, he would set them at defiance, and obtain the province he solicited by a *Plebiscitum*, or order from the Tribes. The Senate being overawed, came to a compromise, and assigned to him Sicily, with permission to invade Africa under certain restrictions, allowing him to engage volunteers for the service. Scipio's great anxiety was to attack Carthage itself, and the Italians entered eagerly into his views. The states of Etruria furnished him with men, ships, arms and corn, besides equipping for him no less than thirty war-vessels in forty-five days. Scipio disciplined and organised his men, but especially 300, whom he kept about his person, and to whom he only lent the arms they learned to wield. When he arrived at Syracuse, he announced that he required 300 young cavaliers completely equipped to join him, and to form a squadron of horse. As the Syracusans dared not disobey, the young nobles presented themselves, but with evident fear and reluctance. Scipio said that if they disliked the service, his 300 unarmed guard would take their places, keeping their horses and weapons. His offer was joyfully accepted, and thus he provided himself with a well-appointed select body of cavalry at the expense of the Sicilians, whilst he conferred upon their cowardly hearts a great obligation. Scipio wintered at Syracuse, and collected under him the disciplined troops of Marcellus, and the fifth and sixth Legions, which had been disgraced since the defeat at Cannæ, and burned to recover their reputation.

In the following spring (550), Scipio ordered the fleet to assemble under Lælius at Lilybæum, once a strong city of the Carthaginians. Thither he marched his gallant army; and thence, amidst the shouts and blessings of the people, he embarked to attack Carthage, and to end the war in Africa. Lights were fixed to all his vessels, that their order of sail might not be interrupted during the night; and by day-break next morning they were in sight of the Punic coast. They landed at a cape between Carthage and Utica, long after called "Castra Cornelianæ," from "Cornelius," the name of the *gens* to

which the Scipios belonged. The Carthaginians heard of the invasion with inexpressible consternation. Their great General, Hasdrubal Gisco, was absent, recruiting his armies. Their powerful ally, Syphax, was in Numidia, and their pretended ally, Masinissa, was hovering on the frontiers, with some cavalry, not far from the Romans. All their available forces were hastily assembled, and Hanno opposed himself to Scipio to prevent his advance. Masinissa betrayed Hanno, caused the destruction of his division, and then openly and for ever joined the Romans.

Hasdrubal and Syphax took up a strong position on the road to Carthage, upon which Scipio turned to the north, and besieged Utica. At the end of forty days, having made no progress, he raised the siege, and cantoned his army on a rocky eminence in the vicinity. From this place, Scipio sent to Hasdrubal and Syphax, pretending that he wished for peace; and while negotiations were going on, he strove by every art of flattery to detach Syphax from the Punic cause. As this failed, the idea entered Scipio's mind of burning the camps of his enemies in the same manner as Marcius had burnt them in Spain. All stratagems are lawful in war; and fearful as the consequences must have been, all men would have admired Scipio had he fairly outwitted his enemies; but Scipio, to accomplish his purposes, made use of a perfidy worthy only of a savage, and which must for ever remain the greatest blot upon his reputation. Without the smallest intention of making peace, he carried on negotiations through the whole winter in the most friendly language, and caused his envoys to remain for days together in the Punic and Numidian camps, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with all their arrangements. He sent his ablest officers, disguised as slaves, to execute this infamous service, and give the world a horrible example of the Roman notions of public faith. At length, when he was fully master of all the details, he informed Syphax and Hasdrubal, that though he had wished for peace his council would not agree to it, and therefore the armistice must cease. He then launched his ships, and sent by land 2000 men against Utica, pretending to renew the siege; but that very night he marched the rest of his army in darkness

and silence against the two camps, giving Masinissa charge of Syphax, and taking Hasdrubal to himself.

Lælius set fire to the tents of wood, reeds, and palm-leaves of the hapless Africans, which burnt with extinguishable fury, whilst Masinissa guarded all the avenues, and massacred the naked, helpless men who were awoke out of their sleep, and who, long believing the fire to be accidental, attempted to quench it, and to escape. Forty thousand Africans were murdered in this barbarous attack, being suffocated, burned, and slaughtered, besides horses and elephants. Hasdrubal and Syphax escaped with a body of cavalry to Carthage, and their loss was irreparable. The Senate talked of peace as indispensable, and of recalling Hannibal. But Syphax's warlike spirit, incited by his noble-minded and patriotic wife, soon recovered its tone sufficiently to raise 30,000 men and march again to engage Scipio. The armies met near Utica, Syphax was completely defeated, and retreated upon his own dominions, whither Lælius and Masinissa pursued him. In fifteen days they reduced him to his last resources, forcing him to stand an unequal contest, dispersing his remaining adherents, and capturing his person. Syphax was despatched as a prisoner to Scipio, and was reserved for his triumph.

Masinissa entered Cirta, his Numidian rival's capital, as a conqueror, and at the threshold of the palace was met by the beautiful queen, Sophonisba. Knowing that she was vanquished, and that further opposition was vain, she entreated Masinissa to protect her from the Romans, and to prevent her being exhibited behind the car of Scipio. He swore assent, and for once kept his oath; but ignorant how otherwise to shield her, he married her that very evening, and then presented her to Lælius as his wife. Lælius was enraged at her rescue, and Syphax scornfully assured Scipio that she would influence Masinissa's mind, as banefully as she had influenced his. Scipio haughtily ordered Masinissa to deliver her up, and this prince, not venturing to disobey, sent her poison with the message, "that as he had not power to observe the first part of his promise, he thus fulfilled the second." Sophonisba took the cup and drained it, saying, as she turned proudly to her attendant, "Do not disgrace my death by your tears, but tell my



husband that I accepted his pledge with gratitude, only I should have died with more honour had I not so recently married him." Her body was burnt, and her enemies permitted it to be interred with regal honours. When Masinissa returned to the Roman camp, Scipio proclaimed him king of Numidia in presence of all his army, and placed the crown upon his head.

Scipio took Tunis and some other towns, but Utica still held out. His vessels lay close into the harbour, when, to his alarm, the Punic fleet from Carthage appeared bearing down upon them, and threatening all his navy with destruction. He drew the ships on shore, and ranged his men for battle, but, strange to say, the Carthaginian Admiral neglected this only opportunity of really injuring the Romans, and made no attempt upon them until two days after, when his opponents were fully prepared for resistance. The dispirited Carthaginians then, seeing no prospect of better fortune, sent to solicit peace; and Scipio agreed to an armistice until accredited Ambassadors could lay their proposals before the Roman Senate. He, however, assured them that their very first step must be to recall Hannibal from Italy. The Carthaginians, therefore, ordered their heroic General home, both to defend his own country, and to render peace with Rome possible. Hannibal, who had sworn to his father eternal enmity towards the Romans as implacable and perfidious foes, groaned when he received the mandate, and cursed himself for not having marched upon Rome after the battle of Cannæ. He sailed as he was commanded, and the Romans ordered five days of thanksgiving for his departure; but he looked with deep and longing regret to the land he left, in which alone he felt that he could effectually injure his enemies, and in which, despite of every disadvantage and neglect, he had maintained with them a divided empire for more than sixteen years.

Hannibal, and the army which so long had continued faithful to him, sailed under very different auspices from those which had smiled upon Scipio and his exulting host. As the fleet neared Africa, Hannibal perceived that they were steering for a ruined sepulchre. His heart sickened at the omen, the ideas it suggested were too distressing, and he commanded the pilot to change

his direction. Finally he disembarked at Leptis, whence he advanced to Adrumetum. He saw the necessity of accepting peace for his country's sake; and Scipio on his side desired it, to prevent any other Roman from superseding him and finishing the war. But unfortunately the Roman Senate returned a cold, uncertain answer to the Carthaginians; and before any arrangement could be made the populace of Carthage themselves broke the truce. Some Roman transports laden with provisions being driven by storm into the bay of Carthage, the people destroyed them, and even maltreated the envoys of Scipio. Though the Senate did not countenance these proceedings, yet the war recommenced with feelings of mutual exasperation. Hannibal proposed a meeting between himself and Scipio, believing that a personal acquaintance, by mitigating their animosity, would enable them to come to terms. Scipio agreed to the arrangement; and there have been few scenes in the world equal in interest to the interview between these two illustrious men.

Hannibal was the greatest General that ever has appeared in any age; and Scipio, though his inferior, was yet second only to Hannibal. Hannibal proposed to abandon all the Carthaginian possessions out of Africa, and warned Scipio to take example by himself of the instability of human prosperity. Though he had lost his two noble brothers, before whom the armies of Rome had so often trembled, and though his Allies had one by one forsaken him, he had still under his command the formidable veterans of Italy; and if he fought now, it would be for the existence of Carthage. Scipio did not undervalue his mighty antagonist; but he was secure in his own strength. He replied, that Hannibal offered nothing more than what the Romans already possessed, and that Carthage had no alternative but victory or submission.

Upon this answer, Hannibal retired to prepare for the last struggle, and advanced from Adrumetum to Zama. He sent three spies to bring him all the intelligence they could obtain of the Romans. The spies were captured, and Scipio led them through every part of his camp, and bade them report to Hannibal all that they had seen, of the high courage of his men, the complete-

ness of his armoury, and the discipline of his troops.

Both armies met for battle in the plains of Zama.

Battle of  
Zama.

Scipio headed forces which for seven years had followed his banner to victory. Hannibal had with him the army of Italy; but the rest of his forces were raw levies raised in haste; men who had never seen an action, and whom he had not time even to instruct in the use of their weapons. Hannibal placed the Moors, Gauls, and Libyans in front, the cowardly Carthaginians in the centre, and his own noble veterans with himself in the rear. He thus cut off all retreat from the vanquished, for his tried warriors gave no quarter to the flying. All writers agree that his arrangements were perfect, and that his conduct on this day, in feats of daring and in unwearied exertion, was worthy of his former fame. Opposed to him were Scipio, Lælius, and Masinissa. Scipio neutralised the power of his adversaries' elephants, by leaving spaces between his lines expressly for their escape. His troops quickly routed Hannibal's first and second lines, and whilst he was in fierce and doubtful struggle with the third, the contest was decided by Lælius and Masinissa attacking them in the rear.

Hannibal fled to Carthage, which he had not seen for six-and-thirty years. He had left it at nine years old, and was now forty-five. He counselled peace, for his country was exhausted. Scipio sent Lælius with the news of his victory to Rome, and went himself with the fleet to Carthage; but as he entered the bay he was met by a vessel decked out with olive, and having on board ten Carthaginian dignitaries, who advanced towards him with branches of that emblem of peace in their hands. Scipio surveyed the strong position of the city, and saw that the siege of it would be so difficult that it was more expedient for the Romans to agree to peace. He therefore forwarded the Punic Ambassadors to Rome; and, fortified by his earnest wishes in their favour, their supplications were listened to by the haughty Senate. Before this tribunal the Ambassadors meanly apologised for the war, exculpating their government from having ever approved of it, and laying the blame of it entirely upon Hannibal. The Romans accepted of this justification, and condescended to grant them peace, upon condition that the Carthaginians should give up Gaul, Spain,

Italy, and all the Mediterranean islands ; that they should release all the deserters and prisoners ; surrender their artillery and machines of war ; their elephants, all but ten, and their whole navy ; pay 10,000 talents in fifty years ; make restitution for the Roman ships lately destroyed ; and give 100 hostages, to be chosen by Scipio, between the ages of thirteen and forty. As the Ambassadors were leaving the Senate-house, one of the Romans insultingly asked, "By what gods will *you* swear, perjured Carthaginians ?" "By the same as before," answered Hasdrubal Hædus ; "for they have cruelly chastised us."

When the harsh terms were announced at Carthage, one of the Gisco family rose to object to them. Hannibal sprung at him, and pulled him from his seat. When he found that he had committed an outrage, he apologised, saying that he did it in zeal for his country, which peace alone could save ; and that he did not know the laws of a debating assembly, though well versed in those of war.

The Carthaginians were bound to acknowledge Masinissa as King of Numidia, and to engage in no hostilities either in or out of Africa, without the permission of Rome. This last clause caused their final ruin. When peace was sworn, the Roman Feciales, with singular affectation, took out with them their own flints and their own vervain, as if their faith was at all more pure and trustworthy than that of the Carthaginians. They forgot in their success Sardinia, Enna, and the burnt camp of Syphax.

The Carthaginians grieved to see the flower of their youth depart as hostages to Sicily, and all their elephants transferred to their cunning enemy, Masinissa. They groaned under the pressure of their heavy taxes, but all other anguish was light, compared to what they felt when Scipio caused 500 of their vessels to perish by fire, in sight of Carthage. Their naval glory was annihilated, and they, so long the lords of the sea, sunk at once to the rank of an insignificant commercial state in Africa.

Upon Scipio's return to Rome, all the Senators went out to meet him. His triumph was made memorable by his assuming the cognomen of "Africanus." He was the first Roman who dignified himself by the name of a vanquished country. The Senator, Terentius Culeo, who

had been one of the rescued prisoners, wore the *Pileus*, as he followed Scipio's car, and, in servile flattery, called himself Scipio's "freedman." The unfortunate Syphax walked after Scipio in chains, and was kept a prisoner at Fucine Alba for two years. He was afterwards sent to Tibur, where he died; and, strange to say, the Senate gave him a public funeral. Many statues of him were erected in Rome, the bases of which still remain with inscriptions. Perhaps, from being the first foreign king whom the Romans had detained in captivity, he excited more sympathy than any who succeeded him. His son, Vermina, was allowed to retain a small territory in Africa.

Scipio was for some time the general idol, and was offered statues in the Senate-house, the Comitium, and the Capitol, and the reward of a perpetual Dictatorship; but all these honours he had the wisdom to decline, and contented himself with the glory of being the conqueror of Hannibal, and the first Roman to whom was applied the epithet of GREAT.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XXIII.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vast amount of treasure brought into Rome by the accumulated spoil of the Carthaginians, the Punic wars were not carried on without immense personal sacrifices on the part of the Roman people. After the defeat of Cannæ, the Senate was obliged to recruit the army with slaves; and on two different occasions the Rowers in the navy were furnished from the same source.

In Y.R. 539 every Senator was obliged to equip and maintain eight seamen, whom he was bound to supply with provisions for a month, and with pay for a year. Every citizen possessed of property was taxed to furnish one or more in proportion to his means.

In Y.R. 543, the scarcity of money was so great, that the people were on the verge of insurrection; and as seamen were indispensable, and the Plebeians could not afford to pay them, the Senators brought all their gold, silver, and stamped brass, into the treasury, to supply

the deficiency. They resigned every luxury they possessed, excepting the signet-ring, the golden bulla, and a single silver salt-dish and censer, each of one pound weight, which were used by every head of a house for the family sacrifices. The magistrates of curule rank also reserved silver trappings for one war-horse.

When the metal was brought into the treasury, a receipt was given for it in bank bills, or notes, which circulated as money until the end of the war. The Senators and the rich merchants, who had lent to the government, were repaid by Banking Companies, which were now first formed in Rome. The wealthy, both in cavalry and infantry, served at their own expense; and the opulent merchants supplied the Legions with corn and clothing, taking in exchange notes of acknowledgment, and depending upon the issue of the war for their ruin or reimbursement. The merchants only bargained that their claims should take precedence of all other creditors, and that the government should be responsible for all their losses at sea, whether by storm or foe. Amidst so much patriotism and generous confidence, it is sad to mark the inherent corruption of human nature, and to find it marred by falsehood and avarice. Postumius, a merchant of Pyrgi, was forbidden Roman fire and water, because he and his associates were detected sending leaky vessels with military stores; and when they sank, sending bills in to the government for double and treble the amount of the fraudulent loss.

The slaves who served in the army had their fidelity rewarded by freedom, and the freedmen, or *Libertini*, were admitted into the Tribes in large numbers, to supply the vacant places of the perished citizens. The character of the Tribes thus became changed, for they no longer consisted of Romans and Latins only, but of men from all parts of Italy. The native citizens themselves were deteriorated by living so many years abroad, in Sicily, Spain, and the Greek settlements. They gradually became accustomed to identify themselves with their General and his opinions, rather than with their country and its laws.

So many Senators perished in the early engagements with Hannibal, that after the battle of Cannæ, 177 new members were required to supply the vacancies, and Sp.

Carvilius, the Censor, proposed to furnish this number by the election of two nobles from each of the Latin states. But the old Senators, with the imbecile stupidity of exclusiveness, resisted the encroachment, and the new members were chosen from those who had filled Curule offices during the last five years, that is, such as had been Ediles, Quæstors, Prætors, and Consuls.

The selection was made by M. Fabius Buteo, who was created Dictator for the purpose, though there was already a Dictator with the army. As the numbers still were not filled up, he supplied the deficiency with those who had won crowns, or who could show the spoils of battle in their houses. Fabius Buteo might have retained his power for six months, but he chose to resign his office as soon as he had completed his commission, and descended from the Rostra a private citizen. The cheers of his countrymen accompanied him home, and their grateful approbation continued ever after to be his reward.

The legal age of the Quæstor was thirty, and for the Consul forty-three; but P. Scipio, owing to the urgency of the times and his own manifest fitness, was elected Quæstor at twenty, and Consul at twenty-nine. Under him the Legates first rose into consideration, though such officers had always existed in the Roman armies. They were Lieutenant-Generals, and supplied the place of the chief they accompanied. They were also his counsellors and assistants in the camp, and exercised his power in his absence. They were appointed by the Senate, and were always persons of acknowledged talent. Their usual number was three, and they were considered as almost equal in importance to their chief, though they had no authority independent of him. The numerous wars of the Romans at this period obliged them to place different armies under Consuls, Proconsuls, Prætors, Proprætors, and Legates.

The Roman Legions usually consisted of 4500 men, but in the Punic war they were sometimes raised to 6000, and the legions of the Allies to 7000. Two Roman Legions formed a Consular army, with two or more Legions of Allies. The Consuls seldom acted together, and they chose their provinces by lot, but the Senate had the power of arbitrating, as we see in the case of Scipio, when he insisted upon being appointed to either Sicily or

Africa, and threatened to appeal to the people, if refused. Scipio's temper was that of a despot, and he cared little for the means he employed, provided he could accomplish his ends.

In Y.R. 540, the son of Fabius Cunctator was made Consul, and was appointed to oppose Hannibal in Apulia. His father, whom he succeeded, won this honour for him by offering to serve under him as Legate. Cunctator joined his son at Suessula, and as he rode\* through the camp, eleven of the Lictors in silence and out of respect for their late master, allowed him to pass. The Consul called out to the twelfth, "Lictor, beware!" upon which he ordered the Legate to dismount. The old man alighted, and coming up to his son exclaimed, "I wished to try, my son, if thou knewest thy dignity as Consul."

When Hannibal lay before Nola, the Anien Tribe, having the prerogative, voted for two incapable men to be Consuls, and left the voting ground; Fabius Cunctator had them recalled, persuaded them to retract their nomination, and to vote over again. They not only yielded, but re-elected him and Marcellus, for the sake of their country. After the fall of Syracuse, the junior Veturian Tribe nominated Titus Manlius to the Consulate, but he, not judging himself sufficiently able for such critical times, bade them also to vote again. They desired a consultation with the senior half of the Tribe, and upon their suggestion revoked their first appointment, and substituted Marcellus and Valerius, both of whom were equal to the emergency.

Superstition was much encouraged by the varying events of this fierce and doubtful conflict, and the Romans having great faith in omens and prodigies, the Greek worship became more common in Rome. Fabius Pictor, the historian of the Fabian house, and a descendant of the painter, was sent at the head of a mission to Delphi, and the Priestess ordered that special honours should henceforth be rendered to Apollo by the Romans.

The army of Licinius, opposed to Hannibal in Brutium, suffered much from pestilence, and the Sibylline books were consulted for a remedy. They commanded that Cybele, the Idæan mother, should be brought from

\* A liberty permitted to none but the actual Commander-in-Chief.



Pessinus, a town in Phrygia, to Rome; and united with this command a vague promise of dazzling victories and vanquished enemies, when she should be worshipped on the Tiber. Ambassadors were hereupon sent to Attalus, king of Pergamus, who procured the Goddess for them, and had her solemnly delivered to the Ambassadors, who conveyed her in great pomp to Ostia. Cybele was not an image, but a celestial object infinitely more venerated, — a great black stone!! It was one of those metallic aerolites, specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum, and which many learned persons believe to fall from volcanoes in the moon. The Delphic oracle decreed that this marvellous stone (*alias* the Goddess Cybele, the mother of Jupiter and all the gods) should be received by the worthiest of the Romans; and the Senate adjudged the honour to Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the cousin of Africanus, and son of that Cneius who was killed in Spain. He headed a long train of matrons, who received her at Ostia, and conveyed her thence to the Temple of Victory, on the Palatine. All the city poured forth to welcome her. Incense was burnt before the door of every house she passed, and feasts and processions were ever afterwards observed in her honour in the month of April, upon the anniversary of her arrival. At the same time, her images and all the paraphernalia used in her worship, were washed by the priests in the little brook Almon, where it joins the Tiber.

Upon one occasion, the birth of a prodigious child terrified the Romans, and the Pontiffs, after the poor infant had been drowned, ordered thrice nine virgins to learn a long hymn, and to sing it, marching in procession through the city. This hymn was composed by the poet Livius Andronicus. Whilst the young ladies were learning it, the temple of the Tuscan goddess, Juno Aventina, was struck by lightning. The Romans had a horror of lightning, because they imagined it to be sent as a judgment. The magistrates desired twenty-five matrons to carry a golden bowl immediately, as an offering to the angry Juno, and shortly after, two white heifers to be led to her from the Temple of Apollo. Two images of Juno, made of cypress, were carried after them. The thrice nine virgins joined the procession, clad in long robes, and singing their hymn in the goddess's honour, and the

ceremony was closed by the Decemvirs who kept the sacred books, crowned with laurel, and wearing their white robes with a purple border. They halted in the Forum, where a cord was given to the virgins, of which they all took hold, and then advanced in measured step, keeping time to the music of their voices. When they reached the temple, the images were deposited, the heifers sacrificed, and the goddess was appeased.

The same year the sacred fire was extinguished,— a dreadful omen, supposed to portend the extinction of the State. The attendant Vestal, through whose negligence it occurred, was scourged to death. Great ceremonies were used when the fire was rekindled, by rubbing together pieces of dry wood. In later times it was drawn from the sun by burning-glasses. The agitation of men's minds had driven them to admit so many foreign rites, that the Senate peremptorily forbade them, and banished all the foreign priests.

The city of Locri submitted to the Romans before Hannibal quitted Italy, and Pleminius was installed there as the Legate of Scipio. His conduct was so avaricious and sacrilegious, that he not only plundered the citizens after their submission, but violated the treasury in the sanctuary of Proserpine, a goddess thrice sacred, and deeply venerated in the neighbourhood. This temple was held in such awe, that the misfortunes of Pyrrhus were attributed to his having plundered it. The Locrians appealed to Rome, and the Senate decreed that an expiation should be made, double the treasure abstracted should be restored, and Pleminius should be brought in chains to Rome, where he died. The garrison was then withdrawn, and Locri, being restored to liberty, was proclaimed the ally of Rome.

Near Crotona, where Hannibal kept his ground for four years, stood a famous temple of Juno Lacinia, in which there was a pillar of solid gold. Hannibal once thought of seizing this pillar, and appropriating it to his own necessities, but he was dissuaded by a dream, and left it untouched. In the vicinity he erected a column of stone, upon which he inscribed many of his exploits, and stated the numbers of his troops in his different engagements. He wrote his own memoirs in Greek, and left them in this temple. They were afterwards used by the

historian Polybius, and therefore part of our knowledge of his battles is drawn from his own writings.

The most remarkable man of this period, next to Hannibal, was the wonderful mechanic and geometrician, Archimedes. He is called "The Homer of Geometry;" and it is said that no further improvements were made in that science until the invention of algebra, nor in mechanics until the days of Galileo. The screws, which raise water and propel vessels, were invented by him, and models of them may be seen at the Polytechnic Institution in London. He constructed a planetarium, a water-organ, a calculating machine, and a water-clock. He wrote many learned works upon Spheres, Circles, Floating Bodies, and other mysteries, which have been very useful to mathematicians ever since; and he said that he could move the world if he had a point to stand upon beyond it.\* Many authors assert, that Archimedes was acquainted with the powers of steam and of burning mirrors, though both these inventions are more safely referred to a later age. One of his celebrated discoveries was, how to weigh metals by water. Hiero gave a goldsmith a weight of gold to convert into a sacred or votive crown. The man brought back the crown of the proper weight, but too large for the quantity of gold intrusted to him, and Hiero suspected that it was alloyed with silver. He appealed to Archimedes, and desired him to solve the problem. The philosopher was lost in thought upon the matter, when he went to his bath in one of the magnificent *Thermæ* at Syracuse. The bath was quite full, and Archimedes observed the water run over as he plunged in. The thought instantly struck him, that his body displaced a bulk of water equal to itself, and that all bodies followed the same law. He jumped out naked, in an ecstasy of joy, and ran through the corridors and along the street, to his own house, quite unconscious of his singular destitution, and shouting "Eureka" (*ευρηκα*), or "I have found it." He then weighed in water a lump of pure gold the same bulk as the crown, and a lump of silver, and the crown itself, and gave Hiero the desired answer.

Euclid, the Egyptian mathematician, whose works

\* He was the first person who constructed a ship with three masts. The centre mast, of extraordinary height, was brought from the forests of Britain.

are still used in all our large schools, died at the time of Archimedes' birth. A Sicilian legend says, that Archimedes was the ancestor of Santa Lucia, one of their martyrs, and that this lady was an ancestress of the Bourbons.

Philip of Macedon used beacons and fires on the mountain-tops as signals during his warfare. Scipio exercised his troops in mock-fights by land and sea, and we have descriptions of the manner of fighting in those days, which are not without interest. The Spaniards, who were excellent soldiers, came into battle dancing, or running in measured time. The Numidians often used two horses in the field, and vaulted in full armour, like equestrian exhibitors, from the tired horse to the fresh one by its side, in the field of battle. As a parallel to this, the Romans introduced, during the siege of Capua, a mounted infantry. They obliged a certain portion of the cavalry to carry the Velites (or light-armed spear-men) on horseback behind them. The Capuans were perplexed, when, seeing only cavalry, they found themselves attacked at the same moment both by horse and foot. The Velites, when tired, sprang on the horses again, and the cavalry bore them off.

The elephants, as already mentioned, were estimated in ancient warfare at the value of cannon, but if they were wearied or frightened they became pernicious instead of useful. Their drivers were taught how to kill them in such a case with a sharp broad knife, which they fixed between the ears, in the joint which connects the head with the neck, and they drove it in with a smart blow. This method is still used to kill the bulls in the Spanish bull-fights.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ, M. Æmilius died, an Augur, who had been twice Consul. His three sons celebrated funeral games in his honour for three successive days in the Forum, and exhibited forty-four gladiators, the greater part of whom were killed. The bull-fights are, doubtless, less savage and less hardening than these horrible slave-fights, which inspired a thirst for human blood, and an actual pleasure in human agony.

Amongst the booty taken in the Punic war was an enormous silver shield, 138 pounds weight,\* embossed with the image of Hasdrubal Barca; and at Carthagena,

\* Livy, xxv. 30.

besides silver and brass in enormous quantities, the Romans took 260 bowls of solid gold.

The pictures, statues, decorated furniture, personal ornaments, gold and silver plate, and engraved gems, which were carried to Rome from Capua, Syracuse, Tarentum, and Carthagena, were beyond computation; but the historian Livy says it was much to be regretted, as it created an avidity for spoil, which fed the passion for war, and finally occasioned the plunder of all places, sacred and profane, which fell into the hands of the Romans. It, besides, disparaged native art, and led the Romans to become mere imitators of the Greeks, the Asiatics, and the Egyptians.

Silver images, and golden chariots with four horses, were now placed in the Capitoline Temple, made from the produce of Patrician fines. Stage-plays were first permitted at this period in Rome, and were represented four days running. A bushel, or *Modius*, of corn was sold for four Asses—the As being reduced to the sixth of its original size.

The same military engines which were used in this war, constituted the artillery of the ancients until superseded by gunpowder. They were all named *Tormenta*, which we may translate “torments,” though the name was really derived from *Tormen*, a twist, because the machines were worked by twisted ropes or thongs. The *Tormenta* were *Ballistæ*, *Catapultæ*, and *Scorpions*. The shape of the last is not known. The Ballista was a square machine for projecting stones from two pounds weight to upwards of 300 pounds; and it has been ascertained to shoot to the distance of a quarter of a mile. The terrific battering-ram was employed to shake the foundations of a city wall, and the Ballistas were directed against the parapets. The Catapults, which were long, and used for darting arrows, shot down the unfortunate defenders who might be walking on the battlements.

Foreign Ambassadors were received in Rome with much magnificence, and besides being provided with apartments, and entertained at the public expense, had splendid presents made to them. The Ambassadors of Masinissa were each presented with a sum of money, and two gorgeous suits of apparel worked in purple and gold. Each of their attendants was gratified with a smaller sum

of money, and one suit of apparel. The Numidian prisoners were freed without ransom, and were clothed by the Government. Lands were now first given to the Roman regiments as a reward for long and faithful services. The Numidians received allotments in Africa; and the Italian veterans in Apulia and Lucania, the two countries which so long had remained faithful to Hannibal.

The authors of this eventful period increased in number. Hannibal wrote his own memoirs in Greek; and Sosilus, a learned Spartan, who lived with him in his camp, composed the history of his life, but it is lost. Q. Fabius Pictor, the Envoy to Delphi after the battle of Cannæ, wrote the first complete Roman history from Romulus down to the year 536. His work was in Greek, and is lost, but it was the principal source from which all the later Roman historians drew their information, and was highly esteemed in Italy. The Fabii were a learned family, and patrons of literature. L. Cincius, once Prætor in Sicily, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at the time of Marcellus' death, and lived with their army for some time. He wrote a Roman history in Greek. Hannibal told him that he had lost 36,000 men between the Rhone and the Po.

Plautus, an Umbrian, was a celebrated dramatist, who wrote in Latin, but who took Greek subjects, and treated them in a Roman manner. His characters were so true to nature that his plays were acted upon the Roman stage for 500 years, and they have been imitated by many Italian, French, and English modern poets, especially Molière. Shakspeare took from one of them his "Much Ado about Nothing." We have twenty of Plautus's plays, and they give us a melancholy picture of Roman manners. They show that though marriage was held sacred, yet the corruption of manners was great; and young men indulged, instead of governing their passions, after the example of their predecessors. Handsome Greek and Campanian girls were commonly stolen, and secretly educated in showy and frivolous accomplishments, in order to be sold to the young men for their amusement; and being only slaves, when these men were tired of them, they were resold to fresh masters. At other times their artful blandishments raised them to be mistresses of

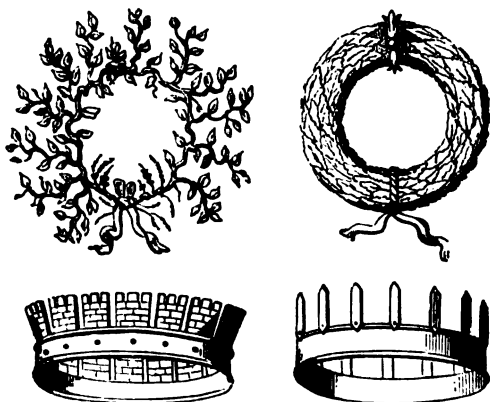
the household, and caused the lawful wife to be treated with neglect and aversion. Flatterers and parasites were common in the Senatorial families, and cunning servants had often rule over the whole establishment. Plautus was a man of family, but he ruined himself by mercantile speculations, and hired himself to a baker in Rome, in whose house he composed many of his comedies. One of his plays, entitled "Poenulus," contains the only specimens we have of the Punic and Libyan languages.

Fabius Cunctator died just before the battle of Zama, aged 100, and was honoured with a public funeral; but he had the grief of seeing his Consular son laid in the tomb before him.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD PUNIC WAR. EVENTS  
IN GREECE, MACEDON, SYRIA, GAUL, AND SPAIN.

B.C. 201 TO 168. Y.R. 552 TO 585.\*



ROMAN CROWNS.

No sooner had the war with Hannibal terminated, than the Roman tribes were assembled to give their assent to a new contest with Philip the Third of Macedon. The people not being actuated by the same ambition and thirst for fame, which now distinguished their

\* Authorities: Livy, xxxi. to xlv.; Nieb. Lectures, vol. i.; Ant. History, vol. xii. p. 938, &c.; Michelet, vol. ii. p. 15, &c.; Biog. Univ.



leaders, were unwilling to plunge afresh into the dangers and privations from which they had just escaped. But the Consul informed them that peace or war were no longer at their option ; they had merely the choice whether they would encounter Philip in Macedon or in Italy. He was ravaging the lands of their allies the Ætolians, and of their friends the Athenians, both of which nations had applied to the Senate for aid ; whilst at the same time, Attalus and the Rhodians had informed this august body of Philip's restless endeavours to raise them up enemies in Asia.

The Tribes, supposing war to be inevitable, gave their votes in its favour ; upon which the Consul raised an army and crossed over into Greece. Here he was generally welcomed by the States, though the views and feelings of the Greek and Roman chiefs upon this subject were totally opposite to each other. The Ætolians considered themselves principals in the war, and looked upon the other Greeks and the Romans as their auxiliaries ; whilst the Romans regarded themselves as the sovereign arbiters between the combatants, and entitled to reap the benefit of every advantage gained by their aid. In order to insure success, they had secured the alliance of Egypt, and accepted succours from Masinissa and the Carthaginians. They were, besides, supported by the excellent navy of the Rhodians, and by the powerful and willing assistance of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had to maintain his own dominions against the encroachments of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, on the one side, and against Philip the Third of Macedon on the other. Most of the Eastern sovereigns regarded the Roman power as very inferior to their own ; but Attalus and his successor Eumenes, by frequently visiting Rome, had become eye-witnesses of the discipline and resources of the state, and fully understood how formidable the Romans were as enemies, and how desirable as friends.

Philip allied himself with Antiochus, and induced him to attack Pergamus ; but upon the Romans forbidding the latter to injure their ally, he withdrew his troops. Philip sustained the war with the Ætolians and Romans for three years, without much change on either side. At length, the latter, wearied with its tediousness, appointed to the chief command Titus Quinctius Flaminius, a

man who they knew would act with vigour. His agreeable manners and plausible eloquence having fascinated many of the Greek chiefs, they permitted him to march into the heart of the city of Thebes, under pretence of parleying with the Magistrates. Flamininus quietly took possession of the city, and the people were amazed, when they found themselves in his power, and his soldiers keeping guard at their gates.

Shortly after this artful exploit, Flamininus met Philip on the banks of the river Aous, and fought a battle, of which the success was doubtful : but at a second combat close to the hills of Cynoscephalæ, which began accidentally, he gained a glorious victory, which decided the fate of the war. At first the Romans could not face the dense Macedonian Phalanx, composed of a mass of 10,000 men ; but after they had dispersed all the light troops of their adversaries, they collected their whole strength upon this formidable body, and attacking it on all sides, they finally broke and destroyed it by means of the Ætolian cavalry.

The Ætolians vauntingly ascribed all the merit of the action to themselves, and this ill-timed arrogance stirred up a spirit of rivalry and aversion between them and the Consul. Philip sent to solicit peace, and was resolved to accept of it upon any terms, from a presentiment that his kingdom would otherwise be overwhelmed. Flamininus concluded a treaty with him, and stipulated that he should confine himself within his own dominions ; pay tribute to the Romans ; and surrender his younger son, Demetrius, as a hostage. Though the result of this war was principally owing to Philip's want of plan and energy, yet he was deeply mortified by it, and during the remainder of his life he imposed upon himself the penance of hearing the detested treaty read over to him every day. The object of his existence henceforward was to strengthen himself against the Romans, and he sought by economy, discipline, and prudent alliances, so to leave his throne that his son might be able to resist their future anticipated attacks.

The young Prince Demetrius, being well treated by his conquerors, conceived an affection for them which irritated Philip. When he returned to Macedon, both his brother Perseus, and the King his father, taunted him

as "a Roman, and a traitor;" and whilst Philip laboured under the delusion of his apostasy to his country, the malignant Perseus obtained the royal mandate for his death. Philip was ever after tortured with remorse for this cruel act, and in Y.R. 547, died of a broken heart.

Titus Flamininus, after concluding peace with Philip, made a tour through Greece, to visit its many noble buildings and temples, its beautiful statues and works of art, several of which are now in the British Museum. At Delphi, he suspended a votive buckler in the temple of Apollo, bearing an inscription in which he styled the Romans "The descendants of Æneas." He was present at the Isthmian games, and when the herald proclaimed the rules before the games began, Flamininus desired him also to read a scroll which he placed in his hands. This announced that the Romans had come to Greece, not to subdue, but to liberate the people, and that every state and city of the Greeks was free.

The natives, in a delirium of joy, believed the Consul sincere, as perhaps he then was. They almost deafened him with plaudits, and smothered him with garlands. They erected an altar to his honour, and invoked the name of "Titus" along with those of their gods, Hercules and Apollo. The freedom of the Greeks was, however, gone, and returned no more. Upon every dissension between their States, the offended party appealed to Rome, and her arbitration was given at the point of the sword. The choice of Greece, from this time, was obedience or slavery.

The Senate despatched ten Legates into Greece, to settle the articles of the peace, and see them executed. As they published their determination to liberate the Greeks in all countries, they announced to King Antiochus, that he must restore independence to those Grecian cities in Asia Minor and the Chersonesus which were under his dominion; that he must surrender those which he had taken on the Hellespont from the young King of Egypt; and that he must not cross the straits into Europe, nor make war upon the European states, under any pretence whatever.

Antiochus was amazed at the insolence which thus presumed to dictate to him; to one who was "the Great King," ruling from the Hellespont and the coasts of

Syria, to Acherosia (Cabul), and the frontiers of Hindostan.\* He threatened, in his rage, to arm against Rome the Medes, the Parthians, the Bactrians, and many other tribes and races with strange-sounding names. The Romans, on the other hand, who believed the Red Sea to be the end of the earth, laughed at the catalogue of nations of which they did not credit the existence.

Negotiations proceeded in a tone of bitterness between the contending parties, until the Ætolians interfered. This people were so disgusted with the Romans for their arrogance, and for appropriating to themselves all the credit of the Macedonian war, that they recklessly set them at defiance, and invoked the aid of Antiochus. The King of Syria believed himself invincible, and would have proved so had he known his real strength. His might did not consist in his unbounded wealth, his vast dominions, or his numerous armies, but in the ready assistance of Hannibal, the most illustrious of warriors, who was at this moment a guest in his court.

After the conclusion of peace between Rome and Carthage, Hannibal remained five years in his native country. At first, as chief of the army, he revived the spirits of his men by conducting them to victory against the Africans. Afterwards, as Prætor, or Head of the Senate, he unsparingly reformed the gross abuses which abounded in the State. The oppressive judges, whose magistracies had been for life, he displaced, making the office annual; and the disgraceful frauds in the revenue he exposed and remedied. He found that the rich Senators habitually seized upon the customs, the amount of which was so large, that it sufficed for the payment of the Roman tribute. These shameless pilferers first turned this money into their own coffers, and then taxed the merchants and peasants a second time to make up the tribute.

Hannibal's justice and courage secured him the love of the common people, but the selfish and avaricious, whom he crushed and exposed, hated him and sought his destruction. Antiochus having despatched Ambassadors to Carthage, Hannibal's enemies gave information of it to the Roman Senate, with insinuations against him, as if he were the person by whom they had been invited; and though Scipio Africanus generously stood up in his

\* Nieb.

defence, the other Senators, to whom he was an object of unceasing dread, were glad of the pretext to effect his ruin. They sent to Carthage ostensibly to inquire about the Syrian Ambassadors, but really to seize Hannibal and bring him in chains to Rome. This great chief being aware of their purpose, escaped from them by night. He first sailed to Tyre (the mother of Carthage), where he was received in triumph as the hero of the Punic race. Thence he proceeded to the court of Antiochus, where he was welcomed with regal honours. The King consulted him concerning the Romans. Hannibal advised him by no means to quarrel with them, unless he could secure the assistance of his neighbours, the Kings of Macedon and Egypt. Antiochus, so far from profiting by this judicious counsel, affronted both these potentates. Hannibal then urged him to attack his enemies in their own country. "Give me," he said, "a fleet with 10,000 men, I will land in Italy, and make the Romans tremble. March you simultaneously into Greece, and be at hand to assist me." So far from following this advice, the King acted contrary to it in every particular. He was prejudiced against Hannibal, first by Thoas, the Prætor of the Ætolians, a man of a mean and envious nature, who, anxious to exalt his own importance, persuaded Antiochus, that if he listened to Hannibal, all the glory of his successes would be imputed to the latter; and secondly, by the conduct of the Roman Legates, who, when they visited this court, paid the noble Carthaginian such marked homage, that the jealous monarch suspected they were in league together.

In Y.R. 561, war was declared between Antiochus and the Romans. The Consul, Acilius Glabrio, passed with the Legions into Thessaly. The King of Syria marched in the same direction with a very inadequate force, and wasted the first season in mere amusement. The next year, he and the Consul encountered each other at the narrow pass of Thermopylæ — that spot where, 290 years before, 300 Greeks had withstood five millions of Asiatics, to whom it had ever since been ominous ground. The battle began, and, much to their surprise, the Romans were on the point of being vanquished, when the Legate, M. Porcius Cato, (afterwards one of the most distinguished of the Romans), scaled the heights with a body of reserve,

and descending unexpectedly in the rear of the enemy, completely changed the fortune of the day. The Consul embraced him, and acknowledged that his skill and prowess had saved the honour of his country.

Antiochus fled, panic-stricken; and he, who before had imagined the Romans to be an insignificant people, ready to quail at the sound of his name and the sight of his countless hosts, now could not believe himself safe until he was sheltered by the strong walls of Ephesus. Hither he was satisfied the Romans would never dream of following him; and he further persuaded himself, that he had only to intimate his willingness for peace, in order to obtain it. But the Consul was no longer inclined to place such limits to his triumphs, for he ardently desired to pass over into Asia, there to subdue the proud and frivolous King.

The new Consul was Lucius Scipio. His election had been obtained through the interest of his brother Africanus, who volunteered to serve under his command. His Legions traversed the dominions of Philip to the Hellespont, whence the fleet of Eumenes conveyed them over the straits. As they met with no opposition, Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, left the army, and returned to dance in the procession, at the moving of the *Ancilia* in Rome. When he rejoined his division, he assisted at the visit of homage which the troops paid to Ilium, the assumed mother city of Alba and Rome.

Antiochus was equally astonished and alarmed, when he heard of the arrival of the Roman Legions in Asia, though he had taken no pains to arrest their progress. He again besought the advice of Hannibal, and insisted upon his listening to the discourse of a celebrated philosopher, who was lecturing upon military tactics. As this sage had no practical knowledge of the subject, he propounded nonsensical theories with pompous eloquence. All the audience applauded him, and Hannibal alone remained silent. Being pressed for his opinion, he at last answered, "I have heard many foolish men in my day, but never before one so utterly destitute of common sense as that philosopher."

The King, as usual, neglected the counsel given him, but he permitted Hannibal to command part of his fleet, and we hear with much surprise, that this great chief was

defeated by the Rhodians off Sida. Antiochus sued to Lucius Scipio for peace, and secretly offered Africanus to restore to him his son without ransom, if he would procure him favourable terms from the Consul. Africanus answered, "The King must accept of such conditions as he can obtain. The best advice I can send him is, not to attack the adverse army until he knows that I have joined it." Unfortunately for Antiochus, this event did not occur in time. The captive son was restored to Africanus; but as he was detained by sickness at Elæa, he could take little further share in the war. Antiochus retreated to Magnesia, whither L. Scipio pursued, and forced him to an engagement. The King's troops were very numerous, but so disorganised and ill-disciplined, that the Romans held them in contempt.

Battle of  
Magnesia.

Antiochus had fifty-four elephants, which he ranged in his front line, every one between two soldiers, and each elephant bore a tower upon its back, manned by four armed men. He had a number of scythed chariots, similar to those of the old Syrian Kings mentioned in the Bible. Ten scythes projected on each side the pole, and other scythes, a foot and a half long, were fixed on the axles of the wheels. His cavalry was composed of Gauls, Medes, and Cappadocians; his bowmen were Cretans; and his archers Arabians. These last were mounted upon dromedaries, and carried swords six feet long.

If Antiochus had gained over either Eumenes or Philip, the Consul would have fought this multifarious host at great disadvantage; but Eumenes, being an Asiatic, understood how each band should be opposed, and was not dismayed either by their formidable machines or hideous animals. In the beginning of the action, he frightened the horses of the dreaded chariots, so that they turned back upon their own lines, ran frantically through them, and scattered or cut to pieces the regiments in their vicinity. The Romans did not fear the elephants, for they knew how to scare them away, and the unerring archery of the Cretans, was rendered useless by a morning fog, which relaxed their bowstrings. Mutines showed his usual valour at the head of the Numidian horse, and the Romans gained a complete victory with incredibly small loss, their brilliant success being chiefly due to the presence of mind and courage of Eumenes.

Antiochus behaved bravely, but he was forced to flee for his life, whilst his camp and baggage were captured. He took refuge in Apamæa, and thence sent to solicit peace. Africanus had now joined his brother, and his influence procured for the King conditions which were not severe. He engaged to give Eumenes 400 talents in money, and to supply him with corn; to pay the Romans 12,000 talents, and all the expenses of the war; to reduce the number of his elephants and ships; and to abandon all Asia Minor to the west of Mount Taurus.

Before this war, Antiochus had been acknowledged as Sovereign by all the Provinces and petty States along the south and western coasts of Asia Minor. In the interior he possessed nothing, for Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pergamus, were governed by independent Kings. Ambassadors from all these Monarchs soon appeared in Rome, some to claim honours, and some to solicit pardon. Lycia and Caria were bestowed upon the Rhodians, whose fleet had been of the greatest service in reducing the maritime towns. The rest of the ceded territory\* was added to the kingdom of Eumenes, so that the Romans had now one Sovereign in Asia, and one in Africa (Masinissa), whose destiny and prosperity were involved in theirs.

Lucius Scipio triumphed at Rome, and received the name of "Asiaticus." Ten Legates were commissioned, as usual, to see the treaty executed. They required the surrender of twenty hostages and five distinguished leaders, two of whom were Thoas, prætor of the Ætolians, and Hannibal.

The illustrious Carthaginian saved Antiochus from all embarrassment, by quitting his dominions and sailing to Crete, where his great riches, as well as fame, procured him welcome. He was aware that, to secure his wealth, the Cretans would not scruple to sacrifice his person. He therefore feigned to confide his gold to their care, and filled large vases with lead, which he pretended to be treasure, and intrusted to their keeping in the temple of Diana. Guards were placed around the sanctuary, and Hannibal, ceasing to be watched, made his escape by sea, and found an asylum for some years at the court of

\* Lydia, Phrygia, Mysia, and the Chersonesus.



Prusias, king of Bithynia. He transported all his gold, concealed in hollow bronze images, which were his "Lares," and which he therefore carried with him everywhere without being suspected.

Scipio Asiaticus was succeeded in command by Cn. Manlius, who continued in Asia until the peace was ratified. He could not rest without distinguishing himself by some exploit which should entitle him also to the honours of a triumph, as well as his predecessors; he therefore marched into Galatia to subdue the Galatians, whose inroads, from time to time, had inspired all their neighbours, and especially Eumenes, with terror. Manlius wherever he appeared, summoned the people to submit, and attacked them upon the slightest sign of resistance. At length, he reached the mountains inhabited by the Galatians, or Gallo-Grecians. They were a race of fair-haired, blue-eyed Gauls, who had penetrated into that country, through Greece, in the days of Pyrrhus. They were divided into three Tribes, dwelling chiefly on the river Halys, and were brave, warlike, and free. They were dreaded by all the neighbouring Asiatics, most of whom paid them tribute. They had never imagined the existence of any people with the perseverance and enterprise of the Romans, and they were ignorant of the Latin method of fighting. Manlius stormed their camp on Mount Olympus in Phrygia, took from them immense booty, and exacted from them an oath to confine themselves within their own territories for the future. A more unjustifiable invasion can scarcely be conceived, and it caused the Senators to remark, that they had Consuls reigning in Greece and Asia Minor, instead of Philip and Antiochus.

Prusias, having placed Hannibal at the head of his forces, made successful war upon Eumenes, and gained several victories over him. The King of Pergamus complained to the Romans; and they sent Legates to Prusias, the chief of whom was Titus Flamininus, insisting not only upon the immediate cessation of hostilities, but upon the surrender of Hannibal. Quinctius Flamininus, with vindictive malice, declared that so long as this dreaded warrior lived the Romans could never be secure. The despicable Prusias sent to have him seized; but Hannibal, having long expected this demand on the part of

Flaminius, had prepared against it. His house had seven exits, most of them concealed. When the soldiers came to apprehend him, he endeavoured to escape by the most secret of these; but finding it guarded, he took poison, which he always carried about with him. "I will deliver," he said, "the Romans from the dread which has so long tormented them, since they think it too long to wait for the decease of a worn-out old man. Flaminius's victory over a foe, unarmed and betrayed, will not redound much to his honour." Hannibal died in the *r. r.* 569, aged sixty-two.

History, whether ancient or modern, contains no name more illustrious than his, and no character more noble. The Romans had not a man whom they could compare with him. He permitted for his enemies, Sempronius and Marcellus, a public mourning, and gave them an honourable burial. He allowed Decius Magius, who wished to deprive him of Capua, to depart thence uninjured. He never was guilty of one deed of perfidy, never violated truth, nor committed an unworthy action. He was equally great in peace and in war: a scholar, and the patron of learned men; a reformer of the government in his own country, and a benefactor to her poor. It is said that in the arrangement of his forces, he never made one military error. Prosperity did not render him giddy, nor adversity faint. He neither insulted over the fallen, nor bowed himself before his conquerors. He is not to be blamed for the manner of his death, because being a heathen he had always been taught to believe that his life was in his own power, and that cowardice alone would permit him to preserve it at the sacrifice of his independence.

We cannot bestow the same praise upon Scipio Africanus, who died in the same year. He was an illustrious man and a great commander; but he was neither the originator of any useful law, nor the author of a single reform in Rome. On the contrary, he frequently opposed his own arbitrary will to the decisions of the Senate; and his example tended much to weaken the government, and to relax the public morals of the Romans. He is said to have been one of the Legates to Antiochus; and, in conversation with Hannibal, to have asked him one day whom

he considered as the greatest general. Hannibal answered, "Alexander, for with a handful of men he conquered the most distant countries in less time than most leaders would have taken to travel through them." "Whom," said Scipio, "would you rank second?" He replied, "Pyrrhus, a chief unrivalled for choosing eligible ground for his encampments." "And whom third?" Hannibal replied, "Myself." "Where then," added Scipio, laughing, "would you have placed yourself had you conquered me?" "Then," answered the Carthaginian, "I should have esteemed myself superior to Alexander, Pyrrhus, and to all the other Generals who have ever lived." Scipio was pleased with the flattery which so delicately elevated him above comparison with any other. Hannibal was simple, even to severity, in his manner of living. Scipio, when in Sicily, was reprovèd by Cato for his fastidious dress and Grecian manners. Scipio was often haughty and cruel; and no words can sufficiently condemn the treachery by which he burnt the camp of Syphax.

Hannibal was pure from all suspicion of receiving bribes, or misappropriating money; Scipio was accused of having accepted gifts from Antiochus; and when required to account for four millions of spoil, called it a trifle, and tore the Quæstor's books in which the accounts were written. The next day he appeared to stand his trial; and after hearing the accusation, he said to the people, "My friends, this is the anniversary of the battle of Zama, the day on which I conquered Hannibal. Let us go to the Temple of Jove, and return thanks; and let us pray the gods always to grant you a General like me." He marched directly from the Forum to the Capitol, attended by all the people, and the Tribunes were left alone. In a similar manner, he was escorted to the other temples; and when he returned to his home at night he was followed by crowds, as if he had been celebrating a triumph. As he dared not await the result of his trial, he exiled himself to Liternum, in Campania, where he passed his latter years. Here he died at the age of fifty-two, and here he was buried; for he swore that his ungrateful country should not possess even his bones. A statue of him was erected in the tomb of the Scipios, on the Via Appia, close to Rome.

As the law could not reach him in his exile, his brother Asiaticus was imprisoned in his stead, accused of embezzling the Asiatic spoil. Africanus would have been prosecuted with many other claims had not his personal enemy, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, a man of noble nature, stood up in his defence; and as Tribune of the People, forbidden any further proceedings against a chief to whom Rome owed so much. The Cornelian *gens*, Scipio's kindred, struck with admiration at this conduct, persuaded Africanus to testify his gratitude by bestowing upon him his daughter, the younger Cornelia, in marriage. She was the illustrious mother of the Gracchi, of whom we shall presently speak.

After a brief period, the Romans declared war against Perseus of Macedon, the son and successor of Philip the Third. He was a man without principle or firmness, but not destitute of talent. He had murdered his brother Demetrius, was suspected of destroying his wife, and had attempted to assassinate King Eumenes as he journeyed to worship at Delphi. The Romans had acted so unjustly in supporting the Macedonian and Epirote rebels against their lawful sovereign, that hostilities had become inevitable. Perseus possessed immense treasures, and had vast stores of arms and provisions which his father had accumulated for the hour of need. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by well-timed alliances with Syria, Bithynia, Illyria, and the Gauls; but his wisest plans were baffled by his senseless avarice and his infatuated love of money.

The war lasted four years, during three of which the Romans made no progress, and the Grecian states favoured Perseus. Eumenes might have been bribed to neutrality by 1500 talents; but Perseus, instead of paying them, proposed to lodge them in a temple of Samothrace, which belonged to him. Eumenes upon this, suspecting treachery, broke off the negotiations. Twenty thousand Gauls marched to the assistance of Perseus from Germany; but he hesitated so long to fulfil his treaty with them, that they in disgust ravaged Thrace, and returned home. He induced Gentius, the feeble King of Illyria, to espouse his cause by a promise of 300 talents, of which he paid ten. Gentius, not doubting that the remainder would follow, violated the law of nations by

throwing the Ambassadors into prison. As soon as he had thus compromised himself, Perseus withdrew the subsidy. Justly was he punished by hearing ere long that Gentius had submitted, without resistance or reserve, to the Prætor Anicius, as soon as the Roman Legions appeared. The Romans were informed that Illyria was theirs by the laurel-wreathed letter, brought by the same courier who announced to them that the war had begun.

The Senators, being ashamed of the petty results which had hitherto attended the arms of the Republic in Macedon, selected the Consul L. Æmilius Paulus to terminate the war. He was a man of acknowledged military talent; but he was old, and disliked for his selfishness and pride. He had distinguished himself in Spain, and was son to the Consul who fell at Cannæ. Before his arrival, Perseus had suffered the Romans to traverse defiles, where he might have cut them off man by man, and to cross mountains down which they had to roll like stones. They were now established in the country, and their worst difficulties surmounted. Æmilius crossed to Pytheum, and drove Perseus to Pydna, where

Battle of  
Pydna.

he took up so advantageous a position that the Consul did not choose to give him battle. The cavalry of both armies, however, watered at the stream; and a Roman horse, whilst drinking, took fright, and ran away towards the enemy's camp. Some soldiers followed to recover him, others supported them; and in a short time the hostile armies came to a general engagement. At first, the Macedonian Phalanx, sixteen men deep, and presenting a forest of long spears, called *Sarissæ*, repulsed the Romans. Æmilius, thinking that the day was lost, tore his robe, and burst into an agony of grief; but the cavalry of the Allies charging this formidable mass by divisions, broke the Phalanx, and the strength of the Macedonian army was gone. The king fled to his capital of Pella, and the Romans made a dreadful slaughter in the pursuit.

All Macedon seemed paralyzed, and submitted to the conqueror. Perseus' warlike resources vanished as if they had never existed. He neither shut the gates of Pella, nor attempted to sustain a siege. Unmeet to command brave men, he made not an effort to defend him-

self, but, like a hunted hare, fled from place to place, until he reached Samothrace, where he took refuge in the sacred temple of Castor. His grand object was to save his treasures, and for this he sacrificed all else. Instead of escaping to the Greek cities on the Euxine, he bargained with a Cretan merchant to convey him to Thrace. He sent his beloved money on board at sunset, and meant himself to take ship at midnight. When he went out to meet the treacherous vessel, she had sailed, and Perseus, after wandering about the shore all night, retired again into the temple. Æmilius, meanwhile, was at Amphipolis, in possession of his kingdom and children; and Perseus found that his best course was to surrender himself, and sue for mercy. Octavius, commander of the fleet at Samothrace, received him, and bore him to Æmilius, who forced him to lay aside his title of king, and conducted him to Rome. The booty taken by Æmilius exceeded all his calculations, and he purposed to dazzle the Senators by depositing it in the treasury, after it had been exhibited in his triumph. His soldiers, however, clamoured for rewards, and he promised to satisfy them. He led them into Epirus, where he proclaimed liberty to all the inhabitants, commanding them to produce their gold and silver in their respective Forums, as if for the purpose of taxing them. When the hapless Epirotes were assembled in obedience to this command, he had them seized; sold 150,000 of them for slaves, and razed the fortifications of their seventy towns. Their precious metals the treacherous barbarian then bestowed upon his soldiers, and Epirus, though pronounced free, with the ironical facetiousness that applied this term to many other Roman dependencies, was in fact reduced to a mere province.

Macedon was divided into four Republics, each forbidden to hold any communication with the others; all, therefore, were weak and helpless. The people were prohibited from working their mines, or felling timber for ships, but they were required to support the expenses of their separate governments, and to pay to Rome one-half of the revenue they had formerly paid to their king. All who had held offices under Perseus were transported to Italy, and dispersed amongst the cities of Etruria, there to wait until the Senate should have leisure to

examine into their merits, which leisure never came. A thousand of the noblest Greeks were led into captivity as hostages in this cruel manner, and Greece was deprived for ever of all the high hearts who might have served or saved her.

The Prætor Anicius had a triumph, in which King Gentius, his Queen, sons, and brother, were led in chains. They ended their days in captivity at Iguvium, now Gubbio, in Umbria. But Anicius' triumph sank into insignificance before the more splendid one of Æmilius Paulus, which lasted three days, and commenced on the first with his entrance into the Tiber as a victor, in the gorgeous barge which had formerly belonged to Perseus, and which was decorated with his armour and tapestry. All Rome in festal dresses poured forth to greet him, and attended him to the Capitol, whither 250 chariots conveyed the pictures and colossal statues he had taken. On the second day, 3000 men appeared laden with vases of gold and silver, carrying vessels filled with coins, and charged with standards and trophies of war, won from the enemy. On the third day, the cavalry paraded in procession, troop by troop, followed by the infantry in maniples, every man being crowned with a garland. Before the conqueror's chariot appeared the unfortunate Perseus walking, and loaded with chains; he who but a month previous had ruled upon the throne of Alexander the Great. Despicable as he was, his situation excited pity, as he passed in deep despondency, attended by his two innocent sons and one helpless daughter. Perseus was lowered into a dungeon, and left for four days without food. He afterwards lingered for two years in confinement at Fucine Alba, and died, as is said, because his jailors prevented him from sleep. His son, Alexander, gained his bread as a turner, and rose to the rank of a scribe, or notary, in Alba.

Æmilius Paulus, notwithstanding his proud victories, his pomp and splendour, retired into private life, a childless and disappointed man. He divorced his first wife Papiria, and suffered his two sons by her to be adopted into other families. The eldest became a Fabius Maximus, and the second (a youth of whom he was very fond), a Publius Cornelius, afterwards distinguished as the second Africanus. His two sons by his second wife died, the

one five days before, and the other three days after his triumph.

The Rhodians, who had assisted the Romans so powerfully in their wars against Philip, came to congratulate them on their victory over Perseus, and presented themselves attired as Ambassadors in white mantles; but the Senate took no notice of them, and they were obliged to retire without any public acknowledgment. The mortified envoys presently returned clad in black, and asked for an explanation of this conduct. In answer, they were commanded to leave Italy. The Rhodians had behaved with ridiculous presumption several times during the late war, obtruding themselves as arbiters between the Romans and Macedonians, and at one time ordering the Romans to cease from hostilities. The Senate now made them tremble by declaring war. Upon their humble supplication and submission, the hostile decree was rescinded, but the Rhodians were punished by the withdrawal of the Roman alliance, and by deprivation of the recently annexed provinces of Lycia and Caria.

Many foreign princes now visited Rome: amongst them were Prusias of Bithynia, Eumenes of Pergamus, and the son of Masinissa from Numidia. The Romans had a new suitor in Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt. He had been taken prisoner by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, and was afterwards reinstated by that monarch upon his throne. But as Antiochus did not intend that his generosity should deprive him of all the fruits of his previous victories, he retained the city of Alexandria,—a possession by means of which he could enter Egypt whenever he pleased. Philometor, not enduring to see his capital thus in the hands of another, besought the Roman Senate to rescue him, and order Antiochus back to his own dominions. Three Legates were sent to meet the Syrian monarch at Alexandria. He went out to meet them, and extended his hand towards them; but Popilius, their chief, before he accepted the greeting, desired him to peruse the mission of the Senate, that they might ascertain whether he met them as friend or foe. Antiochus read the mandate, and astonished at its imperious tone, said that he would consult as to his reply. The proud Roman drew a circle round him in the sand, and bade him answer before he quitted it. The mighty king



bowed to the command of the Senate. He withdrew his troops from Egypt, and returned to Syria : but Egypt was never again freed from the protection thus weakly invoked. Those who wish to live independently, must learn to defend themselves.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXIV.

BESIDES the petty kingdom of Illyria, the Romans possessed themselves at this period of Istria and Carnia, provinces bordering upon the country of their Allies, the Veneti. They had established a Latin colony at Aquileia, which the Istrians destroyed. The Consul Manlius in r.r. 575 marched into Istria, to chastise the assailants, presuming upon an easy conquest; but the Istrians defeated him, took his camp, and placed him in great difficulties. Shortly after, however, their towns were taken, their king Epulo, seeing his case desperate, killed himself, and the people submitted. Manlius was tried, and punished for making war upon his own account, and setting the dangerous example of a General presuming to employ an army, independent of the will of the Senate. His conduct was severely reprobated, but the Senate, notwithstanding, kept the territory he had won for them.

During the whole period of the Macedonian and Syrian wars, the Romans had been obliged to keep standing armies in Cisalpine Gaul and Spain, and scarcely a season had passed without a battle. Livy says of these nations, that they seemed intended to preserve discipline amongst the Italians, and to keep their martial spirit in exercise during the intervals of their great struggle.

In these countries no marked change took place in the position of affairs. At times the Romans gained, at others they lost important advantages. Placentia was burnt by the Gauls under Hamilcar, but that General fell soon after at the battle of Cremona. The Romans slowly, but gradually, advanced in Cisalpine Gaul, and as they gained territory, they established colonies, and endeavoured to disunite the Gallic Tribes, by granting advantageous terms to such as joined them. The Ligurians having surrendered to Popilius, and he having sold

some of them for slaves, the Senate set them free, and severely reprov'd the Consul for 'daring to maltreat a people which had submitted. This specious liberality, however, did not prevent the same Senate from transporting 40,000 Ligurians from the river Macra into Samnium, because they believed that their turbulence would never subside in the mountains, but might be crushed in the plains.

Lucius Quinctius, the brother of Titus Flamininus, was one of the commanders in Gaul. A Boian chief fled to him for refuge, whilst he was at supper with Philip, a favourite Carthaginian, who, in order to accompany him from Rome, had relinquished the enjoyment of witnessing for the first time a show of gladiators. This wretch frequently taunted him with having for his sake lost the gratification of contemplating a man in the agonies of death. Quinctius remembering this when the chief implored his protection, struck him on the head with his sword, and as he was expiring, turned to Philip, and bade him glut his eyes with the desired spectacle. Quinctius was afterwards degraded from his rank, and expelled the Senate by M. P. Cato, for thus sporting with the blood of a human being. Had the murdered chief been an African or an Asiatic, probably no notice would have been taken of the deed, but the Gauls were too brave and high-spirited to be trifled with. The wife of one of the Galatian chiefs, having been insulted by a Centurion, cut off his head and carried it home to her husband. Even the Roman Consul applauded her for the deed.

The buckler of the Gauls was adopted by the Romans, and a triumph was granted for every victory gained over them. The booty taken from them consisted of chariots, armour, golden collars, called *Torques*, sometimes of great weight, and quantities of gold and silver coins stamped with a *Biga*, or two-horsed car.

The war in Spain bore the same character as that in Gaul, though waged in a richer country, and amongst more civilized people. It only continued, because each successive Roman commander thirsted for spoil and victory. One of the least cruel and unjust of these, was M. P. Cato, who in Y.R. 448, reduced 400 towns simultaneously by stratagem. He sent letters to the Governors

of these towns, all of which he contrived should reach their destination on the same day, ordering them to raze their walls, and threatening vengeance in case of refusal. Each Governor, supposing his own town to be the only one threatened, obeyed.

The pride and avarice of the Romans were frequently so intolerable, that their Spanish Allies, unable to endure them, appealed from their oppressors to the Senate. There they were heard by Patrons (of whom Cato was one), who brought forward their complaints against the unjust Prætors. The guilt of these magistrates was so evident, that they exiled themselves to Præneste and Tibur. But after a while, even Cato became so much imbued with the national arrogance, that he refused to permit the noble Romans, however criminal, to be prosecuted by foreigners.

Amongst the enormous quantity of gold and silver exhibited in Rome at the various triumphs over the Spanish principalities, Livy mentions silver Denarii, marked with the Biga, and thousands of silver coins from Osca (now Huesca), famous for its mines of silver and iron. Spanish pictures were hung up in the Temple of Esculapius, and Spanish spoils were dedicated to build two arches surmounted by gilt statues in the Forum Boarium, and one arch with a similar statue in the Circus Maximus.

Philip the Third of Macedon, when he first fought with the Romans, called them "Barbarians," and regarded their Generals as "superstitious soothsaying priests."\* But he was himself guilty of barbarous acts, unworthy of a Grecian. He burned the royal records at Larissa, and he desecrated numerous temples and sepulchres, not merely defacing them, but breaking the columns and ornaments, so as to prevent their being repaired. In the triumph of Scipio Asiaticus, vases were carried full of gold coins called Philippics; also, large statues of bronze and marble, numerous warlike engines, magnificently inlaid Eastern furniture, gilded couches, single-footed tables, gorgeous hangings, and a prodigious quantity of elephants' tusks. Besides these, he had the glory of displaying models of 134 captured towns, the names of which were afterwards engraved upon the pillars of his

\* Livy, xxxiii. 2.

house. This was the custom of Triumphers. The pillars afterwards remained as their memorial to all generations, and were not removed, even though the house should pass to others.

The noble families now began to embellish their palaces with the spoils of war, such as costly vases of embossed gold and silver, or carved ivory; rich tapestry, sumptuous carpets; and heavily embroidered silks, from the looms of Tyre and Sidon, glowing in purple and dazzling colours, and wrought in every variety of pattern. The ladies endeavoured to outshine each other in the luxury of their dress and ornaments; and their vain husbands encouraged them, because it afforded an additional opportunity for displaying the booty which they had gained, or the wealth of which they could boast. Thus an unhealthy craving for splendour and riches supplanted the old Roman simplicity; and that lasting fame and true glory, which Consuls and Senators formerly had sought by improving the laws, and increasing the happiness of their subjects, now gave place to the false fame and vain-glory of unjust conquests, and an insatiable thirst for power.

Livy says that the introduction of Asiatic luxuries destroyed the Roman character. The rich now had buffoons at their feasts, and became delicate and fantastic about their cooks and confectioners. Greek wrestlers were introduced at the Circus games; and combats of wild beasts, such as lions, panthers, and bears. These animals were confined in vaults called *Vomitoria*, and iron gratings were placed before the issues of these *Vomitoria* into the Circus. Mock-fights and warlike games were exhibited in the Circus, particularly one called *Tes-tudo*, with shields which the young men held over their heads like the shell of a tortoise. They formed themselves into five lines, each stooping lower than the one before him, so as to form with their shields an inclined plane. Upon these other soldiers mounted, as if they were scaling the roof of a house; and they ran along the upper row, fighting each other. The Romans captured the city of Heraclea during the war with Perseus, by fighting as if they were practising this game.

So many temples were built during this age, that had they not been mere shrines for altars, and as small as our

summer-houses, Rome could not have contained them. Dramatic entertainments were given to the people at the dedication of those which were vowed in war.

A daring act of sacrilege was committed by Valerius Flaccus in completing one of these buildings. He had vowed a temple to Fortune during his campaign in Spain; and as he wished it to exceed all others in grandeur, he carried off for its adornment the marble roof from the Temple of Juno Lacinia at Crotona. He thus violated a sanctuary which Hannibal himself had not ventured to touch! The Senators, shocked at his impiety, caused the roof to be restored, and atonement to be made. They rebuked the transgressor sharply, telling him that the gods of their Allies were as worthy to be venerated as the deities of Rome. Shortly after Fulvius lost his sons; and as all men believed their deaths to be occasioned by the wrath of Juno, this idea so preyed upon his mind that he hanged himself in despair.

In the year 571, as some workmen were digging in a field on the Janiculum, they came upon the sepulchre of King Numa. It contained two large stone coffins, with inscriptions; one of these was empty, but the other enclosed two bundles tied round with waxen cords, each bundle consisting of seven manuscript rolls. Strange to say, these rolls, which treated of law and religion, were judged to be unfit for publication, and were burnt in the Comitium as dangerous to the established faith.

In Y. R. 507, the Romans were greatly alarmed by the discovery that foreign and infamous rites, called "Bacchanalian mysteries," had been introduced into their city from Campania. Some authors refer the parentage of these rites to Babylon; but all agree that every work of darkness, fraud, and licentiousness, was perpetrated in their celebration. The votaries were chiefly young persons, and all sworn to secrecy. They met at night, with lighted torches. Holding these, they ran down to the Tiber, plunged them into the water rapidly, and withdrew them unextinguished, as an emblem that life was unquenched by death. At their clandestine meetings false wills were concocted, counterfeit seals were manufactured, and abominable treasons were plotted.

The Bacchantes and Bacchic scenes so often figured upon the Greek and Etruscan vases are supposed to re-

present portions of these frantic mysteries. They were abolished under the severest penalties, a night police was appointed to prevent their revival, and Hispala, the freed-woman, who had revealed their existence, was for a time protected by being lodged in the Consul's house, and was afterwards rewarded and permitted to marry a noble Roman.

Continual prodigies are said have occurred during this period, such as speaking cows (which may perhaps be accounted for by ventriloquism), showers of blood, meteors, monstrous births, weeping statues, and an earthquake, which endured for thirty-eight days. A violent storm destroyed a Rostrum which had been erected in the Capitol by the Consul M. Æmilius during the first Punic war, broke the pillar, and scattered the beaks of the vessels. The Haruspices wisely interpreted the omen to portend the acquisition of more, as spoils for the Romans by the destruction of their enemies. Amongst the natural phenomena, we may reckon an eclipse of the moon, which Paulus Æmilius foretold to his troops at the battle of Pydna. We may also mention the wells which he made his troops dig when he was in want of water.

Many foreign Monarchs now, besides visiting Rome, sent their sons there for education. Amongst the Princes thus sent, were Nicomedes, the son of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and Ariarathes, the son of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The young Princes, on their return home, spread throughout the East a knowledge of Roman civilization and power.

A considerable portion of the spoils accumulated during the late wars was honourably expended by the Censors upon useful public works, in the colonies, as well as in the city. Common sewers were excavated; city walls erected; moles at Terracina and other places built; and many admirable roads were constructed without taxing the people. They even attempted to introduce an aqueduct upon arches, but Licinius Crassus would not permit it to pass through his grounds. The roads were laid with gravel, and bordered by raised footpaths, and the streets of Rome were now first paved with flints. The city was adorned with new Forums, or market-places, law courts, colonnades, piazzas, arches, porticoes, theatres, wharfs, and bridges, and every description of

useful and ornamental edifice. Steps were constructed to lead from the street to the Tiber. A statue of Scipio Africanus was placed in the temple of the Capitol, and one of Asiaticus was erected in the Forum, draped in a Greek mantle and shod with sandals. Statues of bronze and marble began now to be substituted for the clay images of the Roman gods, which had hitherto stood, each in front of his own temple. A beautiful specimen of these (a Mercury) is now to be seen in the Vatican Museum. Many of the new statues were gilt.

Separate seats in the theatres were allotted to the Senators, Prætors, and Ediles. The former were placed in the orchestra. The number of Prætors was increased from two to six, on account of the vast extent of territory which they had to superintend. They executed the functions of Vice-Consuls, and their provinces, besides the city (the original jurisdiction), and Italy, were Sicily, Sardinia, and Upper and Lower Spain. A map of Sardinia, probably made by the Carthaginians, was exhibited as a curiosity in one of the triumphs. After the suppression of a rebellion in that island, the number of slaves brought from it was so great, that the Consul had difficulty in disposing of them. This originated the proverb of "Sardians to sell," to express an unsaleable or useless quantity.

Cato repaired a branch of the Cloaca Maxima, during his Censorship, and made a new and smaller Cloaca under the Aventine.

The natives of Formia, Fundi, and Arpinum, were admitted into the Roman Tribes, and men of the same profession in each tribe were arranged to vote in companies.

The vast number of educated and noble Greeks reduced to slavery, produced visible changes in the manners of the wealthy Romans. They bought or hired Greek tutors for their children, and collected into their households, as necessary appendages to their rank, instructors of every description, rhetoricians, grammarians, painters, musicians, and sculptors. Amongst the captives or hostages brought over by Æmilius, was Polybius, the son of Lycortus, Prince (or Prætor) of the Achæians. He was a person of extraordinary genius, and soon became the friend of his victor. When the Greek hostages were

sent into Etruria, Polybius obtained leave to remain at Rome, and was appointed preceptor to Æmilius's younger son, afterwards the celebrated Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted son of Scipio Africanus.\* After a time, Polybius procured leave for the surviving Greeks to return home, their numbers being reduced to three hundred. He wrote a Universal History of his own period, in forty books, the greater part of which are lost; but those which remain rank amongst the most correct and authentic of ancient productions. His account of the second Punic war is particularly esteemed, and he made a journey to the Alps, on purpose to inspect, with his own eyes, the country traversed by Hannibal.

Three eminent Latin poets, Cecilius Statius, Ennius, and Terence, flourished at this period, but none of them were Romans. Cecilius was an Insubrian Gaul, a native of Mediolanum (Milan). He wrote forty comedies, of which only a few fragments have escaped destruction. In his old age, the Ediles introduced to him a Carthaginian freedman, named Terence, who had offered them a drama for sale, and they requested his opinion to direct their judgment before concluding the purchase. Cecilius was at supper. He desired the youth to sit down on a low stool at a distance from him, to read his performance. Terence began his play of *Andria*, and ere he had concluded the first act Cecilius embraced him, and invited him to his table. It is needless to add, that the play was bought at a very high value.

Ennius was an Oscan from Rudia, in Calabria, who served as a Centurion under Africanus, both in Sicily and Spain. He accompanied Cato to Sardinia, and taught him Greek. Cato, in return, had him enrolled as a citizen in Rome, and assigned him a house upon the Aventine. He wrote Annals of the Roman Republic in Latin verse, besides satires, comedies, and tragedies, of which only fragments remain. Like Polybius, he was the friend of all the distinguished men of his day. Africanus,

\* Here is a good instance of the change of names in consequence of adoption. Young Æmilius, when adopted into the family of Scipio by the elder Africanus, became Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus. He afterwards acquired the agnomen "Africanus" by the conquest of Carthage.



whom he accompanied in his exile to Liternum, assigned to him a place in his tomb, and he was so highly esteemed by the Gens Cornelia, that his statue was placed in the sepulchre of the Scipios at Rome.

The family name of Terence, the Carthaginian poet, is not known. Whilst very young, he became the slave of Terentius, a Senator, who freed him, and whose name he assumed. He was the most admired writer of his age his genius being wonderfully fertile, and his language equally refined and expressive. One line of his has been adopted by us as a proverb and motto—

“Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.”\*

When this was spoken on the stage, he was deafened by the plaudits of his audience. Terence had a small property near the Villa Martis, and left one daughter, who married a Roman Knight. He disappeared at the age of thirty-five, and is supposed to have been drowned. He wrote upwards of one hundred plays, but only six remain, and the greater part of one of them, “Phormio,” has been translated by Molière, in his “Fourberies de Scapin.”

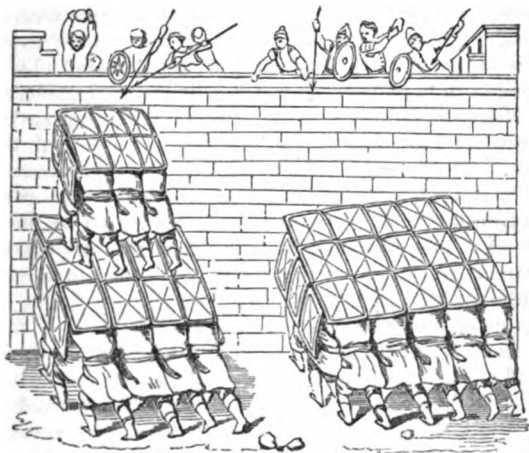
Cato, the Censor, composed an able work, entitled “Origines,” on the origin of the Italian nations, in rude nervous Latin, of which some valuable remains still exist.

\* “I am a man, and nought that may concern humanity is indifferent to me.”

## CHAPTER XXV.

## THIRD PUNIC WAR.

B.C. 168 TO 147. Y.R. 585 TO 606.\*



TESTUDO.

**AFTER** the second Punic war, the Carthaginians, being thoroughly humbled, studiously avoided giving the Romans any grounds of complaint. They suffered Hannibal to be driven away, and endured continual insults and aggressions from Masinissa. At last the latter invaded Leptis, and the Punic Senate applied for justice

\* Authorities : Fragments of Livy ; Nieb. Lect. vol. i. ; Ancient Hist. xii. ; Biog. Univers. ; Michelet, vol. iii. ; Arnold, vol. iii.

to Rome. Scipio Africanus, who had fixed the Carthaginian boundaries, was sent over to examine whether the land in question belonged to Carthage or Numidia ; but he, thinking it more for the interests of the Romans that causes of dispute should exist between the contending parties, left the matter undecided. From the first moment to the last, when the Romans interfered with the Carthaginians, they acted with duplicity and injustice.

By the r.r. 580, Masinissa had robbed the Carthaginians of no less than seventy towns and forts, yet the Romans gave them no protection beyond a slight reproof to the victorious and encroaching Prince. In vain the Punic Senate contributed men, money, and provisions, to the Roman armies in Greece ; their aid was received without thanks, and their State was treated with suspicion. In 596, Masinissa captured the Punic town of Tusca, and the Carthaginians being fettered, because forbidden to make war with the Allies of Rome, entreated the Romans either to insist upon their limits being respected, or to grant them permission to defend themselves. Ten Legates, of whom Cato was chief, were sent over to Africa, and they assigned to the Carthaginians a new frontier, ceding to Masinissa the territory he had usurped. The Carthaginians resisted this unjust arbitration, and very properly argued, that Africanus having already settled their limits at the peace, they had a right to preserve inviolate what he had spared.

Cato's vanity was deeply offended that his decision should be disputed, and he journeyed forwards to Carthage with feelings of revenge. On his route, he marked with displeasure how completely the country had recovered from the ravages of war. Everywhere he beheld a smiling and industrious population, fertile and well-cultivated lands, rich and thriving cities. The wealth and superior beauty of Carthage itself roused his worst passions, and he resolved upon its destruction, as a rival dangerous to Rome. He gathered some ripe figs as he left Africa, and dropped them, as he rose to speak, in the Roman Senate-house. Upon the Senators admiring them, "The country that produces these," he remarked, "is only three days' sail from us, and as long as Carthage exists Rome can never be secure. The Carthaginians may, at any time, rise against us. Their land is full of

people, and their towns of wealth. Their magazines abound with stores, and their ports are crowded with ships." He afterwards concluded all his speeches with the words, "Delenda est Carthago,"—"Carthage ought to be destroyed." The upright Scipio Nasica asserted, on the contrary, that Rome ought to uphold Carthage as a preservative against her own corruptions. He said, that as long as Rome had such a rival, she could not maintain her own position without a considerable degree of public virtue. Scipio's words were those of truth and wisdom, but Cato's opinion prevailed, notwithstanding his well-known pride and want of feeling. The destruction of Carthage was resolved upon. The Romans had now become like a nation of highwaymen, and the prosperity of any country independent of them was, in their eyes, a crime.

As the Romans fomented all disturbances in Carthage, and favoured the insults and injuries offered by Masinissa, the Carthaginians at last took up arms for themselves, encouraged by the disasters the Romans were suffering in Spain, and by an insurrection which had broken out against them in Macedon.

The Roman Generals in Spain would not suffer the natives to be quiet, always hoping to enrich themselves with their spoils. This avaricious and blood-thirsty system brought upon them merited disgrace. New Consuls had to be despatched to head the armies without delay; and in consequence of the pressing emergency the time of the Consuls coming into office was altered, and they henceforward exercised their power as soon as they were elected, at the end of December, instead of waiting till the following March. The Spanish service became so dangerous and unpopular, that men would not enlist for it, and officers could not be found. At this juncture young Scipio, the son of Æmilius Paulus, gained great applause by coming forward and offering to serve in any situation that the Senate should appoint him. His example inspired as many others to offer themselves as were required, and the Legions were completed. Scipio served as Military Tribune under Licinius Lucullus, and was the only Roman distinguished for any noble or gallant act during the campaign. Lucullus, feeling himself eclipsed by Scipio, sent him to Numidia to buy elephants; and

Scipio, finding that Masinissa, at the age of ninety-two, was heading his troops near Carthage, joined him, in order to see the state of the war.

The Punic Government was unfortunately distracted by three parties, all opposed to each other—the Roman, the Numidian, and the Patriotic. This last, headed by Carthalo and Hamilcar the Samnite (why so named we are ignorant), drove the Numidians out of the city, and made the people swear never to readmit them. The exiles took refuge with Masinissa, who sent his son Gulussa to Carthage to negotiate for them. Carthalo shut the gates against Gulussa, and Hamilcar attacked him as he was retreating, and wounded some of his attendants. Masinissa declared war in revenge, and Hasdrubal met and opposed him with a large army. Scipio witnessed the action which ensued, and which lasted from morning till night. He had orders from the Senate, if Masinissa were successful, to congratulate him; but if the Carthaginians, he was to command them to make peace. Masinissa surrounded the Carthaginian army on an isolated hill, whence they could not escape; and after enduring many days of famine, they were forced to surrender their arms and to pass under the yoke. Fifty-eight thousand men bowed their necks to this disgrace; and were no sooner beyond the lines, unarmed and defenceless, than Gulussa sated his malice by pursuing them, and putting them all to the sword. They were the youth and strength of Carthage, and the blow was irreparable.

The Punic Senate, in alarm lest they should have provoked the wrath of Rome, sentenced Carthalo to death; and Hasdrubal only saved himself by escaping to a distance with 20,000 men, and making war on his own account. Ambassadors were sent to Rome to apologise and deprecate the anger of the haughty Fathers; but they were too glad of a pretext for dissatisfaction, and war was not only instantly declared, but a fleet with 80,000 men, which had been waiting for an opportunity of action, was despatched to Sicily, with orders to invade the doomed and helpless Carthage.

In vain the Punic Rulers offered every atonement for having presumed to defend themselves against an ally of Rome. The dignity, or rather the rapacity, of the Senate,

could only be pacified by the lives and properties of the offenders. The Carthaginians were mourning for their gallant youth, who had so lately perished. They were without allies, without ships of war, and without any adequate means of defence against the Romans. To add to their misfortunes, the strong and independent city of Utica, eight miles from Carthage, broke faith with them, and secured its own existence by surrendering itself to Rome. The Carthaginians endeavoured to save themselves by the same policy, and placed themselves as tributaries under Roman protection; but Cato had decreed that Carthage should be destroyed, and his decree could not be averted. History has no page of deeper guilt or blacker perfidy than that which records the conduct of the Romans to the Carthaginians at the opening of this war; nor can any words or feelings of execration be too strong to condemn their treachery. They showed in their conduct the mean rapacity of bandits, and the base cunning of savages.

The Senate answered the Carthaginians, that if within thirty days they sent 300 children from their noblest families as hostages to the Consuls in Sicily, and if they submitted to all future orders, they should retain their territory, and live in freedom under their own laws. The Carthaginians remarked that their city was not mentioned in these terms; but they sent the hostages required. The poor children were transferred to Rome, and their lives were to be forfeited if their parents rebelled. The Roman army then passed over to Utica, almost within sight of Carthage; and here the Punic Envoys waited upon the Consuls to learn their further commands. Censorinus and Manilius received them with the pomp and state of Eastern despots. The army was drawn out in two lines, and the envoys were led through long and deep rows of glittering spears and shining helmets to the thrones on which the Consuls sat, clothed in purple mantles and dazzling armour, each surrounded by his staff.

A cord enclosed a space about them to separate them from the crowd, and the Ambassadors stood without the cord, as humble suppliants, to hear and to obey. At length the Consuls proclaimed the decree of the Senate, that the Carthaginians should deliver up all their weapons,

and thus at once abolish every cause for future jealousy. The Envoys were startled, and represented that they had other enemies to repel besides the Romans, against whom they must possess the means of defending themselves. The Consuls answered, "Fear not, Carthaginians; obey, and the Romans will defend you." The Envoys returned to Carthage; and hopeless of making any effectual resistance, the Punic Senate submitted. The Romans themselves were astonished at the multitude of weapons delivered up to them, and the facilities thus supplied to accomplish their diabolical purposes. Two hundred thousand suits of armour, besides Catapults, Ballistæ, and all other warlike machines, were brought in waggons to their camp, accompanied by the Priests and Senators, and the best and most venerable of the Carthaginians. They came to compare the Roman with the Punic faith,—those who promised with those who trusted. "You have done well," said Censorinus. "The further will of the Senate is, that you abandon Carthage, which must be razed to the ground: you are permitted to build another city on any other spot, provided it be ten miles from the sea, and without walls or forts."

The Carthaginians rent the air with cries of lamentation and groans of despair. They threw themselves upon the ground, tore their hair and their garments, and rolled themselves in the dust. They asked leave to send a remonstrance to Rome; but the Consuls said it was useless, for their orders were peremptory, and the will of the Senate was inexorable. The humbled and deceived Envoys dared not return to Carthage with such a message; they were afraid of being torn to pieces, and many fled, and were no more heard of. Those who ventured into the city walked in silence to the Senate-house; and there, in accents of despair, communicated the accursed doom. The Senators within, and the crowd without, burst forth with execrations, maltreated the unfortunate Envoys, and put to death all the Italians they could seize in Carthage. They shut the gates and manned the walls, whither they carried stones for their defence. They shouldered their clubs and instruments of agriculture; and showed such a spirit of valour and patriotism as makes us respect them in their last hour, and almost forgive their many acts of folly and misgovernment.

The Romans, who had thought resistance impossible, did not advance immediately upon their prey. They had forgotten Hasdrubal with his 20,000 men, who was forthwith recalled from the southern frontiers, and they suspected not the dormant energies which despair awakened in their victims. The covetous and ease-loving Carthaginians stripped their houses and temples of all the metals which could be found. They melted the vases, statues, and precious furniture; and the gold and silver, as well as the brass and iron, were converted into arms. So were also the fetters of the slaves and prisoners, all of whom they liberated. The palaces and temples were converted into workshops. The women, with a loftiness of purpose equal to any of the Roman matrons, gave all their ornaments, and cut off their long hair to make strings for the catapults and cross-bows, whilst night and day they laboured to make arms along with the men. Their food was brought to them, that they might work without interruption; and each day they fabricated 140 bucklers, 300 swords, 1000 darts, and 500 javelins. Those who laboured so strenuously were worthy of liberty, and must have died with pleasure when they found that it was no longer within their reach.

With 80,000 men at their gates, and in this defenceless and plundered condition, the Carthaginians protracted the war for five anxious years, and caused the death of thousands of their foes. They allied themselves with Philip Andriscus, a brave Pretender to the throne of Macedon, who drew off legions and commanders into Greece; and at one time they negotiated with Masinissa, who perceived too late that the destruction of Carthage would be followed by the subjugation of Numidia. Philip was subdued, and led in chains to Rome to grace the triumph of Metellus, who assumed the title of "Macedonicus;" and Masinissa died, leaving the administration of his affairs in the hands of Scipio Nasica, who neutralised the strength of his empire by dividing it between his three sons, Gulussa, Micipsa, and Mastanabal.

When the Consuls advanced upon Carthage, they were astonished at the resistance they encountered. The city occupied a peninsula, the whole of which was surrounded by a low breast-work. The Isthmus, three miles across, which joined it to the main land, was de-



fended by a triple wall; and the three different parts, Cothon, Bozra, and Megara, which composed Carthage, were divided from each other, and had their separate walls and towers. Manilius tried to fill up the fosse, and to carry by force the works of the great wall; but he was repulsed with loss. Censorinus attacked an angle of the Isthmus, and was forced to retire. He then threw down a portion of the wall by battering-rams; but the Punic soldiers rebuilt it in the night, burnt the Roman engines, and drove off the besiegers. The Carthaginians possessed an excellent cavalry officer, Hamilcar Phameas, who prevented the Romans from foraging; and an enterprising Admiral, Bithyas, who brought them provisions from Nepheris when the wind was fair, through the midst of the Roman fleet.

The dog-days now set in, and the Romans suffered so much from heat, that Censorinus removed his camp to the sea. The Carthaginians then filled vessels with combustibles, and let the breeze drive them in amongst the Romans, whose ships they burnt. Censorinus returned to Rome for the elections, and as soon as the Punic leaders knew that Manilius was alone, they distressed him by brisk and unexpected attacks. More than once they were on the point of destroying the Roman army, when Scipio Æmilianus, who served as military Tribune, led out the cavalry upon their rear, and saved his countrymen.

Hasdrubal was posted at Nepheris, a strong town upon a high rock, twenty-four miles south of Carthage. Manilius attacked this place, and ranged his forces so unskilfully, between the river and the crag, that he had no retreat. Hasdrubal was victorious, and the Romans must have surrendered at discretion, had not Scipio rushed to the rescue, and withstood the whole force of the Punic army at the head of 300 horse, maintaining the fords of the river, until all the Romans had crossed over. When he joined his comrades in safety, they blessed him for their preservation, and presented him with the *corona vallaris*, the most honourable of all their crowns. The officers wrote letters full of his praises to Rome, and Cato commended him in the Senate as the only distinguished Roman in Africa. Cato died soon after, at the age of eighty-five (Livy says ninety), without seeing the

issue of the conflict which his pride and vanity had excited.

The new Consuls attacked Clupea, and several other towns, but were repulsed, and the Carthaginians were beginning to presume upon their success, when Scipio inflicted an irreparable blow by gaining over Hamilcar Phameas, and the division he commanded. The Carthaginians thus lost their best cavalry officer, and the Romans rewarded the traitor with lands and honours, whilst they condemned the real Patriots to destitution and slavery.

Scipio returned to Rome and stood for the Edileship; but the Tribes usurping the power of election, proclaimed him Consul, though under the lawful age, and assigned to him Africa as his province. Scipio took thither his favourite Polybius, and landed at Utica. He had for his colleague Lælius, son of the Lælius who had so often been the colleague of Africanus in the second Punic war. Scarcely had they landed, when they received urgent entreaties for help from Mancinus, the commander before Carthage, who, having led his troops within the walls, was in imminent danger of being cut to pieces. Scipio immediately re-embarked. He ordered his men to stand upright in the vessels, that the glittering of their spears might be seen from far, and he despatched his swiftest bark with a liberated prisoner to inform Hasdrubal in defiance, that Scipio had set sail for Carthage.

When Scipio arrived, he quickly drove away the superior forces of the Carthaginians, and opened an avenue, by which the troops of Mancinus could reach their vessels in safety. He then assumed the command, and spent some time in restoring discipline amongst the men, and in ridding the camp of the useless and disorderly followers by whom it was infested. Presently, he moved nearer to the city, and made a night attack upon Megara, which was bravely repulsed; but a party of his men mounted a garden turret outside the wall, and threw thence a plank by which they passed over upon the ramparts unobserved. From this they jumped down, and opened a gate for their General, who entered with 4000 men. Many of the Carthaginians, believing the quarter to be taken, fled into Bozra; but the next morning discovered to each party their position; and as Megara was merely a suburb, abounding in villas, hedges, and gardens

which Scipio judged unsafe, he retired, and occupied the Carthaginian camp outside the walls, which its owners had abandoned in their alarm. Hasdrubal in revenge for the apprehension he had suffered, placed his hapless prisoners on the wall facing the Romans, and after torturing them, threw them down, so that they were dashed to pieces in sight of their countrymen. This cowardly act was reprov'd by the Punic Senate, and Hasdrubal, as if he had lost his senses, caused those who reprov'd him to be put to death, and gradually came to be dreaded in the city almost as much as the foe on account of his violence and tyranny.

Scipio continued to approach nearer and nearer to the walls, and soon extended a line of forts and ditches across the Isthmus from sea to sea, which prevented the entrance of fresh supplies by land. He then endeavoured to close up the harbour, and began to erect a mole, but the Carthaginians laughed at his attempt. The mouth of the harbour was seventy feet wide, and had been secured by iron chains. Within, lay a spacious bay, divided into two parts. The outer served for merchant-vessels, and was bordered by a quay lined with warehouses. The inner was appropriated to the fleet, and was capable of holding 220 ships of war. Between the two lay an island, on which was situated the Admiral's house, commanding a view both within and without the bay. Scipio constructed his mole of huge stones, which formed a barrier ninety feet broad at the bottom, and thirty at the top. As it advanced day by day the Carthaginians found that they could not destroy it, and saw with dismay that they must soon be enclosed. Scipio's work was so substantial as to form a rampart against the sea itself, and it has gradually converted the ancient bay into one vast swamp, from the continual accumulation of drifted sand.

The Carthaginians, with admirable resolution and ingenuity, cut themselves another passage through the rocks into the sea, and built fifty Triremes so expeditiously and secretly, that the Romans had no suspicion of their labours, and were stupefied with amazement when this small fleet issued forth, and first appeared in front of theirs. Had the Carthaginians vigorously attacked the Romans whilst under the influence of this first surprise, it is probable that they would have dispersed or destroyed

their fleet. But they lost their opportunity as usual, and after braving the Romans, returned again into port. Lælius prepared himself to resist an armament of which he was now aware, and when the fleets subsequently engaged, the Romans had the advantage. Scipio effected a landing upon the quay beneath the magazines, and made a breach in the walls with battering-rams. At night, the indefatigable Carthaginians repaired the wall, and swam, or waded through the water with combustibles, which set the Roman engines on fire. Scipio, however, fixed a division of his army on the quay, and led the rest to Nepheris, in which were the granaries that victualled Carthage. He took this important place, and famine then began to make itself felt in the devoted city, which was hemmed in on every side.

Scipio next attacked Cothon, which had a circular wall towards the sea. Whilst he assaulted it fiercely upon one side, Lælius sailed round unperceived to the other, and mastered a portion which was but slightly defended. His men opened the gates to Scipio, and both armies met in the Forum. From this point three long steep streets led up to Bozra, or the citadel, and such of the inhabitants as could escape, hastily fled thither. The rest endeavoured to defend the streets, and threw down missiles on their foes from the tops of the houses. The Romans finding themselves thus impeded, took possession of several dwellings, killed the inhabitants, and mounted to the roofs, along which they ran slaying or flinging down all who opposed them. The soldiers in the streets advanced slowly below, cutting their progress, inch by inch. At length, both divisions met at the gates of Bozra, amid the shrieks and groans, the cries and wailings, of the unfortunate Carthaginians, who crowded into the citadel and became prisoners there. Scipio encamped his men round Bozra, and ordered the magnificent quarter of Cothon to be burnt. The Roman soldiers heaped up combustibles at every corner, and forwarded the work of destruction. For six days the conflagration raged, and thousands of old and sick, feeble women, and helpless children, perished in the flames. The spectacle from Bozra was agonising, and all hope of further resistance vain. Scipio's well-armed, well-fed host encompassed its starving population. Hundreds died of famine, and

hundreds fed upon the dead. At length 50,000 souls agreed to surrender, provided their lives were spared, and they marched out, a sickly, melancholy remnant of 700,000, who had been in the town when it was first besieged by Scipio.

There now remained Hasdrubal, his noble wife, with her children, and 900 deserters, who had no chance of pardon. All therefore resolved to sell their lives dear. They entrenched themselves in the sacred and isolated Temple of Esculapius or Esmûn, which stood apart upon a lofty precipice, and appeared inaccessible. Scipio surrounded it, but the garrison maintained their defence day and night, until worn out with fatigue, hunger, and want of rest. Hasdrubal saw that he could not escape, and his cruel savage nature feared to die. He had often sworn that he would save the city or perish in the ruins, but now he deserted his comrades, whose fate he was unworthy to share. He secretly left the Esculapium, and presented himself before Scipio, whose feet he embraced, and from whom he basely supplicated his life. Scipio granted it, for so degraded a foe could not be formidable, and he wished to exhibit him in his triumph. Scipio, the next day, made Hasdrubal sit at his feet, in sight of the Esculapium, and of the brave men whom he had abandoned. They reviled him in hate and scorn, and devoted him to the execration of gods and men. His high-souled wife was the first to set that example which ought to have been given by her husband. She issued forth upon the ramparts, apparelled in her jewels and richest robes, with her children at her side, and she loudly upbraided Hasdrubal as one unworthy of his cause and country — a vile and contemptible traitor. “No blame,” she said, “attaches to Scipio, for he is our foe. But thou, wretch and coward! no time can obliterate thy disgrace, nor can any amount of sufferings atone for thine abject degradation. While we bravely perish, thou shalt live detested and despised.” Saying this, she caused the temple to be set on fire, and after stabbing her children and throwing them in, she precipitated herself into the burning ruin. The whole garrison cursing Hasdrubal, and invoking imprecations on his head, followed her example.

Scipio opened the deserted gates of the untenanted

citadel, and marched in over blackened bones, falling columns, and human ashes. From the Esculapium he looked over the wide and scorched desert, so lately full of beauty, hope, and life. He is said to have repeated two lines of Homer,—

“The day shall come when Ilion’s self shall fall,  
With Priam and his strong-speared people all,”\*

and to have shed tears. Polybius asked what he meant, and he answered, “This may one day be the fate of Rome.” His final act was to raze the walls of Carthage, desecrating them by passing the plough over them, and entreating the gods to leave the place. He cursed whoever should presume to rebuild it, and devoted its inhabitants to the three Furies, Fear, Terror, and Vengeance. Carthage was then set on fire, and after blazing for seventeen days, sunk down a fearful heap of ruin and desolation.

Thus perished, Y.R. 607, this glorious city, after having existed for 700 years, and given birth to many of the most learned and heroic of the human race, both men and women. Dido, Sophonisba, and the wife of the last Hasdrubal, have had few superiors; and several of the Hasdrubals, Hamilcars, and Magos, may challenge comparison, in courage and conduct, with the chiefs of any other race. Hannibal was without an equal, and his single name is sufficient to dignify a nation. Hanno, an Admiral who was ordered to sail round Africa, and who actually reached the coast of Guinea 300 years previous to this period, wrote an account of his voyage, called a *Periplus*, which was thought worthy of being hung up in the temple of Saturn or Baal.†

Carthage was twenty-three miles in circumference, including the suburbs and cemetery; and the foundations of buildings are still visible upon its ancient site. Bozra occupied the north-eastern quarter, and Cothon the south-western. The high walls by which the city was surrounded, were divided into two stories, each vaulted. The lower arcade contained stalls and granaries for 300

\* *Il. vi.* 448.

† Himilco, a Carthaginian Admiral, 600 B.C., in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, is said to have visited Britain, and to have traded with the Scilly Isles for tin.

elephants and 4000 horses, and the upper arcade contained barracks for 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. These walls were defended at short distances, by towers four stories high. Carthage was a much finer city than Rome; the houses and temples were adorned with Ionic porticoes, and the quays with colonnades. The Carthaginians are said to have been the first people who built regular streets,\* and their architecture was a mixture of Egyptian and Grecian. Remains are still to be seen of the triple walls, the firmly built sewers, the magnificent amphitheatre, and a series of tanks and cisterns to hold rain-water.

The most remarkable monuments, however, ascribed to ancient Carthage, are long lines of aqueducts, traceable for seventy miles, from the present villages of Zow Wan to Zung Gar. They are seventy feet high, built in narrow oval arches, supported by columns sixteen feet square. Some antiquarians assert, that these are Roman works, erected to supply the second city of Carthage, which was built and colonized by the Emperor Augustus, but the tradition of the spot assigns them to the city which Scipio Æmilianus destroyed. The spoils of Carthage were much diminished by the quantity of gold and silver which had been converted into weapons of defence. Still they were abundant, and one statue of Apollo (Bel), in a temple of Cothon, was of massive gold.

Scipio desired the Sicilian cities, which in former times had been plundered by the Carthaginians, to reclaim their precious works of art. A famous brazen bull, which had been used as an instrument of torture by Phalaris, a tyrant of Agrigentum, was restored to that city. Some of the Carthaginian books were transported to Rome, particularly a work on agriculture, by Mago,† which was translated into Latin. The principal libraries were given, along with much territory, to Micipsa of Numidia. Carthage became a Roman province, under a Proprætor, subject to a land and poll-tax. Scipio triumphed, and assumed, like his illustrious predecessor, the name of "Africanus." He deposited in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus an urn filled with the ashes of Carthage.

\* Nieb.

† Mago is supposed to have been the founder of Hannibal's family, B.C. 600.

Hasdrubal was so utterly despicable, as to sink into oblivion, and it is not known whether he was made a spectacle to the people, or whether he killed himself to avoid the shame. Scipio exhibited solemn games in his own honour, in which the fugitives and deserters who had fallen into his hands were thrown as food to the lions. Such were the manners of ancient Rome, and such was the humanity of one of her greatest Commanders.

The Consul Mummius reduced Achaia, and burnt Corinth, in the same year that Scipio destroyed Carthage.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXV.

DURING the period of the last chapter, war still continued with Gaul and Spain, and a yoke of more complete subjection was imposed upon Greece and Macedon. In Spain, the Romans were generally unsuccessful; and the towns which they subdued one year revolted from them the next; but in 602, part of Lusitania surrendered to the savage Licinius Lucullus, upon condition of life and property being spared. No sooner were the people in his power, than Lucullus violated the treaty in all points, spoiled them of their goods, and sold 30,000 of them into slavery. Lucullus was tried for this before the Senate, but family interest bought him off, though he had against him the vehement eloquence of Cato, who tolerated no injustice but his own. Lucullus's colleague, Sulpicius Galba, massacred 30,000 Lusitanians, after they had surrendered, and the fruit of his treachery was a war, in which fully as many Romans perished, and which threatened the loss of all their Spanish dominions.

In Gaul, Sulpicius subdued the Alpine Ligurians, and assumed the name of "Gallus." Ten years later, Opimius crossed the Alps, and defeated another tribe of Ligurians, who had invaded Nicea and Antipolis, two small Greek towns, now Nice and Antibes, belonging to their Allies the Massilians. The Romans did this, because they wished to command the whole coast from Pisa to Spain.

All was supposed to be quiet in Macedon and Greece; therefore the Senate heard without alarm of a young man



who suddenly appeared at the court of Demetrius, king of Syria, and declared himself to be Philip, the son of Perseus. In countenance, he strikingly resembled Perseus, and this, probably, first incited him to claim the Macedonian crown. He is believed to have been a gladiator. Demetrius sent him to Rome, and called him "Philip Andriscus." Perseus's undoubted son, Alexander, was then earning his bread at Alba as a notary, and therefore the Senate paid no attention to Philip's assumptions, which appeared to them ridiculous. Philip escaped to Thrace, and soon showed that, however false his claims, his warlike talents were not contemptible. The Thracians rallied round him, and the Macedonians hailed him as their deliverer from the Roman yoke, and placed their crown upon his head. He allied himself with Carthage, overran Thessaly, and defeated and killed the Consul Juventius. Philip lost himself afterwards by acts of tyranny, which alienated his new subjects. The Prætor, Cecilius Metellus, defeated him in two engagements, with immense loss. He fled to Bysas, a petty Thracian Prince, from whom Metellus demanded him; and Bysas, intimidated, surrendered his fugitive guest. Metellus carried him to Rome, and exhibited him in his triumph (606), after which he was put to death. Two other Pretenders started, but they were quickly subdued, and Macedon and Thessaly became Roman provinces.

During the continuance of this war, the Achaïans, who were still called free, made a bold stroke for their independence. All the States which were united in the Achaïan League were bound to obey the same laws; but one of them, Sparta, becoming discontented, violently abolished the Achaïan code, and re-established the ancient laws of Lycurgus. The League made war on Sparta, and the Spartans appealed to Rome. When Metellus was in Greece, he called a meeting of the States at Corinth, and there, in the plenitude of Roman despotism, proclaimed to the astonished Deputies, that Sparta, and whatever other cities were dissatisfied with the League, should be independent of it henceforth. The Achaïans, infuriated at such presumption, insulted and drove away the Roman Legates, and put to death all the Spartans who were in Corinth. The consequence was, war with Rome; an event desired by the two Achaïan

Prætors, Critolaus and Diæus, because they had both been ill-used exiles in Italy for seventeen years, and they hated the Italians. They, however, acted wrong, for as dismembered Greece could not contend with the enormous power of Rome, they only sacrificed thousands of their fellow-countrymen to gratify their own private resentment. Critolaus hoped to join Philip Andriscus, but Metellus defeated him near Thermopylæ, and he disappeared on the field of battle. Diæus liberated all the slaves to reinforce the army, and marched after Metellus, who pitied the Greeks, and did not push his advantages.

At this time, the Consuls were changed, and Mummius, who had already distinguished himself in Spain, a proud, rude, uncultivated Roman, was appointed to succeed Metellus. He hastened to Greece directly, for he thirsted after laurels and treasures, and he dreaded lest Metellus should, by concluding the war, deprive him of a triumph, which was the object of his highest ambition. As soon as he arrived, he sent Metellus back into Macedonia, and advanced to meet the Achæians at Leucopetra. His opponent, the presumptuous Diæus, was so certain of victory, and so intoxicated with the notion of his own military genius, that he placed bands of the Corinthian women and children upon the heights to see him conquer. The fight was short, though desperate, and both seas across the Isthmus are said to have been dyed with blood. Diæus ought to have retreated into Corinth, which was strongly fortified, and to have capitulated upon terms; but, like most presumptuous men, he lost courage in adversity. Abandoning the duties of a general, he fled to his own house at Megalopolis, which he set on fire, and perished in the flames with his wife and children.

The Corinthians, in a panic, deserted their city, so that when Mummius arrived, he found the gates open and the walls unguarded, like Rome when invaded by the Gauls. Suspecting an ambushade, he took every precaution against surprise, and waited in hesitation three days. At the end of that time, being convinced that Corinth was undefended, he entered and abandoned it to plunder. It was one of the most luxurious and opulent cities in the world, abounding in manufactures and beautiful objects of art. Its houses and magazines were sacked, its palaces and temples plundered, and all

the inhabitants who had not forsaken it were sold as slaves. Corinth was captured in Y.R. 607, the same year as Carthage; and Polybius went from the awful conflagration of the one, to behold the desolation of the other. He found the most precious works of art scattered in all directions, as might have been expected from the unimaginative, unpolished mind of Mummius; and the soldiers were throwing dice upon a picture of Bacchus by Aristides, which was reckoned one of the wonders of the world. To express perfect execution in any work of art, the Greeks used to say, "It was as well done as the Bacchus of Aristides." Polybius rescued the picture, by persuading the soldiers to accept of a common table instead. When it was put up to sale as Roman booty, Attalus, the king of Pergamus, offered for it 600,000 sesterces,\* and Mummius, convinced that it had magic virtues to command such a price, refused to permit the sale. He transported it to Rome, and had it placed in the Temple of Ceres, where it remained until that temple perished by fire, in the days of Tiberius.

Mummius sent to Rome gold, silver, and precious furniture, besides a vast number of exquisite pictures and statues. He understood so little the merit of works of genius, that he threatened the ship-captains who transported them, that, if lost or injured, they should replace them. That inspiration, which can breathe life into dead stone and silent canvas, was unknown to him. He understood better how to deal out to the living death and wretchedness. After Corinth had been plundered, Mummius ordered it to be set on fire; and as the conflagration first raged, and then abated, strange streams of liquid metal, white, red, yellow, and grey, were seen glistening and flowing down the streets. Many of the soldiers, believing it to be gold, and striving to catch it, perished in the flames. When cool enough to be examined, it was found to be a beautiful and inimitable fusion of ores, and it has ever since borne the name of "Corinthian brass." Corinth was burnt, and its walls were razed, 950 years after its foundation.

Ten Roman Legates now organised Greece into a Roman province, under the name of "Achaia," subject

\* A Sesterce was worth two and a half Asses.

to the annual government of a Prætor. Mummius triumphed in splendour, and assumed the title of "Achai-cus." Polybius rescued many public monuments from destruction, and procured many indulgences for Greece, which occasioned his name to be blessed, and statues to be erected to him throughout the country. It is a curious fact, that Corinth and Carthage, which were burnt, and razed, in the same year and under the same Consuls, were also rebuilt in the same year, and under the same Emperor, Augustus Cæsar.

Various minor events enabled the Romans about this time to interfere with the affairs of the Eastern nations, and thus extend their power.

Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, lived for twelve years as a hostage in Rome. He was educated there, well treated, and enjoyed considerable influence. During his residence, and soon after his uncle, Epiphanes, had been forced by Popilius to abandon Alexandria, and return to his own kingdom, the two Egyptian Ptolemies, Philometor and Physcon, quarrelled. Physcon drove away his brother, and Philometor travelled alone, and in the guise of a wayworn wanderer, from Brundisium to Rome. Demetrius, hearing of it, sent his own royal equipage to meet him, but he chose rather to enter the city in mean apparel, covered with dust, and on foot, taking up his quarters in the house of an Alexandrian painter, his own subject. When the Senators were informed of it, they apologised to him, and decreed that he should be considered as a guest of the state. He had craftily excited their compassion, and they therefore *willed* that he should be restored to his throne, and continue to rule over Egypt and Cyprus; though they assigned to his wicked brother his former kingdoms of Libya and Cyrene. Physcon subsequently entreated to have Cyprus allotted to him also, and was supported by Demetrius, who wished to diminish the power of Egypt on the side of Syria, and who persuaded the Romans that their interest coincided with his in this matter. Philometor refused compliance. He besieged his brother in Cyprus, and captured him; but instead of executing, he generously pardoned him, and the brothers were reconciled. Philometor was soon after killed by a fall from his horse, in battle against Alexander Balas, whom he

had formerly made king of Syria, and Physcon reigned alone.

Whilst Demetrius was in Rome, his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes died, after having for eleven years usurped his rights and occupied his place. He left a son of nine years old, but Demetrius being the lawful heir, and in the flower of his age, was earnestly desired back again by the Syrians. He asked leave of the Senate to depart for his kingdom, but they chose to seize Syria for themselves, under pretence of governing it for the young Antiochus Eupator, whom they declared a ward of the Republic. Three Legates were despatched as Governors, and on their arrival they killed the elephants and burnt the ships of the Syrians, as a prelude to disarming them. Lysias, the Syrian Viceroy, caused one of the Legates to be murdered, and Demetrius was advised by his friend Polybius to escape from Rome and assume the crown, under pretence of punishing the assassins. Demetrius effected his purpose, and was joyfully received by the Syrians, who bestowed upon him the name of Soter, or deliverer. He, however, sullied his fame by putting to death his unfortunate cousin Eupator at the age of eleven; and by a war with the Jews, under the valiant Judas Maccabæus. Judas applied to the Romans, and they made a treaty of alliance with him as Prince of Judea, and commanded Demetrius to withdraw his army.

Not long after, Demetrius made war on Ariarathes the Sixth, king of Cappadocia, with whom he must have been acquainted in Rome, and with whom he was angry, because Ariarathes had refused to marry his sister, the widow of Perseus. He dethroned the Cappadocian monarch, and supported a pretender against him. Ariarathes regained his dignity, and, curious to relate, destroyed Demetrius by means of Alexander Balas, a pretender whom he had contributed to raise to the throne of Syria. Balas and Philometor of Egypt subsequently fell in the same engagement; the former by treachery after a defeat, the latter by accident after a victory, which re-established the son of Demetrius on his father's throne.

In Y.R. 604, an Embassy was sent to Prusias, king of Bithynia, to terminate a civil war between him and his son Nicomedes, the young prince who had been

educated in Rome. The Legates were men of little consideration, for Prusias had made himself despicable by his sycophancy and want of self-respect when in Rome. He styled himself the Senate's freedman, had worn a *Pileus* on his head, and appeared ready to lick the very dust off their sandals ; a line of conduct which naturally provoked contempt. Of the three Senators despatched to Prusias, one had a diseased head, another gout in his feet, and the third was weak in intellect; upon which Cato remarked that "the Romans had sent an Embassy without head, heart, or feet." The Legates returned for further instructions, and Nicomedes meanwhile besieged his father in Nicomedia, and assassinated him. Dalmatia was united to the Roman dominions at this period, having allowed the Romans a pretext for conquest by attacking Illyria. During all these wars, there was no Dictator, and not unfrequently two Plebeians were Consuls together.

The most remarkable Roman of the era was Marcus Porcius Cato, a lawyer, soldier, and Senator, alike feared by rich and poor. His family belonged to Tusculum, and, consequently, when admitted to Roman citizenship, became Plebeian. His freehold was a farm adjoining that which had belonged to Curius Dentatus, the Patron of the Samnites, and the victor over Pyrrhus at Beneventum. Cato loved to imitate his rough simplicity, and his hatred of pomp and show. Cato was red-haired, blue-eyed, and possessed of a remarkably hardy and vigorous constitution. In toil and danger, Livy says, his mind and body were like steel. His name was "Porcius," but even when a boy he was called *Catus*, or *Cato*, to express the wariness of his character. He was a man of rigid principles, according to heathen notions ; but he was no example to Christians, as, notwithstanding many great qualities, he was vain, proud, crafty, and cruel ; haughty to his equals, unfeeling to his inferiors, and unforgiving when offended. He disliked and persecuted the Scipios, because they outshone him. He caused the destruction of Carthage, and the death by sword or famine of 600,000 of his fellow-creatures, because the Punic Senate ventured to question his unjust arbitration. He made a low marriage in his old age, to display his authority over his eldest son ; and he treated his innumerable slaves with a harshness and brutality truly revolting. In his youth, he

worked along with them, half naked, in the old Italian fashion, and then ate at the same table and partook of the same fare, never drinking any beverage stronger than water. But in his old age, he overworked the slaves, ate himself of viands too delicate for them to touch, and treated them as no better than his ploughs and harrows. He said an old slave was useless lumber, and ought to be put out of the way.

Cato was introduced into Rome by one of the powerful Valerii. His patron was L. Valerius Flaccus, without whose support he might, with all his talents, have failed to become distinguished. The Romans of his age loved the rule of a few great families, such as the Cornelii, Fabii, &c., and could not endure a *novus homo*, or what we call an upstart. Cato gained the favour of the soldiers by his courage and skill as a commander, and of the people by his vehement denunciations against those who squandered their money. He ruled Sardinia well as Prætor, and mitigated his austerity by listening to the counsels of the poet Ennius, who was his friend, and taught him Greek. Cato hated and despised the Greeks in general, but he procured pardon for the Rhodians, and liberty for the unfortunate Achaian captives after they had been seventeen years in Italy. When Polybius entreated their release, Cato said, "Conscript Fathers, is it possible that the Roman Senate has nothing else to do than to debate whether a few decrepit Greeks shall putrefy here or in their own country?" The Senators laughed, and allowed the prisoners to depart. Cato had much sarcastic wit, besides a fervid eloquence; and when his pride and temper did not interfere with his judgment, he used them to protect the weak and oppressed. The best trait of his character was his unvarying gratitude to Valerius, whom he demanded as his colleague in the Consulship, and afterwards in the Censorship.

It is as "Cato the Censor" that this fearless and overbearing man is best known. He took pleasure in humbling the exalted, and in making the most powerful tremble. He expelled Lucius Quinctius, and degraded Scipio Asiaticus, whom he deprived of his horse and sent to prison. He imposed exorbitant taxes upon all articles of luxury, young slaves, gorgeous apparel, and rich ornaments; and he would not suffer even water to be carried

into the city for mere private use. At the same time, his public works were numerous and beneficial. He constructed cisterns, sewers, harbours, high-roads, and a Basilica, the first built in Rome, and called "Porcia," after his name. It was situated close to the Forum, upon ground formerly occupied by two open halls and some shops. This Basilica was at once a Court of Justice and a place of exchange for merchants, and it is supposed to have consisted of a double row of pillars two stories high, covered over, like a gallery, at the top. All the Basilicas were in the shape of an oblong square, and there was a space walled in at one end for the Judges. The Republic acknowledged Cato's exertions, by erecting a statue to him in the Temple of *Salus*, or health. Before this, some one had observed to him that no image was erected to him amongst the great men of Rome. He answered, "I had rather that men should ask why my statue is not here, than why it is." Cato was a powerful orator and an admirable writer. His treatise, "*De Re Rustica*," or Agriculture, is the only work that has come down to us, besides fragments of his "*Origines*," or Italian History. In his day, the old Latin language of the Kings was no longer read or spoken, and the shield of Gabii, and the first treaty with Carthage, could not be understood.

The second Basilica erected in Rome was the Basilica Sempronia, built by Sempronius upon the site previously occupied by the house of Scipio Africanus the Great. This, with the butchers' stalls and the small *Tabernæ*, or Taverns, adjoining, was purchased for the public.

The luxurious pomp of the Triumphers, and the abundant richness of their spoils, had caused the funeral expenses of great men, and the money which candidates for office lavished upon public amusements, to become excessive. To repress this, Marcus Æmilius, who had been six times Prince of the Senate, ordered that when he died, his body should be buried without being clothed in embroidered purple, or fine linen, and that only 100 *Asses*, beyond what decency required, should be spent on his interment. The ancient Patricians, he said, gloried in the number of Consular images that were carried to the tomb before them, and not in useless games and vain finery. The Senate also limited the expenses of the public



games to 80,000 Sestertii, lest emulation to gain the votes of the people should make men reckless of expense, and only anxious to outshine their competitors.\* The Ediles arranged the games, and the Edileship was a step to every higher office.

It is worthy of notice, that P. Cornelius dedicated a statue of Hercules, in the temple of that demigod, and inscribed upon it, that the offering was made by "P. Cornelius, *Consul*." Not that he was Consul at the time, but that he had once held the office, and had thus been elevated to the highest rank which a Roman could attain, and one the title of which he never after laid aside.

The Temple of Cybele was completed about this period, and the games observed in her honour were called the Megalesian games, and were the first of which the drama made a necessary part. Four of Terence's extant plays were represented for Cybele.

At the time when the Romans were distressed for money to pay their troops, the Pontiffs and Augurs were subjected, in common with others, to the war taxes. They found this a great hardship, because they provided out of their own funds, for the banquets of all the gods. Therefore, to equalise their burdens, the Government appointed three Senators, called "Triumviri Epulones," who should for the future supply all religious feasts, and who should be entitled to wear the purple bordered gown of the dignified magistrates. These Epulones formed a college, and were, in later days, increased to seven. Caius Sestius, whose sepulchral pyramid borders the English Cemetery in Rome, was one of their number.

Just before the breaking out of the third Punic war, one of the Corneli, the Consul Cornelius Cethegus, drained the Pontine marshes, and converted them into dry land. They are, however, dangerous and pestilent still, though they are said once to have been covered by twenty-three towns, and to have been converted into their present dismal condition by earthquakes, which were anciently frequent in Italy.

The greatest improvement in civil life at this period was the erection at Rome of a public clock, called a *Horologium*. It was placed near the Rostra, by P. Scipio

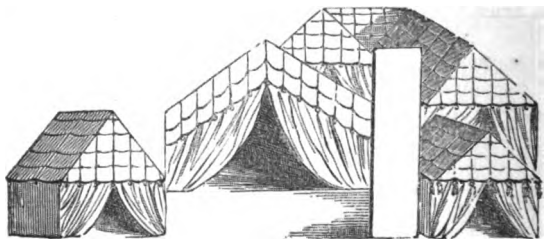
\* Eighty thousand Sestertii are equal to 20,000 silver Denarii, which would weigh about 670*l.* in silver of our money.

Nasica, when Censor, and was substituted for the old sun-dial, which availed the people only whilst the sun shone. It was also called a *Clepsydra*, and consisted of a globe-like bottle, with a narrow neck, filled with water, and divided into twelve measures. The water trickled out below, so much every hour. The Roman day was, and still is, unequal, being divided into twelve parts between sunrise and sunset. Our twelve o'clock, or mid-day, is called in Rome the hour seventeen, or seventeen and a half, or eighteen, &c. The military night-watches, or *Vigiliæ*, were divided into four, each lasting about three hours, and the third watch began at midnight. All the Roman courts and tribunals closed at sunset, and the time was proclaimed through the city by a crier.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

SPANISH AND SICILIAN WARS. SLAVE WAR IN SICILY.

B.C. 151 TO 131. Y.R. 602 TO 622.\*



ROMAN TENTS.

AFTER the subjugation of Africa and Greece, the Romans might have reposed at peace with all the world; but they were infatuated by the lust of dominion, and blinded by the success of lawless ambition. The Romans no longer deprecated war as an evil, nor feared that the wrath of the gods would visit those who shed the blood of men. Now, each Senator must needs be distinguished by a triumph, and each rising genius by a victory. The conquest of Spain was the next object of their ambition, and it was sought by the same perfidious means which had so recently and so signally prospered, with Carthage and Corinth.

The two principal nations occupying the Iberian Peninsula were the Lusitanians and the Celtiberi. The

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* lii.-lix.; *Univ. Hist.* xii.; Michelet, *Rome*, iii.; Nieb. *Lect.* vol. i.; *Biog. Univ.*

latter, divided into four Tribes, were an upright and serious people, and their territory included the two Castilles, Valencia, Murcia, and Arragon. The former were fickle and cruel. There were other nations besides these, and they were unequally civilised, but none of them were barbarous. Those who had long been in communication with the Phœnicians and Greeks were more advanced than their neighbours; and the Turditani, who had been constant allies of the Carthaginians, had a coinage and monuments engraved in the Libyan character, several of which remain to this day.

All the Spanish nations had suffered from Roman rapacity and faithlessness. The Celtiberi had been deceived by Lucullus, and the Lusitanians had been betrayed and massacred to the number of 30,000, by Sulpicius Galba. Many fugitives escaped from Galba's massacre, and amongst these was one man of extraordinary courage and capacity, named Viriathus. He had commenced his career as a robber, but the noble qualities of his mind being roused, he now stood forth as the leader and protector of his comrades. He first assembled them in Turditanian, where they were presently in danger of perishing, as Vitellius, the Roman Prætor, cooped them up in a plain surrounded by mountains. The Lusitanians offered to surrender, and to live as Roman subjects, if Vitellius would assign them land; but Viriathus laboured to prevent any treaty, reminding them of the faithless character of the Romans, and encouraging them to resist, by assurances that if they persevered he would deliver them. Persuaded by his arguments, they broke off the conferences, and elected him their chief. He formed them in line, and drew them out for battle, ordering them, as soon as they saw him mount his horse, to scatter in all directions, and to reassemble at Tribula, where he would rejoin them. Vitellius prepared his legions for the threatened contest, and witnessed with joy the dispersion of his adversaries; but, to his surprise, he could not pursue them, for Viriathus stood in his way, with 1000 picked cavalry. Both parties kept their position without fighting for three days, and then Viriathus rode off and joined his troops at Tribula. The astonished Prætor followed, but, falling into an ambush near the town, he was attacked and slain, with the loss of half his army. He was killed

by a man who did not know him, and who thought he was too old to be of any value as a slave.

Viriathus was now at the head of 10,000 resolute and desperate men, and as he continually defeated the Romans, marching and counter-marching, harassing, surprising, and destroying them, his influence and their fears were perpetually on the increase. For seven years he overthrew or baffled all the generals who were sent against him. He allied himself with the Celtiberi, and was for a long time virtually sovereign of the Southern Peninsula.

In Y.R. 609 Metellus Macedonicus was sent against Viriathus. He was so secret in his plans, that he used to say he would burn his tunic if he thought it were privy to his intentions. He detached the Arevaci from the Spanish alliance, and after the recapture of several minor cities, attacked Nortobrigia. Here one of the chiefs having deserted to him, the inhabitants in revenge placed his wife and children upon the breach by which the Romans must mount. Metellus, rather than spill their blood, abandoned the siege; and all the neighbouring country, vanquished by his clemency, immediately made terms with him.

Metellus was succeeded by his enemy, Q. Pompeius, or Pompey, a low-born, mean-minded ancestor of Pompey the Great. Metellus was so incensed at the appointment of this man, that he weakened his army before delivering it up. He disbanded his Spanish and African Allies, allowed the elephants to die, exhausted the magazines, and broke the arrows of the Cretan archers. For this petty malice he was refused a triumph at Rome. Q. Pompeius was the son of a musician, but, being very rich, he had gradually risen to be the head of the Roman aristocracy, and had he possessed talents to distinguish him in public life, the baseness of his character would have rendered him a general scourge.

Pompey rejected the peace offered him by the Celtiberi of Numantia and Termestia, the two capitals of the nation, and lost both men and honour in vainly endeavouring to subdue them. He attempted to turn the river Durus (Douro) from Numantia, but as this only enabled the garrison to slaughter a greater number of his troops, he at length was forced to abandon the design, and to accept of a less advantageous peace than had at first been proposed.

Meanwhile Fabius Maximus Æmilianus attacked Viriathus with 18,000 foot and 1600 horse, besides elephants, which had been supplied to him by Micipsa of Numidia. Æmilianus defeated the Lusitanian hero, who was compelled to fly, but Viriathus, suddenly turning, and observing that the Romans did not keep order in their pursuit, rushed unexpectedly upon them, and killed 3000 on the spot. He penetrated almost to their camp, and would have crowned his victory by taking possession of it, had not night auspiciously saved them. The Roman victory was now converted into a retreat to Ituria, and, finally, the whole army was blockaded in a mountain gorge at Erisana. Here Æmilianus had no alternative but either submission or destruction. Viriathus evinced his magnanimity by offering peace, upon condition that the Roman Senate should acknowledge him as their Ally (*Socius* and *Amicus*) and guarantee to him his present possessions. Æmilianus accepted the terms, and the Senate confirmed them.

It is painful to relate how much the generosity of Viriathus was misplaced. Q. Servilius Cæpio succeeded to the command of Spain, and believing that he could conquer Viriathus, he entreated leave from his government to break the peace. The Senate permitted him to use provocations and insults towards his foe; but these not having the desired effect, Servilius Cæpio was at last allowed to proclaim war. He drove Viriathus into a dangerous position in Carpetania, but to his surprise, the Spaniard extricated all his troops, and left him sedulously guarding a void ravine, an object of ridicule to his own men.

Notwithstanding his hair-breadth escapes and romantic adventures, Viriathus being incessantly pursued and pressed by superior numbers, at length sent three envoys to propose another peace, and Servilius bribed these men to murder their chief. They entered his tent when he was asleep, and stabbed him to the heart. They then returned for their promised rewards, but the wily Consul despatched them to Rome, with the caustic remark, "That the Romans had small esteem for those who murdered their generals." Thus perished one of the greatest men Spain ever produced, after keeping the Romans at bay for fourteen years. He was called the "Iberian Romulus," and the Senate assigned Valentia to the sol-

diers who had served under him. His countrymen gave him a magnificent funeral, and long deplored his irreparable loss.

Viriathus was succeeded by Tantalus, a man so much his inferior, that the contest with the Romans was at an end. The Spaniards submitted to Pompey, who still was in Spain as Proconsul, and he returned home; but the Senate refused him a triumph, for they would not identify themselves with the murder by which his victories had been secured, though they refused not to reap the advantages which those treacherous victories had obtained.

Pompey was succeeded by Popilius, who, authorised by the Senate, broke the treaty which his predecessor had concluded with the Numantines. Pompey being ashamed of it, denied having signed it, though the deed had been witnessed by all the officers of his army. The Numantines defeated Popilius, and soon after chased away the Consul Mancinus, 10,000 of his men being killed, and 20,000 more blocked up in a ravine by 4000 Spaniards, to whom they were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The Numantines refused to make any terms with the Consul, whom they could not trust, but they had confidence in his young Quæstor, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the grandson of Scipio the Great, who was known to respect his oaths, and whose father had formerly made and kept an honourable peace with them. Upon his promising that Numantia should be declared an independent Ally of the Roman Republic, the 20,000 imprisoned Romans were released. Gracchus, who had lost his account-books, was allowed to search for them in the city, and after he had recovered them he was entreated to select any article he pleased from the booty, but this he declined. Being a man of truth and honesty, he was extremely exasperated when the Senate refused to confirm his treaty, acting over again the perfidious fraud of Caudium. As soon as their troops were in safety, they were ordered to regain their reputation by attacking the Spaniards, whom the Romans would never acknowledge as equals.

War accordingly recommenced, and the new Consuls brought out Mancinus, bound him, and acted the farce of

delivering him up to his enemies, as the forfeited instrument of an unauthorised peace. The Numantines refused him, in the spirit of the Samnites with Posthumius, and the Senate, perfectly sensible that he could not have acted otherwise, restored him to his honours. The Consuls warred in various parts of Spain, but retired from Numantia, which they deemed impregnable.

In Y.R. 618 Scipio Æmilianus presented his nephew, Fabius Buteo, as candidate for the Quæstorship, when, to his surprise, the Curia insisted upon electing himself as Consul to finish the unjust war in Spain. The siege of Numantia, though most perfidious, was not a worse breach of faith than the siege of Carthage, which he had just concluded. Scipio Æmilianus was therefore a fitting instrument, and he was allowed to accept of volunteers from Italy and from Africa. This brought under his command two remarkable men, the Italian Tribune Marius, whom for his extraordinary military talents he marked out as his successor, and the Numidian Prince Jugurtha, a youth brave, hardy, ambitious, and crafty. Marius and Jugurtha were inseparable friends under Scipio, and irreconcilable enemies a few years afterwards. Both lived to make Rome tremble, and both accelerated the fall of the Republic.

Scipio continued in Spain after his term of office had expired, because his successor in the Consulship could not leave Rome on account of civil dissensions, and the other Consul had to quell a slave-revolt in Italy. Scipio assembled 60,000 men to reduce Numantia, the garrison of which consisted of only 8000. He said, "I cannot conquer the Numantines in the field, for they are actuated by despair, but I can starve them." Twice these noble Spaniards begged for peace, but Scipio demanded an unconditional surrender. His first decisive act was to discipline and harden his numerous host, loading his soldiers with wood, and making them carry heavy burdens, telling them that this would be their employment until they knew better how to use their swords. He forbade them to have any cooking utensils, excepting a spit and one brass pot, reduced their food to plain roast or boiled meat, and forced them to sleep upon the ground, and all these hardships he shared himself.

Scipio gradually surrounded the rock of Numantia,



with a double stockade and deep ditch, and beyond this he raised a wall eight feet broad and ten feet high, with towers at equal distances. He rendered the river impassable, by fastening to the shore above and below the town large beams armed with swords and iron spikes, which crossed each other and whirled with the tide, so that no provisions could be floated down, and then he waited until famine should complete its horrid work and compel his foes to yield. Notwithstanding all his vigilance, six Numantines broke through his lines, and visited the cities of the Arevaci. They entreated relief, but none dared to espouse their cause, excepting the young men of Lutia. The elders of Lutia, however, so far from encouraging their heroism, sent information to Scipio, who appeared before the town and demanded the young men ere they had time to depart. The rulers were obliged to surrender them, and Scipio cruelly amputated their right hands.

Famine and hopelessness now made havoc in Numantia. The people fed upon cats, dogs, vermin, shoe-leather, and, lastly, upon the dead. Scipio would grant no terms, and they preferred death to ignominious slavery. At last, five haggard Deputies obtained a truce of three days to debate upon a surrender, and in the meanwhile they set fire to their houses, and the nobles destroyed each other. When Scipio entered the hapless city he could only find fifty persons sufficiently healthy to be exhibited in his triumph. He assumed the title of "Numantinus,"

Y.R. 619. as having effected a most difficult and hazardous exploit, by which Spain was terrified into passiveness, and he razed Numantia from the face of the earth.

Four years previous to the fall of Numantia, an insurrection had broken out amongst the slaves in Sicily, but the efforts of an unarmed and degraded multitude were regarded at first as so unimportant that no effectual measures were taken to crush them. Suddenly, the force of the insurgents amounted to upwards of 100,000 men, and they not only repulsed the Roman troops, but mastered the town of Enna.

Large tracts of land in Sicily had become Ager Publicus, and were farmed out in Rome to the highest bidder. The rich holders, almost all Equites or Knights,

reduced these tracts to pasturage, and kept droves of slaves to tend the cattle and keep the fences. The late victories of the Romans had so increased the number of slaves, that their lives had become of no value, and they were treated with savage barbarity. Their masters no longer fed them, but allowed them to infest the highways in gangs, and plunder food where they could find it, like the serfs in Poland and Russia in seasons of scarcity now.

A citizen of Enna, named Damophilus, used to drive his slaves out to work in chains. He habitually starved and beat them, and when they returned at night, he locked them up in dungeons until the morning. His wife, with equal cruelty, used to maim, scourge, starve, and overtask the women, until misery drove them to despair. At the same time, a Syrian slave named Eunus uttered many trifling predictions in an oracular manner, several of which were verified. Amongst others, he said that "He was destined to be a king." The rich who heard this amused themselves with him. They had him introduced at their feasts, placed a mock crown upon his head, and made him act the theatrical monarch. But the slaves believed in him, and being excited beyond further endurance, they shouldered their tools, spades, axes, poles, and hatchets, and proclaimed Eunus their sovereign. He was crowned under the name of Antiochus, and conducting his forces to Enna, took possession of the town, and tortured Damophilus and his wife to death. His troops, with a generosity which could not have been expected from their condition, respected the daughter of this wretched pair, who had been kind to them, and guarded her safely to her own relatives at Catana.

Eunus defeated four successive Prætors, and in 618, Cleon, another slave, who might have been his rival, joined his standard, with a reinforcement of 70,000 fresh men. Eunus's forces now exceeded 200,000 strong; he maintained the contest for seven years, and by his successes, very dangerous tumults were excited in Rome, Campania, Attica, and Delos. In the Forum of the latter, it is said, that 10,000 slaves were sold in one day. Matters looked very serious, and the Consul Rupilius was despatched with a large army to terminate the war. He first blockaded the slaves in Tauromenium, and reduced the famished garrison to eating each other. Serapion, a slave officer,

was tempted by the promise of pardon and rewards, to admit Rupilius into the fortress, and the wretched garrison, helpless and betrayed, were seized and thrown over the rocks. Cleon and Eunus took refuge in Enna, which was similarly besieged, and by similar treachery reduced.

Y.R. 620. Cleon was taken alive, and impaled. Eunus escaped, but a few days afterwards, was captured in a cave, with his cook, confectioner, head butler, and buffoon. He was thrown into a dungeon, where he fell ill, and was eaten up of vermin.

Before the close of the Slave War, in the Y.R. 620, Attalus, the last King of Pergamus, died. He was both mad and wicked. He sowed his garden with poisonous plants, which he administered to his relations, and he would have been murdered, had death not delivered his people from his tyranny. He left a will, in which he wrote the letters P. R. H. E., and this the Romans interpreted to signify, "*Populus Romanus (bonorum meorum) hæres esto;*" "Let the Roman people be heirs of my goods." Eudemus brought the will to Rome, with the crown and purple robes of his late master, and placed them in the hands of Tiberius Gracchus, who was then Plebeian Tribune. An honest interpretation would have construed *goods* to mean personal property; but the Senate willed the term to mean the kingdom of Pergamus, and accordingly sent Legates to take possession of it.

Attalus had, however, a natural brother, named Aristonicus, who, according to the customs of Asia, stood the next in succession. This Prince claimed the crown, and persuaded the Lydians, Thracians, and Phocians to help him. The Romans brought against him the Kings of Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia. In Y.R. 621, both the Consuls were ordered to oppose Aristonicus; but a question arose whether it would not be sacrilegious in them to leave Italy, the one, Licinius Crassus,\* being Pontifex Maximus, and the other Valerius Flaccus, being Flamen of Mars. They departed, notwithstanding, and were both defeated and slain.

The following year, Peperna and Manius Aquillius were more fortunate. The latter poisoned the springs which supplied the aqueducts, and caused dreadful suffer-

\* Crassus was the man who would not permit an aqueduct to enter Rome through his gardens.

ings. When Aristonicus found further resistance vain, his friend, the philosopher Blossius of Cuma, entreated him to kill himself, and set the example by plunging a dagger into his own breast; but the Asiatic, who clung to life, even when honour and freedom were lost, allowed himself to be taken prisoner. He was exhibited in triumph, and afterwards strangled in prison. Pergamus was formed into a province under the name of "Asia Propria," and Aquillius governed it for three years. Lycaonia and Cilicia were awarded to the King of Cappadocia: and Phrygia Major was purchased by the King of Pontus.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXVI.

PERGAMUS possessed an immense public library, founded by Eumenes the Second, the father of Attalus. It rivalled that of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, and the King of Egypt prohibited the exportation of papyrus, to copy the books it contained. This increased the demand for parchment (or the prepared skins of animals), and the greater number of rolls or volumes at Pergamus being of this material, they acquired the name of *Pergamena*, which in English means parchments.

The government of the Legates, Prætors, and Proconsuls, was in general dreadfully oppressive, because the Provincials were not under the protection of the Roman law. The Governors were despotic, and sought not only to enrich themselves, but all their favourites. They plundered, as the Eastern governments do now: they sold justice to the highest bidder, and they lent money at an interest of 48 per cent. They cared little for the misery of people with whom their connexion usually terminated at the end of a year, and from whom they could acquire no benefit but money.

Junius Silanus, a Prætor and Governor of Macedon, being accused of extortion, was judged and condemned at Rome by his own father, Manlius Torquatus, who disowned him. The son, in grief and shame, hanged himself, and Manlius refused to attend his obsequies.

Whilst the war in Spain was dangerous and unprosperous, the Tribunes claimed the privilege of exempting

a certain number of those whom the Consuls selected to serve, and upon being resisted, they committed the Consuls to prison. The Tribunes were now as despotic in the capital as the Legates were in the provinces; and as despotism, in order to be a blessing, must be connected with infallibility, their authority became as mischievous as previously it had been useful.

D. Junius Brutus was the first Roman who crossed the Minius (now Minho), by throwing the standard into the river. His soldiers religiously followed, and he subdued Calliaca (now Galicia), and took the name of Calliacus. He was astonished to find that in this country the women fought as well as the men. They rushed into battle with the utmost bravery, and bore wounds and death without a groan. It is not a warm climate, therefore, which induces cowardice, but a feeble constitution or an erroneous education.

In the year 609 Appius Claudius Pulcher, being Consul, was sent against the Salassi, a Gallic nation at the head of the Po. This people was accused of preventing the Insubrians from gathering gold out of the Duria, by previously collecting it in their own territories. In the first battle, Claudius lost 5000 men; in the second, he killed 5000 of the enemy, and obtained a promise from them to amass less gold. On his return to Rome, he was refused a triumph, on account of the number of men he had lost; but as he thought this fully counterbalanced by the equal loss of the enemy, he entered Rome in contempt of the Senate, and adjudged the triumph to himself. His daughter Claudia, a Vestal virgin, sat in the car with him, as he drove up to the Capitol. A Tribune, indignant at his presumption, sprang forward as he passed the Forum, to drag him from his seat, but seeing her, he retired in reverential awe, and allowed him to proceed.

In the Y.R. 622 both the Censors were Plebeians, and they passed a law *obliging* all *free* Romans to marry as soon as they had attained to full age. When men require such laws, it is a proof that there is something fearfully wrong either in the morals or in the condition of those for whom they are made.

The Patricians were now so few in number that the major part of the Senate necessarily consisted of Plebeians. Indeed, all distinction between the two orders, with regard

to privileges, had long ceased, and the contest was no longer between Patricians and Plebeians, but between the ancient Roman nobles of both orders and the *Novi Homines*, or new families, sprung from the rich *Liberti*, or the new citizens in the other parts of Italy.

Albinus Labeo, the Tribune, ordered the Censor Metellus Macedonicus to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock for having excluded him from the Senate, but the other Tribunes interposed their veto against this revengeful abuse of power. Where such scenes were acted we may well say the times "were sick and out of joint."

New and more severe laws were imposed upon Sicily, and the island remained quiet as long as resistance was impossible. The slaves were watched vigilantly, and rendered defenceless. Upon one occasion an enormous boar was killed by a slave, and presented to Domitius the Prætor. He desired to see the man who had slain it; and upon the poor shepherd presenting himself, in the joyful anticipation of recompense and approbation, the Prætor coolly demanded how he had killed it. He replied, "With a stake." Lest stakes should turn to weapons, Domitius ordered him to be crucified. So blunted do men's moral perceptions become, when they patronise slavery, that the most humane of the heathens did not condemn this act of atrocity.

The chief authors of this period were Fabius Maximus Servilianus, who wrote Latin Annals; and Caius Acilius, who wrote Roman Annals—both in Greek.

The Poet, Pacuvius of Brundisium, died in Y.R. 622, the year of the Plebeian Censorship, aged ninety. He was the nephew of Ennius; and like him, rough in his language, but strong, clear, and even sublime in his ideas. He was a satirist, tragedian, and painter; and his works were highly esteemed amongst the ancients. Only some fragments of his poetry, and the names of his plays, have reached our time.

L. Calpurnius Piso wrote history; but his works have perished. He was the first Prætor who checked the Sicilian insurrection, and raised the siege of Messana. He was a just and good man, and enacted a law called *De Pecuniis repetundis*, or for the recovery of property unjustly appropriated by the Provincial Governors. During a scarcity in Rome a large sum of money was

remitted to him for a supply of corn from Sicily. Without causing any distress in the island, he supplied his country for a smaller sum, and returned the surplus money to the treasury. In recompense of this, the Senate conferred upon him the title of "Frugi," or the Honest. There is a coin of his bearing this title in the British Museum.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

B.C. 134 TO 121. Y.R. 619 TO 632.\*

## THE GRACCHI.



PATERÆ.

**WHEN** the Roman Senate perfidiously broke the treaty with the Numantines, upon the faith of which 20,000 of their troops had been released from captivity and disgrace, they decreed that Mancinus, Tiberius Gracchus, and all

\* Authorities: Livy, Epit. lviii., &c.; Plut. Gracch. Univ. Hist. xii. p. 496, &c.; Nieb. Lect. i.; Michelet, Rom., iii. 80; Biog. Univ.



the authors and witnesses of the transaction, should be delivered up to those whom they had so cruelly deceived. Mancinus, as you may remember, was bound and offered, but indignantly rejected. Tiberius Gracchus, the noble-minded and upright man, whose probity the Spaniards had implicitly trusted, was not less indignant than they were with the Conscript fathers, by whose breach of faith he felt himself personally insulted and wronged. He who feared the gods was now made guilty of perjury; and to atone for it he would willingly have shared the public disgrace of Mancinus, had not the people interfered, and protested that the rescuer of 20,000 fellow-citizens should not be sacrificed to state duplicity. Tiberius, like all his branch of the Sempronian *gens*, loved to protect the oppressed; and he probably viewed the expedition of his brother-in-law, Scipio Æmilianus, and his 60,000 warriors against Numantia, as an act of savage cruelty and unjustifiable ambition. He never forgave the Senators for having refused to confirm his treaty; and he ardently wished to check amongst all orders the increasing degeneracy of principle and corruption of manners. His favourite companions were Greek philosophers, who discoursed to him of magnanimity, patriotism, and self-denial; and he was urged to illustrate these virtues in some public capacity by his widowed mother, Cornelia, who often repeated, "I am weary of being called the mother-in-law of the second Africanus. Why am I not called the mother of the Gracchi?"

Tiberius, on his way to Spain through Tuscany, had passed large portions of domain land in that country, all of which were either kept in pasture, and herded by slaves, or were cultivated by gangs of bondsmen working in fetters. He was shocked, both at the physical desolation, and the human suffering, which everywhere presented itself, and when he was at leisure to turn his thoughts from war, he resolved that here he would apply a remedy. He reflected that the whole evil was occasioned by a flagrant violation of the Licinian law, which, in Y.R. 388, had forbidden any citizen to occupy more than 500 acres of the *Ager Publicus*, and had ordained that every property should be cultivated by freemen, their numbers being proportioned to the quantity and quality of the land.

The tenants of the *Ager Publicus*, though perfectly aware that they only held their lands until the state required them, and though they paid tithe for them every year, as an acknowledgment that they were not private property, had yet possessed them so long that they practically regarded them as a fixed heritage. They bought and sold them, settled them as dowries upon their wives, or gave them as portions to their children, and often erected upon them large and magnificent buildings, for which they could not be repaid. During the Punic wars, the poorer proprietors had frequently no other resource than to sell these lands to the wealthier, and the state was too much occupied in struggling for its existence, to watch carefully over internal arrangements. In this manner, the lands which originally were held by many, had accumulated in the possession of few. The Equites and Senators had bought them up, and the vast number of slaves which the Roman victories imported into Italy, as well as the great number of freemen which their large armies exported, induced the opulent to cultivate their properties by the slaves, whom they scarcely knew how otherwise to employ, rather than by the freemen, whose labour they must pay.

As man, when irresponsible and idle, is always selfish and generally cruel, the rich stowed their slaves into workhouses, called *Ergastula*, where they were clothed in a single garment, half-starved, over-tasked, beaten, and insulted. They were also kept in fetters, because their masters dared not trust those to be at liberty whom they treated so ill. The Slave War was, at this moment, raging in Sicily under Eunus. Tiberius reflected how dangerous the oppressed bands whom he beheld might become in Italy, if the ancient respectable race of small proprietors was suffered still further to decline. He stood for the Tribunate, and, as he was universally beloved, he was joyfully elected. Being a splendid orator, his first speech electrified the Romans, and seemed to inspire them with new feelings. He took advantage of their excitement, and proposed a revival of the old Licinian law. All the state property above 500 acres in the occupation of any individual he recommended to be divided amongst the poor Plebeians, and to be rendered sacred to them. This, he said, would prevent the increase of debt,

and restore to independence many worthy Plebeians, whom constant wars had brought to the verge of ruin.

Tiberius was encouraged in his project by the approbation and support of three distinguished Senators : Appius Claudius, his father-in-law ; Mutius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, who was afterwards Consul ; and P. Crassus, the Pontifex Maximus, all wealthy landholders, and men of Consular rank. Tiberius was probably himself a large proprietor in Campania. But though minds resembling his own, of the old Roman stamp, were capable of sacrifices for the public good, the mass of Knights and Senators had become so corrupt, that they rose in a body against his propositions. They exaggerated his views, and reviled him, as if his scheme would deprive them of their *private* property, and as if the aristocracy were to be placed on a level with the rabble. In vain, Tiberius mitigated his reforms, and proposed to allow 250 additional acres to two sons of each occupier, and a compensation from the state for all the lands and buildings taken away. His opponents calumniated him as an ambitious demagogue, an aspirer to monarchy, a monster, and a rebel.

Tiberius represented, almost in the beautiful language of Scripture, "That the beasts had dens, and the birds had nests, but the poor Romans had not where to lay their heads." "They are called," he said, "masters of the world. They possess of it the air and light. They are bid to fight for their temples and their tombs. Which of them is rich enough to own a domestic altar, or can point out the site of his father's grave?"

When the Comitia assembled to hear his bill read, the Senate gained over M. Octavius, a Tribune of high repute, to put a veto on the measure. He seems to have been deceived as to its tendency, for he was a man of unblemished integrity. He refused his consent, even though Tiberius offered, out of his own funds, to secure him against loss. Upon another occasion, when the people were collected to give their votes, the urns for receiving them were not forthcoming, having purposely been taken away. A third time two of the Senators entreated Tiberius to refer the question to the Senate, and he dismissed the people in deference to their request. But the Conscript Fathers wished only to gain time, and took no further steps.

Meanwhile the people wrote upon the walls and corners of the streets admonitions to Tiberius to carry out the law. Provoked by the duplicity of the Senators, Tiberius withdrew his concessions and ameliorations, and told Octavius, that if he continued his opposition, he would revive the statute of Licinius in its original form. Should this not suffice, he threatened that he would propose to the Centuries the deposition of the Tribune, who, in opposing the welfare of the people, was acting against the design for which his order had been instituted. Tiberius left no means untried to mollify Octavius, but finding all in vain, he suspended the magistracies of Rome, sealed up the treasury in the Temple of Saturn, and effected his colleague's deposition. Octavius was dragged from his tribunal, and a client of the Gracchi was elected in his room. Tiberius triumphed so far, that his bill was passed, but his enemies gloried in having driven him, otherwise the champion of law and order, to violate the forms of the constitution, in order to carry it.

Tiberius, with his youthful and eloquent brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, were appointed Agrarian Triumvirs, to superintend the division of the public lands ; and as every obstacle was thrown in their way, it was a task which gave them much trouble. The Senate allowed them no tents on their journeys, and insulted them with the insufficient provision of nine Oboli, or fifteen Asses per day, for their current expenses. On their return to Rome, they found that Eudemus had arrived from Pergamus with the will of King Attalus ; and Tiberius proposed that his treasures, instead of being consigned to the *Ærarium*, should be distributed amongst the poor Plebeians, to enable them to purchase stock for their new farms. This was a fresh offence to the Fathers, which they resented by again accusing him of aspiring to sovereignty. Their hatred of him was so intense, that he knew he should be murdered so soon as his person ceased to be inviolable, and therefore he solicited the Tribuneship for another year, and canvassed the electors clothed in mourning. He led his little son in one hand, and held a *dolon* (or stick which concealed a poniard) in the other.

On the day of election, when the two first Tribes had voted for him, the Senators created dissensions, and dissolved the assembly. The Tribes met again

the next day, in the area in front of the Capitol, where a scaffolding had been erected for the candidates, and benches were placed for the voters. Fulvius Flaccus, the intimate friend of Tiberius, sent to warn him that the Senators had plotted to take his life, and were assembled for that purpose, in the Temple of Fides, opposite. He tucked up his robe, as if preparing for resistance, and raised his hand to his head, as a signal to his distant followers that he was in danger. They overturned the benches, and seized whatever they could grasp to defend him ; whilst the other Tribunes, seeing such signs of tumult, hastily fled. The Senator, Scipio Nasica, coming forward, exclaimed, "Behold Tiberius ! he assumes the diadem of Attalus ; Mutius Scævola, Consul, I call upon you to summon the troops, and defend the Republic." The Consul answered, "I perceive no danger." Nasica, who was then Pontifex Maximus, and who despised every rank inferior to his own, shouted forth, "The Consul abandons the Republic. You who love your country, follow me." The awe-struck crowd made way for the Senators and their clients. Tiberius Gracchus attempted to escape, but his foot slipped over a dead body, and as he strove to rise, he was felled to the earth, and killed with the leg of a broken bench. He died at the age of thirty-five, and so little were his pure motives understood, that many boasted of having been his murderers. Nasica, his arrogant and malignant cousin, grandson of the man who had been declared the "Best" of the Romans, refused his dead body to his brother, and had it dragged through the streets, and thrown, as that of a traitor, into the Tiber, together with the corpses of 300 others, who had perished for his sake. This was the first mortal strife that had occurred within the walls of Rome since the days of the Tarquins ; and the murder of T. Gracchus was the spring of those sanguinary rivers which swelled shortly after into oceans of blood.

Almost all the friends and adherents of Tiberius Gracchus were executed without trial, and his brother Cæius, though he retained the office of Triumvir for dividing the lands, retired into obscurity, and for seven years took no part in the affairs of his country.

Tiberius had, however, raised a storm which his death could not lull. The poor now advanced claims to the common land, while the rich endeavoured, by every arti-

fice, to retain it. These latter practised so many subterfuges, that the government was obliged to employ informers, in order to ascertain the limits of the state property ; and then the Allies complained that partiality was shown to the Roman colonists, and that their possessions and rights were invaded. The Senate appointed the Consul Sempronius to be Arbiter in disputed cases ; but he gladly availed himself of a trifling war in Japygia, a district of Illyria, to put himself at the head of his troops, and escape from such unpleasant duties. The Japygians were subdued the year following by Brutus Callaicus.

Sempronius was succeeded in his agrarian capacity by Scipio Æmilianus, who had returned from the destruction of Numantia, and who immediately declared himself the strenuous protector of the Allies, against the new laws. When he was informed in Spain of Tiberius's fate, he answered by a line from Homer's *Odyssey*,—

“So perish all who in such deeds engage.”

Being now publicly asked by Papirius Carbo, the Tribune, and one of the Triumvirs, his opinion as to Tiberius's death, he replied, “If he intended mischief to the Republic he deserved it.” Æmilianus wished to be created Dictator, in order to rescind the recent laws, and violent disputes upon the subject took place between him and the Triumvirs. Being openly insulted by the populace, he summoned them before him in a storm of indignation : “Miserable rabble !” he exclaimed, “step-children of Rome ! do you think that I who brought most of you here in fetters shall fear you now, because you are unbound ?” He alluded to the numbers of *Liberti* who began to swell the crowds of Rome. As he projected mighty reforms, he prepared a speech at night in explanation of them, which he intended to deliver the next day ; but in the morning he was found dead in his bed, and he is believed to have been strangled, with the connivance of his nearest relations.

Fulvius Flaccus, the ardent friend of Caius Gracchus, being now Triumvir in the place of Appius Claudius deceased, is supposed gradually to have induced Caius to take an interest in the public debates. Caius pleaded the cause of an accused friend with such glowing elo-

quence, as to display talents superior to his brother, and to excite universal attention. At the same moment he inspired the poor with hope, and the Senate with fear. The former regarded him as their good angel, and the latter as their evil genius. To remove him from Rome, the Senate appointed him Quæstor to the army in Sardinia, and heard with much displeasure, of his distinguishing himself there, by the characteristics of his family, viz. benevolence, and the power of influencing others. He procured corn and clothes for the troops, with the good-will of those who furnished them. The envoys of King Micipsa offered to wait upon the Patres Conscripti, to inform them how gladly they had furnished the required supplies; they were astonished at being answered by a prohibition to enter the city.

The Senate recalled the troops from Sardinia, and sent out fresh levies, retaining the Consul and his Quæstor in their quarters for a second year. They were proceeding, contrary to all justice, to do so a third year, when, to their dismay, Caius reappeared at Rome, exposed their unfair dealing, and stood for the Tribuneship, which was bestowed upon him with acclamation. In Sardinia, he had dreamed that his brother appeared to him, and said, "Why lingerest thou here, Caius? Thou must live, like me, the same life, and die the same death." He proposed two laws, both of which were to avenge his brother. The first, ordaining that no magistrate should put any Roman to death without trial, was carried; the second, aimed at Octavius, and proposing that no officer deposed by the people should ever again be eligible, was withdrawn, at the request of his mother, to whom that Tribune was related. Cornelia entreated Caius not to tread in his brother's footsteps, but he followed what he believed to be alike his destiny and his duty.

His friend, Fulvius Flaccus, being Consul, proposed, in conjunction with him, to extend the Roman franchise to the Latins, and to give the privileges of the Latins to the other Italians. The Senate would not listen to the proposition, and were happy to remove the impetuous Fulvius into Gaul, where the Massilians solicited Roman aid against the Salluvii. The Latins were so excited with the hopes of obtaining the Roman suffrage, that

Fregellæ took up arms, but all the other cities remained quiet. Fregellæ, unequal to the contest alone, immediately submitted; but its walls were razed, and its inhabitants dispersed. Caius justified himself from all participation in this senseless revolt. He carried two new measures, both very distasteful to the Senate. The one, that the government corn should be sold to the poor at so low a rate that every man with moderate industry might afford to purchase it. The other, that private causes, and especially accusations against provincial Governors, by those whom they had oppressed, should be judged by the Knights, and not by the Senators, who used to sell their judgments, and who were generally parties concerned. He created a new court of 300 Knights, and this is the beginning of trial by jury. When this law passed, he exclaimed, "Now I have humbled the Senate." In reality, he could have done nothing better to reform it.

Caius stood a second time for the Consulship, and such was the eagerness of the people to vote in his favour, that they flocked into Rome until the Campus Martius could not contain them, and they gave their suffrages from the house-tops. He occupied his time with useful reforms and improvements, and he led colonies to Capua and Tarentum, formerly the magnificent rivals of Rome.

The Senate considered Caius to be as dangerous an enemy to them as the Gauls or Hannibal, and determined to effect his destruction. In order to insult him, they commanded the Italians, whose demands he supported, and who claimed the right of voting, to quit Rome by sunset, before one of the elections. Caius urged them to assert their rights, and promised to protect them; but when matters came to extremities, he shrank from commencing a civil war, of which he had a righteous horror. In consequence, one of his own friends, who had trusted to his support, was killed in the streets by the command of the Consul, and this materially injured the credit of Caius. The next step of the Senate was to gain over Livius Drusus, a Tribune of great wealth and respectability. They authorised him to surpass Caius in courting popularity, and pledged themselves to sanction whatever measures he considered expedient. He therefore



proposed, in the name of the Senate, that the Latins should be exempt from scourging, as a part of military discipline. By this he secured their gratitude. He then exonerated the newly apportioned lands from the tithe to Government, and sent out twelve colonies of 3000 persons each. The people soon thought that he was more interested to relieve them than Caius, and they turned to follow him, not considering that bounty, to be useful, must also be prudent.

The Senators failed not to remark publicly that Livius was much less ambitious than Caius, that he consulted their sentiments in the proposal of his measures, and that he conducted none of his colonies in person. This they insidiously followed up, by inciting the Tribune Rubrius to propose that 6000 colonists should be sent to rebuild Carthage, and that these should be led by Caius Gracchus, Fulvius, and himself. Caius fell into the snare. He accepted the commission, and proceeded directly to Africa, to mark out the ground for the new town, called Junonia, from Juno or Astarte,\* the patron goddess of Carthage. The new limits were beyond the precincts cursed by Scipio Æmilianus, but bordering upon them. Unfavourable omens are said to have shown themselves, such as the wind blowing down the flag-staffs, and wolves (the sacred animals of the Romans) carrying them away; but Caius accomplished his task, and at the end of seventy days returned to Rome. There he found himself of no importance in comparison with the artful Tribune Livius, and feeling considerably mortified, he determined to stand a third time for the Tribuneship. Before the day of election, he wished to select his colonists, but the Senators affirmed that the gods had already shown their displeasure against the undertaking by evil omens, and therefore that it was impious, and must be abandoned. Caius so far forgot himself as to answer, that "The Senators lied." At the same time he irritated the Tribunes, by opposing himself to their profits, in order to benefit the poor, whom most of them scorned. Seats were erected round the Forum for a great exhibition of gladiators, and the Tribunes used to let these seats for a considerable sum of money. Caius asserted that the

\* The Scripture "Queen of heaven."

common people were thereby excluded, and that they ought to witness public entertainments gratis. As the Tribunes paid no regard to his representations, he sent his own workpeople, and removed the seats, the night before the show. Caius, by nature, was more likely to have pleaded for the wretched gladiators, and to have abolished those cruel sports, than to have encouraged them; but even *his* moral sense was blunted by custom and iniquitous opposition. The Romans knew not the rule, "To do as they would be done by," and regarded the exercise of it, except in the case of equals, as weakness or fatuity.

When Caius stood for his third election, the Tribes voted in his favour, but the angry Tribunes counted the votes unfairly, and announced the return to be against him. Caius, no longer Tribune, was no longer inviolable, and he knew that he was lost. At the same time the Consuls were sacrificing in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and Antillius, one of the Lictors, came forth, bearing the entrails. He cried out with an air and tone of insolence, "Off, traitors! make way for honest men." The electors turned against him, knocked him down, and killed him, and the deed was immediately imputed to Caius, though he deprecated it with anguish.

A tumult would have ensued, had not the election been over, and the crowd dispersed by a violent storm. Caius returned to his house in deep depression, whilst his less thoughtful and more impetuous friend, Fulvius Flaccus, rejoiced at the death of the Lictor, and gave a feast in honour of it, keeping wassail through a great part of the night. The Senators were also pleased, as it gave them a pretence for accusing and condemning Caius Gracchus. They invested the bloodthirsty Consul, L. Opimius, with dictatorial power, bidding him, in the old form, "Take care that the Republic received no detriment;" and they called out the garrison from the Capitol. Next day, the body of Antillius was exposed in the Forum, and every artifice was employed to excite a scene over it; but the people shrewdly observed, that it was strange the Senate should so highly value a Lictor, when they had refused sepulture to Tiberius Gracchus, one of their most illustrious nobles.

The Knights, each with two armed retainers, obeyed

the call, and attended the summons of the Consuls, proceeding to seize Fulvius and Gracchus, as disturbers of the public peace. The former, on first understanding his danger, marched off with his clients and Gallic spoils, and possessed himself of the Aventine. Caius was reluctantly compelled to follow, or he would have been put to death without trial or mercy. He refused to take arms, but placed a dagger under his toga, and mournfully crossed the Forum, where he paused before his father's statue, and shed tears. His wife clung to him, leading her only child, until she sank down exhausted, and was carried by servants into the house of her brother, Licinius Crassus. The Senators now garrisoned the Capitol against the Plebeians on the Aventine, and there was again civil war in Rome. Fulvius, before proceeding to extremities, sent his youngest son, a beautiful boy of twelve years old, with a *Caduceus* in his hands, the symbol of peace, into the Forum, to parley with the Consul. Opimius received the child with mock solemnity, and affected to listen to the embassy. He rudely bade him tell his father, and Caius, that they must themselves come and submit to his judgment, and that until they did so, he would receive no more messengers. The boy bore back the answer, but the leaders on the Aventine declined thus to deliver themselves up, and Fulvius, thinking that the boy's youth and beauty would protect him, despatched him a second time to the Consul. But Opimius was a man of hard, ungenerous feelings. He threw the poor youth into prison, and marched against the Aventine. The Cretan archers began the attack, and were feebly repulsed, for Opimius, with the policy which works upon a corrupted people, offered indemnity to all who would lay down their arms. He also promised to give their weight in gold, for the heads of Caius, Flaccus, and his sons.

The people, disliking to oppose their Consul, rapidly disappeared, and Fulvius, seeing resistance impossible, attempted to escape with his eldest son. They hid themselves in a ruined bath, where they were soon discovered, and their heads were cut off, in hopes of the promised reward. Their executioners, however, being persons of no station, Opimius did not think it necessary to keep his word.

Caius quietly entered into the sanctuary of Diana

Aventina, now the church of St. Alessio, and refused either to defend himself or to flee. He was devoted to the cause of his country, and now that he could do no more good, life had lost its value. Two of his gallant friends, Licinius Crassus and M. Pomponius, having persuaded him to escape, he leapt down from the temple into the road, in doing which he sprained his foot. His friends conducted him to the Pons Sublicius, the passage over which was as narrow as in the days of Porsenna, and here, like Horatius Cocles, they arrested his enemies, until he was out of sight. They were both slain, but Caius, though no man would lend him either a horse or an asylum, reached the sacred grove of Furina. Being closely pursued, he bade his faithful slave to stab him. The man obeyed, but as he drew the dagger out of his master's body, he plunged it into his own.

A nobleman, named Septimuleius of Anagnia, cut off the head of Caius, and, to make it heavier, took out the brains, and filled the skull with melted lead. He then bore it to Opimius, who gave him its weight in gold,\* and did not discover the fraud until too late. Caius's body was flung into the river like his brother's, but was afterwards taken out and delivered to Cornelia. All his partisans who could be found, were seized, imprisoned, condemned, and thrown into the Tiber. It is said that three thousand thus perished, and that their widows were forbidden to wear mourning. Their memories were branded as traitors, and Licinia, the wife of Caius, was deprived of her dowry.

In the Y.R. 627, the veteran legions were withdrawn from Sardinia, partly to assist the Massilians in their contests with the Gauls, and partly to subdue the Balearic islands, now Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica. The Balears was celebrated marksmen, educated to that art from their earliest childhood. In summer they used to fight and labour naked. They carried on the war with the Romans bravely for three successive years, but were finally subdued and almost exterminated by Q. Metellus, one of the four distinguished sons of Metellus Macedonicus. Thirty thousand freemen were slain, and Metellus built the towns of Palma and Pollentia, and colonized them from the Roman settlements in Spain. The latter was

seven and a half pounds.

afterwards destroyed, but the former exists still as *Palma Vecchia*.

The *Massilians*, the oldest foreign Allies of the Romans, were at the same time invaded by the *Salluvii*, a neighbouring tribe of Gauls. After four years of contest, *Caius Sextus* finally accomplished the subjection of this tribe, and founded a colony in their territory at *Aix*, in *Provence*, which he peopled from the country of the *Volsci*, and called *Aquæ Sextiæ*, after his own name, and in allusion to its refreshing springs of hot and cold water. Being informed that *Crato*, one of the chiefs, had suffered much in consequence of his attachment to the Roman cause, he released him, and allowed him to select and rescue 900 of his countrymen.

The *Salluvian King*, *Teutomaleus*, fled for succour to the *Allobroges*, who occupied *Dauphiny*, *Nivernois*, and part of *Burgundy*; and the *Allobroges* made an incursion upon the *Ædui*, who, unfortunately for Gaul, appealed to the Romans, and became their Allies. The *Proconsul*, *Domitius Ahenobarbus* (or the yellow-bearded), marched to the assistance of this tribe, and defeated their invaders at *Vindalium*. The *Allobroges* thus repulsed, claimed help from *Bitultic*, or, as the Romans called him, *Bituitus*, king of the *Arvernii*, and feudal sovereign over all the tribes of southern Gaul. *Arvernii* gave the name to *Auvergne*.

*Bitultic* knew of no authority in the world equal to his own. He was powerful, fearless, and proud, and he sent an envoy to *Domitius* with commands, which he doubted not would be implicitly obeyed. *Domitius* received the Gaul, and was much surprised at his state. He came very richly dressed, and attended by a considerable retinue. At his side walked a bard, singing his praises, and behind him followed a number of large and handsome dogs. The Gaul delivered his master's orders, that the Romans should quit the lands of the *Allobroges*, and return home. *Domitius* turned upon his heel without reply, and as soon as possible attacked the *Allobroges*, over whom he gained a victory, in which 20,000 Gauls were slain. *Bitultic* advanced with 200,000 men, to annihilate his presumptuous assailant, and when he saw the Roman camp, containing only 30,000 troops, he said contemptuously, "These men are not numerous enough to feed my dogs."

He learned to his cost, that discipline can always overcome numbers, for this disorderly multitude was soon routed, and, whilst he was obliged to retreat precipitately, the Romans remained masters of the field. Bitultic now desired to parley with the Proconsul himself, and a meeting was arranged between them. He came unarmed, with few attendants, and the dishonourable Domitius, who had acquired the prevailing taste of his countrymen for spoils and triumphs, seized the unsuspecting monarch, and conveyed him in bonds to Rome. The Senators are worthy of all infamy in their approbation of this flagrant treachery. They permitted the once mighty Bitultic to be exhibited before the car of their commander, and they had his son Congeniatus also seized and conveyed to Rome. Bitultic, betrayed and broken-hearted, died in captivity at Alba. His son was educated by the Senate, and restored to the Arvernii as the ally of the Romans.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXVII.

TIBERIUS and Caius Gracchus were two of the most remarkable men Rome ever produced, and it is not surprising that they should have exercised great influence over the eminent characters of their day. Both were handsome, benevolent, upright, and gifted with a fervid and impassioned eloquence; but Tiberius was the milder and more persuasive, Caius the stronger and more vehement. The last day on which Tiberius went up to the Capitol, his friends, Diophanes and Blossius, accompanied him. The former was killed, but the latter taken prisoner. Being questioned as to the part he had acted, he replied, that having been always accustomed to obey Tiberius, he had followed him as usual. "Suppose," asked Nasica, with a sneer, "that he had ordered you to fire the Capitol, would you have done it?" Blossius answered, "He would not have commanded me." "But," persisted Nasica, "supposing he had, would you have obeyed?" "Certainly," replied Blossius. "If he had, I should have obeyed, for I should not have hesitated to believe that it was for the public good." Blossius is the

only known follower of Tiberius who escaped death. He was permitted to retire to Asia, where he killed himself on the capture of Aristonicus at Pergamus.

Tiberius Gracchus, when a very young man, was so esteemed for probity and domestic virtues, that Appius Claudius, Prince of the Senate, selected him to be the husband of his daughter, and at an entertainment proposed her to him. Tiberius gratefully accepted the honour. When Appius returned at night, he said to his wife, "I have contracted our daughter Appia." The Lady Antistia answered, "Why in such a hurry, unless thou hast secured Tiberius Gracchus!" He was the first man who mounted the breach at Carthage, and he was elected Augur at the age of five-and-twenty. Tiberius's powerful, melodious voice reached to so great a distance without exertion, that to prevent himself from speaking too loud, he used to have a slave with him in the Rostra, who played upon an ivory pipe, to give him the proper modulation. He was the first orator who moved about from side to side, using much action, and tossing his gown over his shoulders. He mortally offended the Senate, by sometimes turning his back upon them when he addressed the people.

Caius's influence with the populace during his Tribunate was so great, that they could refuse him nothing. Once he asked an unnamed favour from them, and they immediately promised it, though ignorant of its nature, and believing that he intended to ask the Consulship, in addition to the Tribunate. He presented to them his friend Fannius, and desired that they would elect him Consul. This was immediately complied with; but Caius's warm affections had mistaken their object, for Fannius soon turned against him, and promoted his ruin. Caius was a man of less simple tastes than his brother, and was fond of magnificent and expensive furniture. He particularly valued some Delphian tables of wrought silver. Yet when he returned from Sardinia, where he had enjoyed many opportunities of enriching himself, he told the Senate that he had carried out a full purse, and brought it back empty; whilst others, who had taken out only vases full of wine, had returned with them full of gold and silver. During his second Tribuneship he executed many great and useful works. His roads were

better than those of his predecessors, straighter and more level, with stone bridges wherever they were required. He was the first European who divided distances into portions of 1000 paces, which from their number he named miles; and he erected stones to mark the intervals. Besides these, he fixed in convenient places stirrup-stones for equestrians, from which to mount their horses. He constructed immense grain magazines in Rome, like the ancient granaries of Egypt; and the ruins of them still existed in the fifteenth century, between the Tiber, the Aventine, and the Monte Testaccio. He caused the troops to be clothed and armed at the public expense, instead of deducting the soldier's equipage from his pay. He regulated with humanity and skill the finances of Asia Propria; and he relieved the Spaniards from an iniquitous extortion which had been practised upon them, in the forcible exportation of their corn to Italy. He obliged the Senate to purchase it, and to send the money to the defrauded landowners.

The eminence and excellence of the Gracchi were mainly attributed to the care bestowed upon them by their mother Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus. This noble-minded woman was no less distinguished for her intellectual superiority than for her moral virtues. She was early left a widow; and her husband esteemed her so highly, that he willingly sacrificed himself for her welfare. It is said that he once caught two serpents on his bed, and that he consulted the Augurs as to the meaning of the prodigy. They advised him neither to kill both, nor release both; but warned him that if he slew the male, it would entail his own death; and if the female, his wife's. He slew the male, and shortly after died, leaving his property and offspring in Cornelia's sole charge. She was the mother of twelve children, but only reared three, her two illustrious sons, and Sempronius, the unhappy, unlovely, and unloved wife of Scipio Æmilianus. A Campanian lady, magnificently dressed, once visited Cornelia for the purpose of displaying all her rich jewels, and requested in return to see those which belonged to the daughter of Scipio Africanus. Cornelia produced her sons, saying, "These are my jewels, and their virtues are the ornaments in which I glory." She placed them under Greek instructors, and



exercised them in all the accomplishments of the age, especially oratory. She was herself an elegant writer; and two letters of hers, still extant, to Caius, breathe the most touching spirit of maternal tenderness. She was regarded by her children with the deepest reverence; and Caius loved to taunt the Roman matrons with her lofty superiority. "Darest thou," he said to a haughty dame, "compare thyself with the mother of Tiberius?" Cornelia refused the hand and throne of Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, and kept the state of a princess in her villa at Misenum. Monarchs sent her presents, and tendered their respectful sympathy; learned Grecians were her constant guests. She never spoke of her sons without tears; and the Republic erected to her a statue with this inscription, "Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi."

Sempronia, the daughter of Cornelia, was educated with her brothers, and loved them enthusiastically. Many years after their death the factious Tribune Saturninus forced her to mount the Rostra, that she might still a tumult of the people, by acknowledging Lucius Equitius to be the son of her brother Tiberius. He thought she would not dare to disavow him. Sempronia ascended that tribunal, which no woman had ever before entered, and which no man ever occupied without awe. Her voice was unfaltering, her countenance unmoved; and in the face of 10,000 rioters she refused Equitius the kiss by which women recognised their relations, and boldly denounced him as an impostor.

Sempronia, Cornelia, and even Caius Gracchus, were all suspected of conniving at the death of Scipio Æmilianus Africanus, in their zeal for the regeneration of the State, an end never to be accomplished by crime. Appearances were so much against them, that the people would not permit any investigation to be made, for fear of implicating their favourite protectors. The corpse was interred with the highest honours, being burnt upon a funeral pyre, where all the Senators attended. Metellus Macedonicus, long the rival of the deceased, bade his sons honour the obsequies of a man whose equal he had never known. Æmilianus, though inferior to the first Scipio, and to his brothers-in-law the Gracchi, was yet great for an age when public and private virtues were

alike on the wane. He was not the author of any beneficial laws, but Rome was indebted to him for splendid and important, though unjust victories. He is said to have died poor, through his liberality to his soldiers, amongst whom he distributed the royal presents which were made to him. Æmilianus was the companion of all the literary men of his age. He was the pupil of Polybius, and the patron and friend of Terence. The philosopher, Panætius of Rhodes, who wrote a treatise on the duties of man, and whose stoical doctrines influenced several great Romans, lived with him, and procured from him many favours for his native country. Scipio Æmilianus had a supreme contempt for vanity and avarice, justly viewing them as incompatible with nobleness of mind. His adopted mother Æmilia, having left him her property, he bestowed it on his own mother Lutatia, the divorced and neglected wife of Paulus Æmilius. She had ceased to present herself at the great Roman pageants, because she could not afford the state which became her rank. When she reappeared as the richly endowed and pompously attended mother of Æmilianus, all the matrons of Rome invoked blessings on his head. Upon Lutatia's death, her property reverted to him, and he gave it away to the Æmiliæ, his sisters. His portion of inheritance from Paulus Æmilius he resigned to his brother Fabius Maximus.

When Scipio Æmilianus was Censor, he was very severe against the growth of luxury, and sharply reproved the nobles for sending their sons and daughters to learn music, dancing, singing, and acting, in the histrionic schools, along with public performers. He affirmed that he had counted 500 of them in one establishment. When he closed the Lustrum, and the Augur offered up the old Tuscan prayer, "May it please the gods to improve and increase the prosperity of the state," he changed the prayer into a supplication that the present fortune of the Romans might be prolonged; and this prayer was offered up ever after. "Our fortune," he said, "cannot be better, nor our prosperity greater. Pray that they may continue unaltered."

Scipio Nasica, whose envy and overbearing pride had caused the death of Tiberius Gracchus, became, soon after that catastrophe, an object of such universal detestation,

that he found it necessary to quit Italy. The Senate gave him an honorary Legation to Asia Propria, whence he never returned, but died at Pergamus, neglected and unregretted. The common people never forgave the superciliousness he showed towards them, when he once grasped the horny palm of a labourer, and asked him with a sneer, if he walked upon his hands.

Shortly after the murder of the Gracchi, their laws were abolished, and the overbearing Consul Opimius hypocritically erected a temple to Concord, as if he, who had merely drawn tighter the fetters of oppression, had restored peace to the Republic. In the night, these words were written over the door —

“*Vecordiae opus Ædem fecit Concordiae.*”\*

Opimius offered his prisoner, the youthful son of Fulvius Flaccus, the choice of his death. The poor boy, whose only crime had been obedience to his father, wept bitterly. An Etruscan Haruspex, who was confined in the same dungeon, said to him, “Thinkest thou that death is so terrible? Learn from me how easy it is to die.” He ran violently against the wall, shattered his skull, and fell down a corpse. Young Fulvius dried his tears, sprang from his seat, and imitated his example.

When Opimius was out of office, he was prosecuted for condemning the Gracchites without trial, but Papius Carbo, one of the Agrarian Triumvirs, and once the friend of the Gracchi, forsook their party to defend him, and procured his acquittal. The tardy gratitude of the people erected statues to the Gracchi, and observed a yearly festival in their honour.

Several distinguished patriots had turned their attention to the abuses of the common land previous to the Gracchi, but had abandoned the attempt at reformation as hopeless. Amongst them was Lælius, the colleague of Æmilianus at Carthage, and on his laying it aside, the Senate conferred upon him the title of “Sapiens,” or the Wise.

The Tribune was now the most important of all the Roman offices. It was the entrance into power of every new aspirant, and few, if any, were from this time elected Consuls, who had not first been Tribunes.

\* The work of discord made the house of concord.

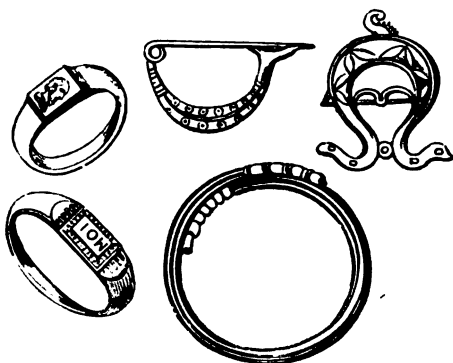
In Y.R. 626, there was a fall of locusts in Africa, which obscured the air, blackened the earth, and occasioned a dreadful pestilence. The vintage of Opimius, in 632, was the finest ever known in Italy; 200 years afterwards, the wine of it was still produced as a first-rate luxury, at the banquets of wealthy Romans, and was mixed with wines of less richness.

The shows of the gladiators, which were once so rare, were now commonly given to the people, and the familiarity with scenes of blood which they produced, considerably contributed to brutalise and deteriorate the Roman character.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## JUGURTHA.

B.C. 121 TO 105. Y.R. 632 TO 648.\*



ROMAN ORNAMENTS. RINGS, BROOCHES, BRACELETS.

L. LICINIUS CRASSUS, a youth aged twenty, and a near relative of Licinia, the persecuted wife of Caius Gracchus, came forward after that statesman's death, to avenge his cruel fate upon the deceitful and vacillating Papirius Carbo. This man had once been a friend of the Gracchi, but had lately deserted them, and had screened from punishment their worst enemy, the blood-thirsty Consul Opimius.

L. Licinius almost equalled the Gracchi in his polished

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* lxii. &c.; Niebuhr's *Lect.* i. in loco; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.*; Plut. *Marius*; Univ. *Hist.* xii. xiii.; Michelet, *Romé*, vol. iii.; Biog. Univ.; Cæsar de *Bell. Gall.*

and vehement eloquence. He pleaded his case triumphantly, but not without difficulty. The first day, when he attempted to speak, excessive nervousness choked his utterance, and the Prætor adjourned the trial. The next day, he not only mastered his feelings, but his energy was so terrific, and his proofs were so unanswerable, that Papirius retired, and destroyed himself. The oration of Licinius was written down by those who heard it, and long after served as a model to young orators, whilst his high-minded conduct was proposed to them as an example of disinterested nobleness. It is told of him, that one of Papirius's slaves having brought him his master's box of papers, containing proofs that he was an inciter of the Gracchi to violence, and an accomplice in the murder of Æmilianus; Licinius, abhorring the treachery, sent back the slave in chains, and returned the box unopened. He said, "I had rather my enemy should escape, than use against him evidence obtained dishonourably."

The great Plebeian family of Cæcilius Metellus was now amongst the most powerful in Rome, and the influence of Q. Cæcilius Metellus, Prince of the Senate, obtained the Tribuneship for Caius Marius, the brave Volscian, whom Scipio Æmilianus, and many other noble Romans, had distinguished by their friendship and admiration at the siege of Numantia. Marius was by nature formed to rise, though he had no advantages of birth, and was of a bitter temper, and harsh and overbearing manners. He was tall and strongly built, wild in his looks, and loud in his voice; indomitable in character, enduring of fatigue, despising hardships, and not to be balked by any dangers or difficulties in the execution of his plans. Though absolute when in authority, he was submissive as the lowest soldier when under command; and such, doubtless, his patron Herennius, and his benefactors the Metelli, had always found him. They were now surprised by the ardent Tribune proposing measures derogatory to the Senate, and on the Consul Cotta resisting them, Marius ordered him to prison. Metellus supported Cotta, when, to his unspeakable astonishment, Marius committed him to prison also. The Senators withdrew their opposition, and the obnoxious laws were passed; but the ungrateful conduct of Marius

did not escape reprobation. He was rich, and obtained the Prætorship by bribery. Afterwards he was sent to govern Hispania Ulterior, which he did well; acting justly towards the natives, and clearing his province of the hordes of banditti which former misgovernment had produced and fostered.

About this time, Micipsa, king of Numidia, died, leaving two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal. He had for many years reigned alone, because his deceased brothers had no legitimate children. Gulussa had left a son named Massiva; and the accomplished Mastanabal, to whom, on account of his scholarship, Scipio Æmilianus had assigned the libraries of Carthage, left Jugurtha and Gauda. These young men were not styled princes, because their mothers were not queens, and their father's rank gave them no claims, so long as any queen's children were living. Jugurtha was handsome and intelligent, with attractive manners, by which, through his whole life, he fascinated all who came in contact with him. Micipsa educated him with his own sons, and sent him with the Numidian cavalry to assist Æmilianus at Numantia, hoping that he would die there, and glad to remove from his court a youth whose want of honour rendered his talents dangerous. Jugurtha's courage, adroitness, and cheerful submission to the severest discipline, gained him the esteem of Æmilianus; and several officers of the army assured Jugurtha, that if he put forth a claim to share the Numidian throne, the Romans would give him their support. On his return to Africa, he conveyed a letter of recommendation to Micipsa from Æmilianus, and the king adopted him and made him cohèir with his own sons.

Micipsa soon after died, and in the first Council of State under the new rulers, Jugurtha assumed the supreme dignity by seating himself on the centre throne, at the same time insolently proposing to abolish all the acts of the five last years of his uncle's reign, because he had been in a state of dotage. Hiempsal, in bitter irony assented, and added, "We shall then annul your adoption, which nothing but my father's dotage could account for." Jugurtha, as unforgiving as he was unprincipled, had Hiempsal murdered in the palace for this speech, and gloated over his bloody head.

Adherbal fled, and levied troops to defend himself, but as Jugurtha proclaimed him an enemy, he presented himself in Rome, and laid his wrongs before the Senate. *Æmilius Scaurus* espoused his cause warmly, and would have had Jugurtha deprived of all his claims. But this artful Prince had already many friends in the Republic, and he plied them, and all who were accessible, so largely with bribes, that the Senate affected to require more information before they could decide, and sent two commissioners into Africa to make a new division of *Micipsa's* kingdom. With *Lucius Opimius* at their head, they were all gained over by bribes, and not only justified Jugurtha's iniquity, but divided the lands according to his wishes. They allotted to him the strongest cities and most fertile vales : but to his cousin whatever was untenable or barren. Adherbal submitted to his fate, and retired to *Cirta*, but Jugurtha could not feel himself in safety whilst he lived, and therefore invaded his territories to provoke war. Adherbal merely sent Ambassadors to complain. Jugurtha maltreated them, and advancing on Adherbal, besieged him in *Cirta*, which was defended by an Italian garrison. The siege was turned into a blockade, and two soldiers eluding their enemies, passed Jugurtha's camp, and bore a piteous letter from Adherbal to the Roman Senate, beseeching help. Instead of troops, this venal assembly despatched *Æmilius Scaurus*, with more ambassadors to Jugurtha, who were to demand from him an account of his conduct, and insist upon his making peace with *Micipsa's* son. The envoys landed at *Utica*, and cited Jugurtha before them. He was dismayed at the summons and again assaulted *Cirta*, but as he was repulsed, he waited upon the Romans, and persuaded them, with his smooth tongue and lavish gold, that their interference was unnecessary, upon which they returned to Rome.

Jugurtha fearlessly resumed the blockade of *Cirta*, which was already suffering from famine, and offered the garrison honourable terms if they would capitulate. They unfortunately trusted him, and obliged Adherbal to sign the capitulation. Jugurtha entered, plundered the town, and murdered all upon whom he could lay his hands. He put the garrison and Italian merchants to the sword ; and worst of all, with savage cruelty, he tortured his



gentle and hapless cousin, and caused him to expire in agonies. The Senate was astonished when informed of this atrocious perfidy, but so many of its members were pensioners of Jugurtha, that a majority could not be obtained to condemn him. The Tribune Memmius, a man of worth and honour, insisted that vengeance should be taken, and proposed that Massiva, who had escaped to Rome, should be appointed King of Numidia.

The Consul, L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia, was ordered to invade Numidia, and he was so anxious to enrich himself with its spoils, that he prevented Jugurtha's sons from entering Rome to tender their father's submission. Bestia took with him as his legates and counsellors men whose avaricious minds he knew would abet all his extortions; and Jugurtha's fears were quieted as to the result of the war from the moment he was apprised that the chief Legate was Æmilius Scaurus. He procured a safe-conduct, and had a meeting with the Consul, in which the terms of peace were soon and satisfactorily arranged. Jugurtha nominally submitted in all things to the Romans, surrendering his tents and troops, horses and cattle, thirty elephants, and all the deserters, together with a sum of money. The Legates being lavishly bribed, signed the treaty, after which Jugurtha's troops remained undiminished, his forts were untouched, his elephants were rebought, and all the deserters were permitted to escape. His murders and his gold established him on the Numidian throne.

The Legates returned to Rome, but the Senate dared not ratify their collusive peace. Memmius still inveighed against Jugurtha, and procured a decree citing him before the Conscript Fathers. Cassius, a stern and uncorrupted noble, bore the decree to Africa, and the wily Numidian, after much hesitation, obeyed the summons. With admirable judgment, he entered Rome as a private man, with a few chosen friends; amongst whom was Bomilcar, his General of Cavalry. He was more lavish than ever of his money, and strove arduously and successfully to disunite the Tribunes. At length he was brought before the dreaded tribunal, and Memmius reproached him with his murders, cruelties, and perfidy, desiring to know the names of those degenerate Romans who had

accepted of his bribes. Jugurtha was on the point of speaking, when the Tribune Bæbius, who did not choose his name to be revealed, forbade him to give any answer, and the assembly was broken up.

In the streets of Rome, in open day, Bomilcar murdered the hapless Massiva, and then, by his master's aid, escaped to Africa. The Romans were again startled at the foresight and prompt artifices of Jugurtha; but they banished him from the city, and he, fearful of being pursued, hastened to Ostia, and returned home. As he quitted Rome, he looked back and said, "O venal city, and ripe for perdition! thou wouldest sell thyself, if thou couldest find a purchaser."

A commission was appointed to try all who were suspected of receiving Jugurtha's bribes, and Æmilius Scaurus saved himself by being nominated one of its members. He was very severe in his judgments, and punished with confiscation, exile, and death, several who were not more guilty than himself; amongst them was L. Opimius, the enemy of Caius Gracchus, who died of want at Dyrrachium, now Durazzo.

War being resumed with Jugurtha, the Consul Sp. Posthumius Albinus was intrusted with its prosecution. He was cajoled into inactivity by his adversary's constant proposals and delays, so that he effected nothing, and was believed to have accepted bribes like his predecessors. Being obliged to return to Rome, he committed the army to his brother Aulus, who was allowed by Jugurtha to attack the strong fort of Suthul, which was full of treasure. Whilst he was meditating the acquisition of wealth and glory, Jugurtha gained over his officers, and they suffered themselves to be surrounded. Aulus's camp was taken, and he could only save the lives of his men by passing under the yoke, and agreeing to a peace of Jugurtha's dictation, in which he bound himself to quit Africa before ten days had expired. When the Senators were informed of Aulus's catastrophe, they recalled, tried, and banished him, and refused to ratify his concessions.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus was now appointed to conduct the war; a man of incorruptible honesty, and considerable military talent. He (like all great commanders) selected men of energy and capacity to serve under him, and amongst them Caius Marius. Forgiving the insult which

that General had offered him some time before, he chose him as one of his Legates, and appointed him commander of the cavalry. Metellus employed some time in disciplining his disorderly army, before he attempted to act on the offensive, and Jugurtha, fully aware of his danger, sent Envoy after Envoy to beg for terms. But Metellus gave no answer, and as soon as he was ready, advanced through the country which had once belonged to Carthage, and took Vacca without opposition. Jugurtha retreated, and avoided an engagement, but knowing that Metellus would continue to advance, he placed an ambush on the way, which the Romans narrowly escaped falling into. As Metellus was descending a hill on his road to Sicca, he fortunately observed a number of glittering objects amongst the bushes, which he presently discerned to be helmets and spears. He changed his line of march, and descended the side, instead of the brow of the hill, forcing any enemy who attacked him to lose the advantage of ground, and to meet him in the plain. The Numidians fell upon his flank, and an irregular battle was fought, in which they were worsted and dispersed. On the same day the Legate Rutilius gained a victory over Bomilcar, which greatly raised the spirits of the Romans. A guerilla warfare now followed. Metellus wasted the country with fire and sword, but he was everywhere exposed to night and day attacks, from sudden irruptions of the enemy. He found, as he pursued his route, that Jugurtha had carried off the forage, and poisoned all the springs.

In order to force on a regular engagement, Metellus besieged Zama, celebrated for the last battle fought there by Hannibal. The citadel was garrisoned by deserters, who never at any time yielded, because their fate was certain death. Metellus encamped before the city, and sent Marius to Sicca for provisions. Jugurtha attacked Marius as he was leaving Sicca with his convoy, and the contest between them was sharp and resolute. Marius repulsed his adversary, and reached Zama in safety, but the next day Jugurtha reappeared, possessed himself of one of the gates, and was only prevented from driving away Metellus by the prompt and desperate resistance offered by Marius. Jugurtha retired, but Metellus was obliged to raise the siege, and withdraw his men to winter quarters.

Metellus, though his Consulship had expired, was continued in command, as Proconsul. Marius was disappointed, because he thought that the merit of the two last actions was due to himself alone, and he began to excite a factious spirit in the camp against his General. He accused him of dilatoriness, over-caution, and occasionally of incapacity. Rumours of these insinuations reached Metellus, and made him less cordial to his Legate, and not so much inclined to trust or employ him as before. He therefore endeavoured to use Jugurtha's arts against himself, and made large promises of rewards and honours to Bomilcar, if he would join the Romans and betray his master. Bomilcar being easily gained, used every argument with Jugurtha, to persuade him to surrender, and at last negotiations were opened. Jugurtha delivered to Metellus 200,000 pounds of silver, and all his elephants, besides a quantity of horses, arms, and 3000 deserters. Some of those doomed men had their hands cut off and were burnt; others were buried to the waist in the ground, and then shot through with arrows, being made marks for the archers.

Jugurtha obtained the promised peace, but he was commanded to remove to Tigidium, there to await further orders. This unexpected treatment brought to his mind what had happened to the Carthaginians under similar circumstances, when he was a boy; and anticipating their fate, he shook his fist, and said, "A sceptre is after all lighter than chains, and whilst I can keep it, I will fight for it." He neither hesitated nor temporised any more, but renewed the war, and maintained it with untiring energy until his resources were exhausted.

Metellus again tried to negotiate with Bomilcar, but as this General had become suspected by Jugurtha, he was obliged to gain over Nabdalsa, another wealthy and powerful favourite of the king's. Bomilcar assured Nabdalsa of great rewards from the Romans, and the sovereignty of a district, if he would co-operate with him to betray his master. The two traitors agreed to seize Jugurtha at a particular spot, and deliver him up to Metellus; but when Bomilcar came to the place, according to appointment, he found himself alone. He then wrote to Nabdalsa urging him to execute their purpose, and added, that it was not worth while to lose the ad-

vantages offered them, or to ruin themselves for such a blood-stained wretch as Jugurtha. This letter was delivered to Nabdalsa as he laid down to rest in the heat of the day, and after reading it, he laid it on his pillow and fell asleep. His secretary entered the room, and seeing the letter, read it, as it was his office to do; but being amazed and shocked at the contents, he hurried off and delivered it to the King. When Nabdalsa awoke, he inquired most anxiously who had taken the letter, and ascertaining that no one had been near him but his secretary, he hastened after him to the royal quarters. He assured Jugurtha that he was on the point of coming to reveal to him the whole plot, but that his wicked servant had forestalled and misrepresented him. Jugurtha forgave Nabdalsa, but executed Bomilcar without delay.

His next exploit was to retake Vacca, of which Turpilius, a favourite client of Metellus, was governor. The Roman garrison were invited by the townspeople to a feast, and were murdered during the entertainment. Turpilius had acted towards them with so much clemency, that he alone was permitted to escape, and bore the fatal news to his patron. Metellus placed himself at the head of his Numidian cavalry, and appearing before the town two days after the massacre, was mistaken for Jugurtha, and joyfully admitted. He took severe vengeance on the citizens, and garrisoned the fortress. Marius, who was perhaps irritated at not having been entrusted with this service, accused Turpilius of having betrayed the town, and accepted bribes from Jugurtha. He urged on the trial by martial law, and Turpilius was condemned and beheaded. Shortly afterwards, his fidelity and innocence were fully vindicated, and Metellus was overwhelmed with grief. Marius, with vindictive malignity, boasted, "At last I have lodged an arrow in that General's breast, that will fester there for ever."

With so much that was demoniacal in his nature, it is not surprising that Marius, though he had many admirers, should have few friends. Metellus was very inferior to him in military capacity, and had besides a haughtiness of temper that was as impolitic as it was offensive; but he was humane, disinterested, and incorruptible. Gauda, the next pretender to the Numidian throne, had fled to him. He claimed to be treated ac-

cording to his rank, to sit at the Proconsul's right hand, and to be assigned a guard of honour. Metellus refused all his demands, as he deemed it a degradation for Italians to bow before an African. Marius animadverted severely on this instance of pride and exclusiveness, and in order to thwart his General, espoused the interests of Gauda. Again, he reiterated, that with half the number of men required by Metellus, and in one half the time, *he* could have exhibited Jugurtha alive or dead in Rome. The soldiers wrote these speeches to their friends, and as they were credited, the Senate became discontented at the slow progress of the war.

The time was approaching for the election of the new Consuls, and Marius resolved to become a Candidate, and asked leave of absence, that he might stand. Metellus scornfully answered, "There is no hurry for your departure. It will be time enough for you, when my son (a youth of twenty) is ready to be your colleague." Marius was therefore to wait twenty-three years. He departed without leave, hurried to the coast, and consulted his fate by sacrifice. The Haruspex answered that the omens predicted him great glory. He immediately set sail, appeared in Rome, and six days after leaving Africa was proclaimed Consul by acclamation.

His first act was to recall Metellus, and procure a decree conferring the conduct of the Numidian war upon himself. Metellus was so mortified, that he would not remain to deliver up the command, but left the troops with Rutilius, one of his Legates, and returned to Rome. There the people, who did not sympathise in the malignity of Marius, and who thought Metellus ill-used, decreed him a triumph, though the war was not ended, and gave him the title of "Numidicus." This act of justice irritated Marius extremely, for he had destined that title to himself, and the hope of it was one of the motives which prompted him to supplant his Commander. He returned to Africa, and was forced to take with him, as one of his Tribunes, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, a man who afterwards measured out to him his full meed of retribution.

Marius increased his army by enlisting the *Proletarii* (or untaxable poor), who composed the servile and mercenary rabble of Rome. He disciplined them assiduously,

and then conducted them on a secret expedition, about which Jugurtha could gain no tidings. He led his men by night-marches through the burning deserts, and suddenly emerged before the town of Capsa. The garrison being surprised, offered no resistance; yet Marius, contrary to the laws of war, in cases of non-resistance, levelled the walls, murdered the men, and sold the youths and women for slaves.

All Numidia immediately submitted, excepting **Mulucha**, the castle in which all the King's treasures were deposited, and which was reckoned the strongest fortress in the world. It was built upon a high isolated precipice, accessible only on one side, by a single path cut in the rock, which was just broad enough for two men to walk abreast. Marius summoned it to surrender, but **Mulucha** it was well provisioned, and the besieged, in answer, launched missiles, rocks, and firebrands down the path, which prevented all approach either of engines or men. Marius meditated retreating into winter quarters, believing the place to be impregnable, when a Ligurian soldier, who was filling his pitcher at a spring, observed some snails crawling up the rocks, and that the chinks in which they lodged were moist. Inserting his feet and hands into the interstices, he climbed up until he reached the summit of the steep, whence he descended upon the low wall, and actually stood alone and safe within the fortress, the garrison being all occupied on the opposite side, watching the Romans. The soldier accomplished this feat a second time, to assure himself of its practicability, and then related what he had done to Marius, who placed a company under his orders, and bade him win a mural crown by conducting them up the precipice. At the same time, he diverted the attention of the enemy by strenuous endeavours to injure them on the accessible side; and whilst they were laughing at his efforts, the Roman trumpets sounded, and their swords clashed within the fortress. The astonished Numidians, rushing to repel the invaders, left the hewn path unguarded; Marius marched in by it, and soon terminated the conflict by their destruction.

The impoverished Jugurtha now sought refuge in the territory of his son-in-law, Bocchus, King of Mauritania, and persuaded the Gætuli to enlist under his banners.

Sylla, whom Marius had left in Italy, because he thought him so effeminate and dissipated that he could be of no use in active service, arrived with provisions and reinforcements, after the capture of Mulucha. He soon recommended himself to his General's favour by being foremost in every deed of daring, and hardest under all fatigues.

In the spring Marius again put his forces in motion, but having encamped upon a height, he unexpectedly found himself surrounded by Jugurtha. The African Prince having hemmed him in, was so certain of his prey that he permitted his troops to spend the night in dancing and revelry. Marius waited until he had retired to rest, and then descended the hill. He sounded his trumpets close to the enemy, who were terrified and fled, allowing him to escape through their lines. They rallied, however, to pursue him, and shortly after attacked him with 90,000 men. The battle was desperate, and Jugurtha, displayed his bloody sword to the Romans, exclaiming that he had slain their chief, and calling upon them to yield. Sylla, hearing this, galloped furiously through the lines, and bade them fight and conquer, assuring them that Marius was not slain, by which act of presence of mind he gained the day. The Numidians were dispersed, and Bocchus thought it expedient to treat with the Romans for a separate peace. Sylla received the Ambassadors at Utica, and insinuated that Bocchus might command his own terms, and enlarge his dominions, if he would only consent to deliver up Jugurtha. To convince him of the fact, he forwarded the Envoys to Rome, where the Senate gladly granted the solicited peace, adding that to procure further honour, *i.e.* the *alliance* of Rome, Bocchus must know how to *deserve* it.

Jugurtha, in the meanwhile, sent his friend Aspar to Bocchus, to persuade him that if he would seize Sylla, the two Kings might overcome the Romans, and reign independently in Africa. Bocchus, wholly bent upon his own interest, and with no principles of honour or feelings of affection, could not decide which party to betray to the other; and desired to confer personally with Sylla, in order to entrap him also into his power. Sylla, on his progress to the court of Bocchus, was arrested by the army of Jugurtha, and thought himself betrayed; but



Volux, Prince of Mauritania, conducted him through the host, and presented him in safety to his father. The Romans thought Sylla's peril so imminent, that they gave him the name of "Felix," or the Fortunate, which his after history justified. Bocchus arranged with Sylla that he should entice Jugurtha by pretending to treat with him. They were to meet upon a hill outside the city, and a body of Moors were to lie in ambush to seize the King. To make the deception more perfect, Bocchus pretended to Jugurtha that he would have men in waiting to seize Sylla. Each came with an equally treacherous heart bent on the destruction of the other. Not a suspicion crossed Jugurtha's mind, even when he saw the soldiers advance to his side, nor did he awake from his fatal dream until he found himself fettered, and in his adversary's hands. He was delivered by Sylla to Marius at Cirta, where he had murdered Hiempsal, and he was kept there for a considerable time in chains. The army received Sylla with acclamations, and attributed to him the termination of the war, whilst Sylla gave Marius unpardonable offence by having the capture of Jugurtha engraved upon a seal, which he always afterwards used.

Jugurtha had reigned twelve years, and passed two more in captivity. Marius bestowed Massylia, the original kingdom of Masinissa, upon Bocchus. The rest of Numidia he divided into three parts. Two were assigned to the nearest heirs of Masinissa, and the third was constituted a Roman province, under the name of "Africa Propria."

In 649 Y.R., Marius was elected Consul the second time, though he was absent in Africa; but extraordinary dangers from other enemies demanded that such a chief should be continued at the head of the republic. He returned to Rome, and was adjudged a magnificent triumph, in which he displayed a vast amount of costly treasures, and precious metals, notwithstanding the quantity of gold and silver Jugurtha had given away. This perfidious prince with his two sons preceded the victor's car in chains, and he is said to have gone mad during the procession. After it was terminated, he was stripped of his robes and ornaments with such brutal haste that his ears were torn in snatching away the pendants. Nearly naked, he was thrust into the wretched

Mamertine prison. "Hercules!" he exclaimed, "what a cold bath!" He remained there six days without food, and then died from starvation. If he was not mad, he probably then remembered the torments he had inflicted on the innocent Adherbal, and thought of the retribution. Jugurtha's two sons lived and died captives at Venusium.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XXVIII.

As we have now reached the period when the Romans had established themselves in Southern Gaul, and we are entering upon that, when they had to fight in self-defence against the Cymbri and Teutones, the inhabitants of Germany; it may not be amiss to give some idea of the manners and customs of those nations with whom they now first came in contact.

Gaul comprehended the territory between the Pyrenees and the Rhine. Germania was the country extending from Helvetia to the Baltic and North Sea. The races which inhabited these countries were not the same, though in many respects similar. They were each divided into a number of independent tribes, under separate monarchs, and each had one common chief elected annually, or for life, over the whole. Independent Gaul was divided into three parts,—Aquitania, between the Pyrenees and Garonne; Gallia, between the Garonne and Seine; and Belgium, between the Seine and Rhine. Of these, a small part of Gallia, only as far north as the Ædui, a tribe inhabiting lat. 47°, and governed by the Druids, was known to the Romans. The Ædui were second in might to the Arvernii, and assumed the lead after Bitultic became a Roman prisoner. As the Romans supported the encroachments of this tribe, they in return maintained, and on the accession of every fresh chieftain renewed, the Roman alliance, so that the two people were very useful in supporting the usurped authority and illegal assumptions of each other.

The Ædui gradually became so powerful that the Vergobretus (or imperial ruler) and the High-Priest of all the Druids were elected from amongst them. Some

authors think that this High-Priest, or Arch-Druid, was always educated in England, and was named "Divitiacus," such being the name of the first with whom Latin authors make us acquainted. The Ædui held a feudal superiority over the Remi, Bellovaci, and other tribes, which made the Roman name known as far north as Rheims, Suessones or Soissons, and Beauvais, and materially facilitated the conquests of Julius Cæsar fifty years later.

Bibracte was the metropolis of the Ædui, and Bibrax of the Remi. They were strongly fortified cities, with walls, parapets, moats, and towers. The people were richly dressed, and well armed with swords, helmets, bucklers, daggers, javelins, bows, and arrows. Their iron was of an inferior quality to the Roman, and the multifarious divisions and individual independence of the tribes prevented strict discipline or union in war.

The Gauls possessed swift, hardy, excellent horses, and mounted a formidable cavalry. They were an agricultural people, and wrote and read; though we know nothing of their literature, unless some vestiges of it may be traced in the old songs and legends of Ireland. It could only consist of stories of their gods, of whom they had no images; and songs of their heroes chanted by the bards, who all belonged to the aristocracy. They used the Greek or Eastern character for their letters and numerals; and possessed coins of copper and silver, specimens of which may be seen in the British Museum. They paid taxes, custom, and tribute, and dealt largely in pigs, grain, cattle, horses, rich dresses, and slaves.

Through their common religion, the Ædui were closely connected with the maritime Gauls of Brittany and Normandy, the most interesting of whom were the Veneti, in the neighbourhood of Vannes. This tribe, whose priests were all Druids, abounded in picturesque island fortresses, firmly embanked against their stormy sea, and they had large, strong vessels built of oak, with flat bottoms, to sail in shallow water, and high massive bulwarks to break the swelling waves. The planks on which their rowers were seated, were secured with iron nails an inch thick, and their anchors were fastened with iron cables. Their sails were composed of skins and undressed leather. They lighted beacons in war, and had a gathering cry, which was passed from village to village, like

that of the Scotch Highlanders. The great Druid temple of Carnac, composed of enormous stones and pillars, extended for many miles. Amongst the Druids, noble women of superior intelligence and courage were numbered with the priests and prophets, and enjoyed great consideration, whether married or single. A community who lived in an island of the Loire, visited their husbands at night, and rowed themselves home in the morning. An establishment in an island of the Seine consisted of nine virgins who ruled the winds and storms.

In national character, the Gauls were social and gay, lively in conversation, credulous, full of curiosity, easily influenced and excited, somewhat rash in their conclusions, and unsteady in their resolutions, but friendly, truthful, and brave.

The Belgæ were more warlike than the Gauls, because less commercial and civilised. In peace, the occupation of their lives was gone, and they were idle, proud, and quarrelsome. One of their tribes, the Nervii (Namur), suffered no merchants to come amongst them, and allowed no wine or other luxuries from Gaul to be imported into their country, holding that all superfluities and all unnecessary intercourse with polished life corrupt military men, and make them effeminate. They did not even rear horses, and their whole force consisted of a brave, determined, unyielding infantry. They had no towns, and they fortified themselves in their extensive forests by notching the young boughs and weaving them together.

The Germans, though varying in their degrees of civilisation, resembled the Nervii more nearly than the Gauls. Their armies braved useless hardships, and boasted of not lying under a roof for years together. They frequently changed their places of residence, and, though exercising agriculture, depended most upon their flocks and herds, and lived chiefly upon flesh and milk. They were skilful hunters, and their small, ill-shaped horses were active and wonderfully hardy. They rode them without saddles, frequently jumped off them in the midst of an engagement, and fought, or pursued an enemy on foot, whilst the horses stood quite still. They would then remount them and gallop off the field.

The dress of the common people was skins. They were barelegged, able to bear intense cold, and very fond

of bathing. The men were of huge stature, fair complexion, and gigantic strength. Merchants were not forbidden to visit Germany, but it was rather that they might purchase slaves and spoil, than with any hope of selling their commodities in return. The minds and bodies of uncultivated men have this sympathy with each other : the ignorant do not desire more knowledge, nor the savage more comfort.

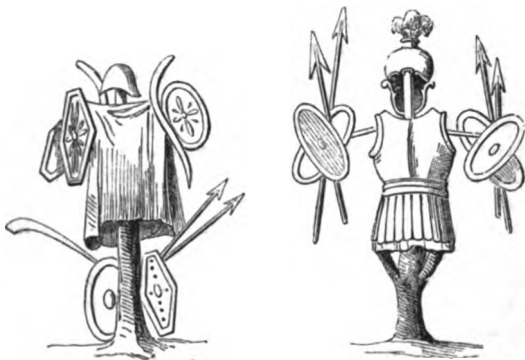
During the period from the death of Caius Gracchus to that of Jugurtha, the Roman arms had found constant employment in checking and repelling the hostile incursions of the Celts, Gauls, and Germans, along its northern frontiers. The Segestani made incursions into Illyria, whence they were expelled ; and the Dalmatians were subdued by Metellus Dalmaticus. A highway was constructed from Rome to the Alps by Æmilius Scaurus, and another from the Alps to the Pyrenees, by Q. Marcius. The natives who opposed these works were exterminated. Marcius also built a city near Marseilles, which he called Narbo Marcius (now Narbonne), and he subdued the country round it.

The province of Macedon was invaded by the Scordisci, a fierce and warlike tribe of Celts from Thrace. They defeated the Legions sent against them with such fearful slaughter, that the Republic estimated their loss as equal to that at Cannæ. The Scordisci pursued their conquering course through Thessaly to the Adriatic, and being stopped by its waters, they discharged into them a shower of arrows in chagrin that they could advance no further. They were driven back the following year ; but they continued to be troublesome and dangerous neighbours to the Romans. Successive Consuls gained fruitless victories over them, and celebrated petty triumphs. They retreated when attacked, and advanced again when the country was clear. They were allied with the Daci beyond the Danube, and their restless movements were occasioned by the pressure upon them of mighty hosts from the north, migrations of the Cymbri and Teutones, whose wars and wanderings shall form the subject of our next chapter.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## WARS WITH THE CYMBRI AND TEUTONES.

B.C. 110 TO 102. Y.R. 643 TO 651.\*



TROPHIES OF MARIUS.

THE Cymbri, an Asiatic nation, had in former ages traversed the breadth of Europe, and settled in the Peninsula of Jutland, which was named after them "Cimbrica Chersonesus." They were of the same race as the Kymry, or Cambri, of Wales, and the Picts of North Britain. Having become over-populous, 300,000 of them moved southwards, with their wives and children, about the Y.R. 640, intending to settle in more fertile lands, and under a more genial sky. It is not easy to divine why

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* lxvii.-lxviii.; Nieb. *Lect.* i.; Plut. in *Mario*; Univ. History, xiii.; Michelet, *Rom.* iii.; Biog. Univ.

they preferred penetrating through densely peopled nations, whose opposition they must have foreseen, rather than possess themselves of the vast solitudes which then existed in Scandinavia and Central Russia; but it seems probable that the crews of vessels from the Mediterranean, which put into their ports to refit, may have first tempted them southwards by descanting on the superior advantages of their own sunny homes. The Massilians had navigated the Baltic as early as the *v.r.* 244, and had now for a considerable period called themselves "Roman Citizens." The Cymbri, therefore, may have poured forth their hordes with the definite object of reaching Rome and Italy. The country they quitted was afterwards inhabited by the Saxons and Angles, from whom the great body of the English are descended.

The Cymbri traversed Westphalia and Saxony, which then bore other names; and in these lands they were joined by an immense number of the Teutones, a tribe which is the stock of the present German nation. They attacked the Boii, or Bohemians; and being resisted, swerved into Vindelicia (or Bavaria), whence they separated into two great bands. The Cymbri opened themselves a way through Noricum and Dacia (*i.e.* through Austria) into Illyria, and returned thence into Rhætia and Carinthia. The Teutones marched through Helvetia (or Switzerland); and being joined by warriors from the four tribes of that country, united with them, and poured down into Gaul.

When this innumerable host first appeared on the confines of Helvetia, the Gauls in that vicinity, who were in alliance with the Romans, immediately sought their protection, and Papirius Carbo was sent to their assistance. His army was cut to pieces in Carinthia, and the Conscrip<sup>t</sup> Fathers once more trembled and expected to see the Barbarians at their gates. Moved by some caprice, the dreaded hordes turned into Helvetia instead of invading Italy, and thus, in all probability, saved Rome. A fearful war now commenced between these tribes and the Romans, which raged without ceasing for seven years, during which the northern races defeated four Consuls and two Proconsuls, killed both of the latter, and one of the former, forced the Roman armies under their ablest leaders to retreat, made their Legions pass under the

yoke, and strewed the battle-plain with more than 200,000 of their dead.

The Consul, Junius Silanus, in Y.R. 643, met the Helvetii and Teutones in the new province of Gallia Narbonensis. His army was completely destroyed; and the barbarians, passing onwards, extended their conquests on all sides, and are supposed to have extirpated by sword or famine half the Gallic nation. The Tectosages having saved themselves by a reluctant alliance, the Teutones carried their victories beyond the Pyrenees.

The Consul, Cassius Longinus, was surrounded by the Helvetii near the Lake of Geneva, then called the "Lacus Lemanus." He was slain, and his troops only saved themselves from extermination by giving hostages and passing under the yoke. The two armies of Cn. Manlius and Q. Servilius Cæpio met with no better fate. Cæpio was killed, and only ten men of all his numerous host escaped. One amongst these was Sertorius, a distinguished Sabine, who swam the Rhone unobserved. Manlius, who had refrained from assisting Cæpio, had his army annihilated on the same day; and 80,000 Romans, with 40,000 camp-followers, are said to have perished. The Teutones had sworn, if victorious, to dedicate all the spoil to their gods; and as truthfulness has ever been one of the German characteristics, they observed their oath without reserve, and threw into the river whatever they could not burn. The day on which this dreadful defeat was sustained the Romans marked in their calendar as *Nefastus* (or unlucky), and would never commence any undertaking upon it afterwards. The Roman people went into mourning; and all who were old enough assumed the military habit, as if the enemy were already upon them. Fresh armies were speedily raised; and in order to discipline them as soon as possible, fencing-masters were introduced into the camps from the gladiator schools.

At this critical juncture, Marius was elected to his second Consulship; and immediately after his triumph over Jugurtha, he departed to assume the Y.R. 648. command of the dispirited and half-disciplined forces opposed to the Helvetii and Germans. Sylla went with him as a needful rather than an agreeable assistant; and Marius assigned to him as his field of exertion the terri-



tory between Narbonne and the Pyrenees, taking up his own quarters near the Rhone. Marius again recruited his Legions with the Paupers, or *Proletarii*, of Rome, men who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, under his banner. For more than two years, during which he was re-elected to the Consulship, he avoided all engagements with the enemy, and employed himself in disciplining his troops, forcing them to exhausting labours, and to privations and fatigues, under which hundreds of them perished, but which formed those who remained into hardy and invincible soldiers.

Sylla reduced the Tectosages, and took prisoner Copillus, their king. He performed a still greater  
Y. R. 651. feat in persuading the Marsi, a fresh host from Westphalia and Cleves, who had intended to join the Teutones, to become Allies of the Romans. The hordes of Teutones, who had poured into Spain, were driven back across the mountains by the Celtiberi, and they joined the Helvetii, who were opposed to Marius, and in vain attempted to draw him into an engagement. One giant having frequently challenged him to single combat, Marius answered, "If the barbarian is in such a hurry to die, let him go and hang himself."

Marius made all the Eastern sovereigns send their contingents, and inquired why no Bithynians were amongst his soldiers. Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia, answered, that the Roman Equites, who were farmers of the revenue in the Levant, had carried off so many hundreds of his people for slaves, that he had none left for soldiers. Marius, in great indignation, procured a decree of the Senate, that all free persons who had been kidnapped should be restored to liberty. This just and well-intentioned measure being thwarted, occasioned the Servile war, of which we shall presently speak.

The Cymbri, meanwhile, had been hovering on the confines of Insubria, where they defeated and took prisoner Æmilius Scaurus.

The Teutones and Helvetii, finding that they could not entice Marius into action, resolved to join the Cymbri, and to enter Italy with their united forces, leaving Marius in their rear. They were in such numbers that they took six whole days to pass his camp; and as they marched by, they cried out in derision, "Have you any messages

to your wives in Rome? We shall soon be there." Marius followed them to Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), and purposely pitched his camp where there was no water. On his soldiers complaining of this, he dryly answered, "Your blood will gain it for you." They exclaimed, "Lead us on, then, while our blood is warm." "No," replied Marius, "we must first attend to our fortifications." The next day the Ligurians and the Ambrones (a Helvetian tribe) met at the watering-place, and quarrelled. Men flew on each side to support their comrades, and a general contest ensued. After a desperate struggle, the brave Helvetians were totally defeated, and the greater number killed. As the Romans pursued the flying, they were astonished to find the women oppose them, drawn up in their baggage-waggon, and fighting until they were exhausted, with battle-axes and swords. At last they offered to capitulate, upon condition that they should be treated with respect, and be slaves only to the Roman priestesses. The Romans laughed at such demands, and thus deprived themselves of both slaves and trophies; for the Helvetian women did not yield, but put themselves and their children to death. The Romans admired their courage, and were astonished at their sense of honour, the loftiest feeling that can govern a heathen mind.

Marius removed his camp to a hill in sight of the Teutones, and remained there, sending Sertorius as a spy into their quarters, who informed him of all their movements. Teutobochus, their King, after three days, unable to endure the suspense, attacked the Romans at a disadvantage. He was immensely tall and strong, and could leap over six horses in line. The victory was doubtful for some hours, until Marius sent a cohort to his rear, with a numerous band of mounted camp-followers. The Teutones, mistaking these for cavalry, fled; most of them were cut to pieces, and Teutobochus fell, and was buried on the field. His sepulchre was discovered in A.D. 1613, near the confluence of the Rhone and Isere, built of brick, and within it was written, "Teutobochus Rex."

Marius, imitating the piety of his foes, dedicated all his spoils to the gods, and whatever could not be used for their worship, he collected into a pile and set on fire.

Whilst he was in the act of applying the torch, messengers arrived from Rome, and saluted him Consul for the fifth time. When his victory was known, the Senate offered him a triumph, but he answered, "I cannot triumph until I have conquered the Cymbri also." He proceeded with the prisoners to join Catulus and Sylla, in Cisalpine Gaul, and to help them against the victorious Cymbrian hordes, before whom they had retreated. Catulus had advanced as far as the Rhoetian Alps, but the Cymbri drove him back beyond the Athesis (or Adige), and then, to his surprise and horror, crossed over themselves. They felled trees; and threw them into the upper part of the current, by which means they both diminished its force, whilst their bands marched through, and also broke the Roman bridge. The Cisalpine Gauls looked upon the Romans as their protectors, and gladly gave them every assistance; but the Cymbri, notwithstanding, for a considerable time ravaged and wasted the country at their pleasure, and drove Catulus so nearly to despair, that some of his men hurried to Rome, and precipitately announced that all was lost.

Sylla was the first who checked the advance of the enemy, and established his camp upon the Po. Here Marius and Catulus joined him. The Cymbri, who were waiting for the Teutones and Helvetii, of whose defeat they had not heard, made overtures of peace, and offered to conclude an alliance, if the Romans would cede them lands. "Such lands," said Marius, "as we have given to the Teutones, we will gladly bestow on you. They whiten the fields of Massilia with their bones, and will rest there for ever." The Cymbri angrily threatened severe vengeance for this gibe, as soon as the Teutones should have crossed the Alps. "They have already crossed," answered Marius; "you shall see them, and I hope you will soon join them." He then ordered their chieftains to be brought forward in chains, and allowed them time to recite the tale of their fatal overthrow.

Boiorix challenged Marius to name a day and place for deciding their claims in battle, and Marius fixed the plains of Vercelli, ground which he probably knew from former observations. It was very convenient for his own forces, and not large enough by one half for his enemies, whose line is said to have covered

Battle of  
Vercelli.

three and a half miles. Both kept their appointment, and on the day named, Marius, Catulus, and Sylla marshalled their men against the Cymbri. Marius, manœuvring to appropriate to himself the glory of the victory, placed his troops upon the wings; but contrary to his calculation, the enemy's cavalry attacked him at the beginning of the day, and drew him entirely off the field, so that the battle was fought by Sylla and Catulus. The Cymbri had chained themselves together, that they might fall with greater weight upon their foes. The day was excessively hot, and, notwithstanding their courage and resolution, they ere long became faint and exhausted. Many fell senseless on the field, and the killed and enfeebled could not be loosened from the vigorous and able. The victory over this mighty host was easy after the first discomfiture, and Marius then returned to butcher the helpless and overpowered. A very small remnant of this multitude, lately so formidable, escaped to the Aduatici, on the Adriatic, among whom they concealed themselves. Sixty thousand were made prisoners, and the major part of them were afterwards sold to be gladiators.

Sylla captured thirty-one standards, besides the brazen bull worshipped by the Cymbri. The spoils and ensigns were brought into Catulus's camp, and the men disputed as to whether Marius or Catulus had gained the day; but as almost all the javelins found on the dead were marked with Catulus's name, the glory of the victory was nominally ascribed to him. Marius was received in Rome as the deliverer of his country, and greeted as the third Romulus, Camillus having been the second.

Both victors triumphed together. Their spoils consisted of arms, standards, and prisoners. Among the last, the most conspicuous was a Cimbric king, of noble appearance, and so tall that his head appeared above the trophies. Both victors also built those temples, which they had vowed in war. Marius erected one to Virtue and Honour, and Catulus one to Fortune. Marius, on the dedication of his temple, gave Greek games to the people, but as he despised everything Greek, after entering for a few moments, he hastily withdrew. Subsequently to his triumph, he was elected Consul a sixth time, and entered the Senate in his triumphal robes, as if he were a king; but he found this presumptuous act

give so much offence, that he hastened home and changed his dress, treating it as an inadvertency, from his mind being occupied by more important matters. Marius was indeed both proud and vain, and had now become impatient of control, and jealous of rivals, but he never aimed at monarchy. He engraved upon his buckler the image of a Gaul pulling out his tongue, and drank henceforth out of a cup with two handles, in imitation of Bacchus, the great mythological conqueror of the Eastern world, whose exploits he fancied he had equalled.

We must now return to review the events which arose out of the anger of Marius at finding no Bithynians amongst his numerous host upon the Rhone, and the consequent decree of the Senate, that all slaves who could prove that they had been kidnapped should be set free. The Roman Prætors had no idea of the extent to which this iniquitous traffic had been carried on. The Equestrian order was so rich as a body, that they had become the usual farmers of the public revenues. Supposing a province was amerced in a yearly tribute of twenty talents, the Knights would engage to discharge it without trouble to the government, and would receive in return authority to raise it in the province for themselves. Their object from that moment became to raise a larger sum than was due, in order to make their speculation profitable; and after they had hired the public lands, their next endeavour was to work them by slaves, whom they procured at as small an expense as possible, and by every means, fair or unfair.

It has been already mentioned that noble girls were stolen and sold as slaves before the second Punic war, and after being taught to sing, play, and dance, were hired out for the amusement of the Roman gentry. One of these, in the possession of Vettius, a Knight at Capua, he immediately freed upon the promulgation of Marius's edict; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the masters and creditors, he liberated between 3 and 4000 Campanian slaves, who had been ensnared into their degraded position. Along with these he fortified himself, and threatened the State with a formidable sedition; but one of his officers being bribed, betrayed him, upon which his followers dispersed, the insurrection was quelled, and he put an end to his own life.

In Sicily, the Prætor Licinius Nerva ordered all who could prove their claims to freedom to appear before him at Syracuse, and the first 800 claimants were recognised and freed. But in a short time, such multitudes poured in, who had been stolen by the Publicans (or Knights) from Asia, and sent to labour in Sicily, that Licinius became frightened, and their masters spared neither falsehood nor bribery to induce him to act unjustly, and keep the slaves in bondage. Like the men of his age, Licinius enriched himself, and oppressed the wretched. He accepted the offered bribes, pretended to regard the injured suppliants as impostors, and ordered them home to their masters.

The slaves, however, once excited, were not so easily crushed. They formed themselves into companies, elected Salvius, an Italian flute-player, to be their king, under the name of Trypho, placed themselves, to the number of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, under his command, and besieged Murgantia. Licinius marched to relieve the city, and was repulsed. The terrified citizens then promised freedom to all their slaves if they would exert themselves to drive away Salvius. The slaves fought for their masters, and the siege was quickly raised, but, as might have been foreseen, they were none of them liberated. They accordingly broke their own bonds, left Murgantia, and joined Salvius.

On the other side of Sicily, a slave named Athenio having murdered his master, placed himself at the head of his household, and soon became the leader of 10,000 self-emancipated soldiers. He professed to be inspired, and besieged Lilybæum; but not making progress, he had another inspiration to leave it and remove elsewhere. As his last columns were retiring, the fleet of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, entered the harbour, bringing succours to the Romans, and the supposed foreknowledge of Athenio considerably strengthened his influence.

Salvius, with 30,000 men, possessed himself of Triocala, and converted it into his capital, building a citadel and palace, appointing a council of state, and exercising all the functions of a regular government. He made overtures to Athenio to join him, and Athenio entered Triocala with 3000 men. There, he at first found himself little better than an honourable prisoner; but as the

Prætor Lucullus threatened the place with a large force, Salvius intrusted him to attack the Romans with 40,000 troops. The contest between them was long and doubtful. At last Athenio, wounded in both knees, fell from his horse, and being covered by a heap of dead bodies, was supposed to be killed. His men, having no leader, fled, and Salvius, hearing of the defeat, abandoned Triocala, and soon after died. Lucullus, after much unnecessary delay, besieged the place, but Athenio, having crawled off the field of battle, had recovered sufficiently to resume the command. He threw himself into Triocala, defended the fortress gallantly, drove away Lucullus, and forced him to retire to Syracuse, where he spent the rest of his governorship in acts of peculation, that afterwards occasioned his banishment.

As Athenio continued successful, he stopped the transmission of corn from Sicily to Italy, and Rome began to suffer from famine. The Senate, now thoroughly alarmed, sent the Consul, Manius Aquillius, into Sicily, who blockaded the rebels, and cut off their supplies. After two years had elapsed, with little change in the circumstances of either side, Athenio brought Manius to an engagement, which, proving indecisive, the two commanders, to spare further effusion of blood, agreed to end the struggle by single combat. In this, Manius felled his antagonist to the ground at one blow. The triumphant Romans then made an indiscriminate slaughter of their enemies, until they had reduced them to 10,000 men. These, upon reaching the camp, and finding escape impossible, destroyed each other. One thousand surrendered, upon promise of their lives; but ascertaining that Manius destined them to fight with wild beasts in the Roman circus, they preferred death to such a destiny, and fell by each other's swords.

The Servile war had lasted four years. An ovation was granted to Manius, at which his trophies can have been but few, and the free Republicans lamented the injury they had sustained in the loss of one million of slaves!

## AFTER CHAPTER XXIX.

WHEN the Consul, Q. Servilius Cæpio, who was defeated and slain by the Teutones, was on his march to encounter them, and passed through the territories of the Tectosages, he was welcomed by them as a defender of the Gallic tribes against the invading hosts of wandering strangers. The Tectosages willingly placed their rich capital of Tolosa (now Toulouse) in Cæpio's hands. The Roman General, with the avarice and rapaciousness habitual to his countrymen, plundered the confiding city, and did not spare even the enclosures sacred to the gods. The Tectosages being Druids, built no temples, but piled up their treasures in places marked off by stones, and planted with groves. They had one shrine dedicated to a Divinity, whom the Romans called Apollo, probably Bel, the Sun. This consecrated ground was bounded by a grove, in which they had treasure amounting to 100,000 pounds of gold, and 5,000,000 of silver, the produce of votive offerings from the neighbouring mines, and of spoil which they had transported a century and a half (x.r. 472) previously from Delphi. Cæpio, not daring openly to appropriate this wealth, seized it in the name of the Republic, and pretended to send it to Massilia; but on the road he had it captured by some of his own soldiers, in the disguise of robbers, and they re-delivered it into his hands. When he was defeated, the Romans regarded it as a judgment upon him for sacrilege; and though he fell in battle, they were so far from considering his crime as expiated, that they confiscated all his goods, and dedicated them to their own gods. From this time, it became a proverb to express an unprosperous man, "He has got the gold of Tolosa."

The Cymbri, after they had conquered and taken prisoner Æmilius Scaurus, held a council of war to debate upon the expediency of crossing the Alps, and pouring down upon Rome. Scaurus was summoned before them, to give information. He answered, "I will disclose what it may be useful for you to know. The Romans, out of their own country, and under bad Generals, may be con-



quered, but with able Generals, and in their own land, they are invincible. Beware of crossing the Alps, for it will prove your destruction." King Boiorix, being angry at his boldness, and the contempt with which he seemed to treat his conquerors, stabbed him to the heart.

Marius was at this time with his army on the Rhone, where he continued on the defensive, because he wished, before coming into action, to accustom his troops to their fierce adversaries, and he also resolved to make himself thoroughly acquainted with their manner of fighting, and the extent of their power and resources. Yet it is probable that, with all his firmness and military genius, he would not have been able to restrain the many nations under his command, had it not been for a Jewish soothsayer named Martha, in whose powers of divination he believed, and who had the tact to counsel always what his strong sense dictated to her. Whenever he was resolved not to fight and consulted Martha, she told the troops that if they stirred, they would suffer unspeakable misfortunes. Thus threatened, they were contented to remain still, and to lie within their trenches until the lucky hour.

Marius was encamped at Arles, and the provisions for his army were brought up the Rhone, but finding that the mouth of that river was frequently obstructed by mud and sand, he obliged his men to dig an enormous canal from the sea to the town, called after him the "Fossa Mariana." Into this he turned the waters of the Rhone, making the channel deep and wide enough for the heaviest transports to ascend. Thus he was securely victualled from Massilia and Italy, whilst he was able to waste all the country round, which might otherwise have supplied his enemies. Camargue, in this district, is said to have been the "Castra Marii," and Gajalon, a marsh close to the sea, is the supposed remains of the Marian Fosse. The Massilians used the Fossa Mariana for many ages.

A hundred and ninety thousand Swiss and Germans perished in the two battles which Marius fought in this territory, and for some years the Massilians made fences for their vineyards with their bones. The spot where the village of Pourrières now stands, was named Campi Putridi, and a pyramid which was erected over the

fallen, existed in the fifteenth century. A temple to Victory was built near it, now converted into L'Eglise de la Victoire, and annual processions were made to it from that time until the great French Revolution in 1792. The arms of Pourrières sculptured over the gates had for their subject "The triumph of Marius."

After the final defeat and dreadful slaughter of the Cymbri in the plains of Vercelli, the Romans proceeded to take possession of their camp; but the women discharged at them showers of arrows, and for a time kept them at bay. As these women would not submit to slavery, they, like their late Allies, first suffocated their children, and then strangled themselves. They had been educated to share weal and woe with their countrymen, and had no idea of existence apart from them. When a Celtic girl married, she was presented with a yoke of oxen, a bow and arrow, and a charger, as an emblem that she was to partake in all the labours and dangers of her husband. The men hung themselves on trees, or attached themselves by a noose to horses and oxen, which they goaded forwards, and thus were killed. Their dogs afterwards defended their bodies, and were shot because they could not be allured or chased away.

The Cymbri had entered Italy with 15,000 splendid cavalry, whose shining helmets were plumed with the feathers of birds of prey, or disfigured with the heads and claws of wild animals. Their cuirasses glittered with polished and tempered iron. Their arms were broadswords, long halberds, and two-edged javelins. Of all this mighty and exulting host, not one ever again beheld his native land, or settled in the country which his courage and thirst of adventure had impelled him to invade.

The proceedings of the Censors during this period were curious. Æmilius Scaurus forbade roasted dormice at banquets, foreign shell-fish, and foreign birds. Licinius Crassus restricted the expense of an ordinary feast to thirty *Asses*. On common occasions he would only permit each gentleman to provide for dinner three pounds of fresh, and one of salt meat, besides plenty of herbs. This law met with general acceptance, and for a few years was observed. L. Crassus was the first Ro-

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man who imitated the spaciousness of the Eastern palaces, and had four audience-halls in his house.

Thirty-two Senators were deprived of their seats at one time for encouraging gaming and concerts. Three of the noble Vestals, Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, were buried alive for breaking their vows; and the Romans built a temple to "Venus Verticordia," or heart-converter, in which the goddess of Love and Beauty was besought to turn the hearts of the Roman ladies to modesty and virtue. This temple was dedicated by Sulpicia, a young and noble matron, who was selected for her amiable and exemplary deportment. The Knight, P. Malleolus, was condemned for murdering his mother. The Roman code contained no punishment for such a crime, because it had been deemed impossible; he was therefore sewn up in a sack, and thrown into the Tiber.

Æmilius Scaurus, Prince of the Senate, was accused of forgery and falsehood; and though he never cleared himself, he did not suffer in reputation, being redeemed by the ingenuity of his defence. He and P. Rutilius contended for the Consulship; and Scaurus vehemently charged his opponent with bribery. Being challenged for proofs, he produced a note written by Rutilius, which contained only these four letters, "A., F., P., R.:" this he read, "Actum Fidei P. Rutilii," "The obligation of P. Rutilius" (to pay what is demanded). Cannius, a lawyer present, starting up, exclaimed, "The reading is not so; the letters mean, Æmilius Fecit, Plectitur Rutilius,"—Æmilius made (the note), Rutilius will suffer for it. The people laughed, but Scaurus gained his election. The Pontiffs, who hitherto had elected each other, were now chosen for election by the people.

I have mentioned the jealousy towards Marius, which was felt by both Metellus and Cornelius Sylla. These men prided themselves upon their ancient and illustrious blood, and their numerous ancestral images. Marius was a *novus homo*, or one whose ancestors had filled no Curule office in Rome, and therefore he was not entitled to show images either in his house or on his tomb. The image throughout Italy was attached to the Curule chair; and a man aspiring to magisterial offices, who had none to produce, was considered a presumptuous upstart.

Metellus, after his triumph, was accused of having misappropriated part of the money voted to him for the war. He produced his books in an assembly of the Equites, and calmly stood before them. They rose, and returned him his books unopened, declaring that Metellus's invariable integrity was a better guarantee for his conscientiousness and honesty than all his books, or any other testimony.

It was now the custom to adorn the houses of distinguished men by pinnacles, which the Senate voted, and which were erected upon their roofs at the public expense.

The principal authors of this period were L. Calpurnius Piso the historian, C. Junius the civilian, and C. Lucilius the poet. Calpurnius Piso was Censor before the Tribuneship of C. Gracchus. He wrote a Roman history, in which he endeavoured to reduce all the legends to probability, from his own imagination; and his amendments were as untrue as the fables he destroyed. C. Junius, the eminent jurist, was called "Gracchanus," from his intense veneration for the Gracchi. His treatises on the ancient Roman Law, of which we have fragments, are of the highest authority. C. Lucilius, the poet, who was the intimate associate of Scipio Æmilianus, of Lælius, and of all the distinguished literary Romans of his day, is called the father and inventor of Roman satire. He was a Volscian of irreproachable life, intrepid courage, and extraordinary humour. He wrote a life of Scipio the Great, besides hymns, allegories, thirty satires, comedies, and fables; but of all these only some fragments remain. He used to say, that he wished neither the ignorant nor the learned to read his compositions, for the former could not understand them, and the latter would discover in them a thousand meanings that he had never intended.

L. Cælius Antipater wrote a history of the second Punic war, often quoted by Cicero, and much esteemed by the Latins. His remains are sometimes bound up with Sallust. Caius Fannius, son-in-law to Lælius Sapiens, wrote Annals of Rome, which are praised by Cicero for their style, and were abridged by the famous M. Brutus; but they have since been lost. His uncle, Fannius Strabo (the Squinter), enacted the first sumptuary laws in Rome, forbidding foreign wines, and

limiting the table expenses to ten Asses per diem for ordinary days, and thirty Asses for feast-days. Catullus, Perseus, and most of the influential Tribunes, Quæstors, and Consuls of this day, were authors; but their works have perished.

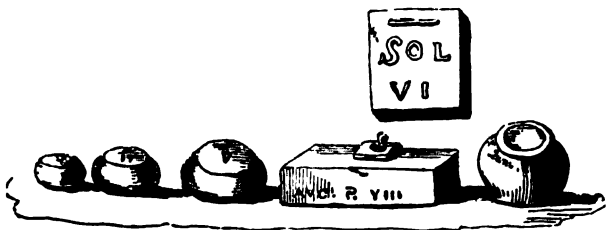
In the Y.R. 649 the Cilician pirates, who infested the Mediterranean, carried off the sister of Marcus Antonius, the grandfather of the celebrated Triumvir, Mark Antony, whose history will be presently narrated. The injured brother crushed the pirates for a time, and rescued his sister.

The Roman Kalendar was written upon a whited board, which hung in the house of the Pontifex Maximus, upon which the months were divided into portions, called Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Kalends were the first day of the month; the Ides fell about the middle of the month; the Nones were nine days before the Ides. Upon certain of these days, and especially upon all Nundinæ, or market-days, the law-courts were open, and Comitia (or assemblies in which the people voted) were held. The law-days were called Fasti, and were marked with an "F." The days upon which no courts could be held were marked "N.," or Nefasti. The unlucky days, distinguished by great public calamities, and sometimes observed by sacrifices to the Infernal Demons, were marked "N.F.," or "Nefasti," Evil. That day in October, upon which two Roman armies consisting of 120,000 men were destroyed by the Teutones and Helvetii, was a Nones and a Fastus day; but it was from that time proscribed, and marked in black, as "N.F.," or Nefastus. "Inscribing you in my black-books," and "writing you in red," are phrases taken from the Roman custom of writing their "F." days in red, and their "N. F." in black. The latter were also distinguished as "Dies Atri."

## CHAPTER XXX.

## SOCIAL WAR.

B.C. 101 TO 89. Y.R. 652 TO 664.\*



ROMAN WEIGHTS.

WHEN Marius entered upon his sixth Consulate, Metellus Numidicus offered himself as his colleague; but Marius, who detested him, supplanted him by bribery, and procured Valerius Flaccus to be elected in his stead. Marius leagued himself with the Tribune Saturninus and the Prætor Glaucia, two wealthy, ambitious Magistrates, who, provided they could keep the reins of government in their own hands, cared not by what means they attained their flagitious ends. Saturninus hated the Senate, because, on account of maladministration, he had been deprived by that body of his office of Quæstor Ostiensis (or provider of Rome with corn), a post of great patronage and power. After his Tribuneship had expired, he stood candidate for the office a second time.

\* Authorities : Livy, *Epit. lib. lxxix.-lxxxix.*; Nieb. *Lect. vol. i. in loco*; Plut. *in Mario*; Michelet, *Rome, vol. iii.*; Biog. Univers.; Univ. Hist. vol. xiii.

A. Nonnius, a man of high character, was his competitor, and gained the election ; but Saturninus, not enduring defeat, had Nonnius stabbed as the voters dispersed, and declared that the suffrages had been in his own favour. Marius confirmed the feigned election of his friend ; and the people were too much terrified to remonstrate.

Marius, Saturninus, and Glaucia, formed now the Triumvirate which governed Rome. They consulted together as to what laws should be framed, and supported each other in carrying them into effect. The main object of all three was to humble the Senate, and to silence the patriots.

Saturninus was a champion of the Italians, whom he considered entitled, by services and individual importance, to share in the franchise of Rome. Their claims were now the main question debated in the Commonwealth, and opposition to them was the lever by which every factious person raised himself into power. Their demands being perfectly just, were not likely to be abandoned, and were, in fact, as perseveringly and clamorously urged by the one side as they were pertinaciously refused by the other. As a preliminary step towards their attainment, Saturninus proposed that large tracts of land in Cisalpine Gaul should be assigned to the pauper Legionaries of Marius, who was to enjoy the privilege of conferring the Roman franchise upon three members in each colony. This was refused, both because it would have secured to Marius a dangerous body of military partisans, and because the native proprietors must have been ejected to make way for them. Saturninus proposed that the Senate should swear to approve, *before-hand*, of every measure the Tribes should bring forward. No man had ever imagined so preposterous a scheme. It, in fact, demanded that the Senate should abolish themselves as a part of the Legislature ; and the Triumvirs knew that it could not be conceded. Marius, the real author of the proposal, spoke vehemently against it, vowing, that he, as Consul, would never take such an oath, and all the rest of the Senators followed his example. On the day appointed for considering this measure, Marius stepped forward and said, that on reflection, he would take the oath if the people desired it. The Senators, though shocked, were overawed, and yielded

their conditional consent; but Metellus Numidicus acted as his enemies had foreseen he would. He firmly refused to comply, and preferred going into voluntary exile.

Marius was not eligible for the next Consulship, and was therefore willing that his place should be supplied by Glaucia, then a candidate; but, contrary to his wishes, the two Consuls chosen were Marcus Antonius and C. Memmius. Glaucia, exasperated at his defeat, followed Memmius, and murdered him in the Forum. The majesty of the Senate being outraged by this act, the Senators immediately invested Marius, who presided at the election, with Dictatorial power, and desired him to punish the offender. He was still Consul, though his successor was nominated, but none of the magistrates came into office until some weeks after their election. The old ones, therefore, continued in power.

Glaucia and his numerous retainers, boldly repaired to the house of Saturninus, whom they saluted as king, and desired to head them against the Senators. Saturninus, with a large force, took possession of the Capitol, and Marius, with the Equestrian order, had to besiege his former associates, whom he now perceived to be as insatiable as they were intractable, and quite beyond his control. Saturninus, Glaucia, and their followers, maintained themselves in the fortress until the pipes which supplied them with water were severed, and then the anguish of thirst forced them to surrender. They were promised their lives, and Marius conducted them to the Curia Hostilia, and intended to permit their escape. But the people seized Glaucia, and beheaded him, and then, unroofing the building in which Saturninus and his followers had taken refuge, they killed them by throwing the tiles down upon their heads.

When Marius went out of office, having neither eloquence nor moral courage by which to sway the multitude, he found his influence daily on the wane. The acts of Saturninus were repealed, and Metellus Numidicus, the formidable and injured rival of Marius, was recalled from banishment, his return being welcomed by every mark of honour. Marius, unable to bear the sight, travelled into Asia Minor, and visited Phrygia, and the court of Mithridates, King of Pontus. After some months he returned to Rome, but it was only to be mortified by the rising



popularity of Sylla, his jealousy of whom was so rancorous that it had nearly plunged the country into civil war. Fortunately, all parties had their attention diverted by fresh attempts and tumults on the part of the Italians. The Latins and allied Italian nations had furnished two-thirds of Marius's armies, and they did not consider their services to be adequately recompensed by the rewards already bestowed upon them. They claimed as their due, not only the cession of the Roman franchise, but eligibility to all the Quiritary magistracies, and enrolment amongst the thirty-five Plebeian Tribes. These were pretensions that never could be granted, because they would have raised the Allies to more than equality with the native citizens, for their superior numbers would have given them a preponderance in the decision of every question. The Consuls being outraged at the presumption of such demands, fell into the opposite extreme. They wished to banish the Allies altogether from the State, forbade them to reside in the city, and strove to deprive them of rights and privileges which they had enjoyed and exercised for centuries.

Pompedius Silo, a high-spirited Marsian chief, being exasperated beyond endurance, reminded his countrymen of the Latin proverb: "Rome never won a victory yet, either over the Marsians, or without the Marsians," and roused 10,000 of them to arms. His friend Livius Drusus (son of the accuser of C. Gracchus, but of a very superior nature to his father), having persuaded Pompedius to try peaceful measures before proceeding to extremities, concurred with him in some necessary reforms, and promised him throughout every scheme his strenuous support.

The Italians, from Ancona in the north, to Pæstum in the south, confederated together, resolved to obtain or extort the franchise; but in the meanwhile, they engaged to act peaceably, and to abide by the advice of L. Drusus. He was the great-grandfather of the emperor Tiberius, and with the purest motives sought the union of Italy and the regeneration of Rome. Had he tried for one object only, he might perhaps have attained it, but whilst he offended all orders of Romans by supporting the Allies, he offended each order separately, by attempting to remedy its particular corruption. Regardless of the angry feelings he excited, and the inveterate prejudices

he shocked, Drusus impetuously pressed forward his measures for extending the Quiritary franchise. The irritation against him at length became uncontrollable, and one day whilst walking up and down his own spacious halls, lighted by torches without windows, in the midst of crowds who came to consult and visit him, he fell, mortally wounded in the side by a shoemaker's knife. He cried out, "Ungrateful Republic! thou hast never lost a more devoted son," and expired on the spot. The assassin was never discovered, but the odium fell upon the Consul Philippus, who was extremely violent against the Italians, and who spoke of them as base and insolent rebels.

Pompedius Silo quitted Rome, and summoned the Italian chiefs around him at Corfinium in the Peligni. The assembled princes constituted this city the capital of their confederation, elected a Senate of 500 members, and appointed twelve Prætors and two Consuls to be chosen annually. The first Consuls were Pompedius Silo the Marsian, and Aponius Mutolus the Samnite. They published a declaration of war, called out their troops without delay, and resolved to march upon Rome. This war, which is called the "Social or Marsian war," lasted three years, and was carried on at the same time in three separate districts, viz. in Campania, Apulia, and Lucania towards the south; in the territories of the Marsi in the centre; and in Picenum towards the north. To sustain it, Rome was obliged to summon assistance from all her foreign Allies, Gauls, Africans, and Asiatics; and had to employ all her best generals, who, in every quarter during the first year, were defeated.

Marius, Sylla, and Sertorius, had each their separate commands, and the latter presently became the noblest warrior of his day. In this war he lost an eye, a blemish in which he gloried as an honour. The Gauls served under him as volunteers. Three other able generals, Cn. Pompeius, S. Julius Cæsar, and M. Porcius Cato, were afterwards still more distinguished as the fathers of the three heroes in the succeeding generation, viz. Pompey the Great, Julius Cæsar (the only hereditary Dictator of Rome), and Cato of Utica. Of these three fathers, the career of Cato was the shortest. He served against the Marsi, and being defeated at the Fucine lake, was shot

dead with an arrow by young Marius, who bore him malice. The ancient morality of the Romans, and their subordination to law, existed no more.

The Consul Rutilius being killed in the country of the Marsi, Caius Marius succeeded to his command, but as he secretly approved the claims of the Italians, and thought the war unjust, he effected nothing. The progress of the Marsi being unchecked, Rome expected the enemy at her gates, and prepared for a siege. The army of Cæpio still lay between the threatened city and the forces of Pompeius; when the latter came to Cæpio with two slaves, whom he called his sons, and tendered his submission. The slaves, magnificently attired, laid at Cæpio's feet two lumps of lead, the one covered with gold, and the other with silver, which they called their tribute, and which he mistook for ingots of precious metal. The elated Cæpio, fancying that he was to terminate the conflict, suffered his army to be guided by Pompeius into the country of the Marsi to receive the homage of his nation, but they were led by that wily chief into defiles, whence they could not extricate themselves, and they were all cut to pieces.

At Asculum in Picenum, a Proconsul having ventured to assert the supremacy of Rome, was put to death along with every Roman in the city, and Cn. Pompey, who advanced to revenge the outrage, was driven back to Firmum. In the south, matters were still worse, and almost all the Roman cities, excepting Capua, were reduced by the Samnites, Aponius and Egnatius. In this imminent peril, to prevent worse consequences, the Liberti were introduced into the Legions, and the noble Romans went into mourning, and laid all their ornaments aside. The Senators were ultimately forced to yield the point in dispute, to save their land from conquest. They

*Lex Julia.* granted the Roman franchise to the fifty Latin and Roman colonies which were scattered throughout their empire, and to all the Allies who would lay down their arms. This law was called the *Lex Julia*, because carried by the Tribune Julius. Upon its publication, the Latins and Hernici immediately ceased hostilities, and the fifty pacified colonies became adverse to their former friends, and were so many sources of weakness and annoyance to the confederates. It seems strange that all the

nations should not have accepted the proffered terms, since the object of contention was conceded; but their successes had indisposed them to allow any supremacy to the Romans, and the Samnites vowed not to stop short of the destruction of the city. The Etruscans and Umbrians joined the Marsian league for a very short time, but the immediate cession of the franchise caused them to withdraw, and they and the Latins being added to the Romans, rendered their forces superior to those of the Allies.

The war henceforth assumed a new character, for the heart of Italy was tranquil, and the nations which kept the field, the Piceni, Samnites, Campanians, and Apulians, did so, that they might humble Rome, and not that they might participate in her privileges.

The first successes against the confederates were gained by Cn. Pompey over the Piceni, and the Roman Senators resumed their purple robes and golden ornaments. Pompey not only defeated 15,000 men, who were advancing into Etruria, but ventured to invest Asculum. An army of Marsi which came to its relief, was dispersed, and the greater number of the soldiers perished from cold and hunger, in the neighbouring mountains. Judacilius, the chief of Asculum, was warring in Apulia; but hearing that his native city was in distress, he marched rapidly to its assistance, and sent his countrymen information that he was on his route to relieve them, and that he would either do so, or perish in the attempt. He desired them on a certain day, to make a sortie, whilst he attacked Pompey from the other side, and he trusted that this would compel the Romans to abandon the siege. Upon the appointed day, he appeared behind Pompey's lines, forced his way through them, penetrated to the gates of the city, and entered with his men. But alas! there were traitors within who had prevented the projected sortie, so that Judacilius and his forces merely added to the numbers of the distressed. The Romans soon recovered their position, and Asculum was invested more closely than before. Judacilius maintained his reputation for courage and integrity, but he could not save his native city. He put to death those who had so basely deceived him, and then superintended his own funeral pyre. He laid himself down upon it, swallowed poison, and expired. His body was burnt, and his ashes

were conveyed to the sepulchre with every testimony of honour and regret. Being a heathen, he believed that he acted as every brave man ought to do, for he perished with the country he had failed to save. Asculum was soon after taken by storm, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword.

Cn. Pompey was allowed a triumph for this achievement, and amongst the prisoners, he exhibited the brave Governor Ventidius, with his wife and her infant in arms. This infant, when grown to man's estate, we shall hear of again as one of the most distinguished of the Roman Generals. Reduced to poverty and obscurity, his merit obtained for him more than his father's dignity. He began by tending mules to gain his bread; he rose to be the friend of Cæsar, and the Consul of Rome. He lived to celebrate a triumph on the spot where he had been borne a captive, and he was the only one of the Roman Generals who ever enjoyed this honour over the Parthians.

Contemporary with the victory of Cn. Pompey, were the successes of S. Julius Cæsar, the brother-in-law of Marius, in Samnium. His men had been greatly disheartened by previous defeats from Vettius the Samnite, and Judacilius of Asculum. The latter, whilst he commanded the Allies in Apulia, released Jugurtha's son at Venusium, clothed him in purple, and made him General of the Numidian horse. This had such an effect upon the Numidians in Cæsar's camp, that they began to desert, and he was obliged to send them back to Africa.

When Judacilius marched to succour Asculum, Cæsar attacked and vanquished the Samnite Aponius; and his men, in the exuberance of their joy, saluted him as "Imperator." Sylla joined Cæsar, after a signal victory over the Marsians, and the brilliancy of his exploits so far surpassed those of his contemporaries, that he soon became the real hero of the war. He retook Pompeia, Herculaneum, and most of the towns in Campania; routed two chosen armies of the Samnites within a few days of each other, and closely besieged the strongly fortified and important city of Nola. Leaving his army here, he returned to Rome, and obtained the Consulship for the year 664.

Marius, whose inactivity against the Italians had given great dissatisfaction, pleaded that he was now old

and unwieldy, and resigned his command. He was aged sixty-eight. He retired to the villa of Cornelia at Misenum, which he had purchased, and where his countrymen supposed that he meant to spend the remainder of his days. By this time, 300,000 Italians had perished; and the mass of the confederates being exhausted, and sensible that their cause was not just, accepted of the Roman franchise, and laid down their arms.

The Samnites and Lucanians, however, still breathed defiance, and Pompeius Silo, the irreconcilable, indefatigable Marsian, joined them in Apulia, with his intrepid army. He augmented his forces by the addition of 20,000 slaves, and removed the seat of Government from Corfinium to Esernia. Cn. Pompey, his opponent, was superseded in command by Sylla's brother-in-law Pompeius Rufus. Cn. Pompey, though very angry, feigned to respect the mandate of the Senate. He received Pompeius with the deference due to his rank, and resigned to him the Lictors and Fasces. But the next day, whilst the Legionaries were tendering their military oaths, and Rufus was standing beside the Prætorian altar, the treacherous and envious Cneius had him knocked down and slain. He then resumed the command, and so much was the authority of the state now in the hands of individuals, that the Senate dared not punish this infamous and rebellious crime.

Pompeius Silo applied for aid to Mithridates, King of Pontus, whose sword was carrying all before him in Asia Minor; that monarch however declined interfering, and answered that he must first subdue Asia before he attempted Italy. Pompeius was shortly after routed and slain, and the Romans were thus delivered from their most formidable and determined enemy. The Samnites were at the same time balked in an attempt to take Rhegium, and transfer the scene of action to Sicily, so that the war languished, and Metellus, with one Consular army, was deemed sufficient to keep the enemy in check.

The Senate seized this breathing time to accomplish what they had long ardently desired. They declared hostilities against Mithridates, believing that they could now with a certainty of spoil and glory let loose upon him those armies which had been employed against the Italians. No sooner was the declaration published, than,

to their astonishment, Marius reappeared in the Campus Martius. He went through his military exercises along with the youthful soldiers, and put in his claim for the supreme command. The Senators were shocked both at his ambition and his avarice. They contemptuously rejected him, and bestowed the honour upon Sylla, who had come to Rome as Candidate. His age was more befitting, and his late services were more meritorious.

Marius, to revenge himself, and carry his point, formed a friendship with P. Sulpicius, a wealthy, headstrong, and factious Tribune; and together, they resolved by a Plebiscitum,\* to deprive Sylla of his command. To secure the Plebiscitum it was necessary for them to govern the voters; and to effect this, they proposed to distribute the recently enrolled Italians through the thirty-five old Tribes. The Italians being more numerous than the native citizens, the boon conferred upon them by this measure would be so great, that the authors of it might confidently reckon upon their adherence and fidelity in every emergency. As the law stood, the new citizens formed separate Tribes, which voted after the thirty-five, and had no influence.

To prevent the possibility of defeat, Sulpicius leagued himself with 600 of the venal Equites, whom he called his "Anti-Senate;" and occupied the Forum with an armed guard of 3000 hired ruffians. The Senate being overawed and overpowered, endeavoured to gain time, and ordered a series of Feriæ, that is, holidays, to be observed, during which no business could be transacted, nor deliberative assembly meet. Sulpicius surrounded the Senate-house with his bravoës, and threatened all the Senators with death, if the Feriæ were not instantly repealed. All tried to escape; some were killed, some wounded, and in the confusion, Sylla took refuge in the house of Marius, who made him swear to support the Plebiscitum, and then favoured his escape. As soon as the tumult had subsided, Sylla reappeared in the Forum, proclaimed his acquiescence, and then quitted the city, and rejoined his troops at Nola.

Sulpicius directly summoned the Comitia, and passed his detrimental law. The Tribes being thus chiefly com-

\* Binding decree, made by the people.

posed of Marius's partizans, elected him Commander-in-chief for Asia, and he despatched envoys with the intelligence to Sylla, and desired him instantly to resign his post. Sylla's troops, who were enthusiastically attached to him, would not suffer him to be thus superseded. They swore that he alone should be their General, urged him to lead them to Rome, that they might punish those who affronted him, and stoned the Envoys to death.

Sylla commenced his march with six Legions. Marius and Sulpicius, who had no forces to oppose him, were dreadfully alarmed at a proceeding they had never anticipated. They sent to forbid his advance, and to propose an accommodation. Sylla affected to listen and obey. He had a camp traced out in their presence, and they retired satisfied; but no sooner had they departed, than Sylla despatched a column of cavalry after them, which took possession of the Esquiline Gate. He followed them rapidly with the main body, and joined them before night. The liberty of the city was now threatened, and no resistance could be offered, for the gates were old, the walls were frail, and the first assault would shake them down. Sylla marched up the Via Sacra into the Forum, unopposed. He made no slaughter, but there he halted, and mounting the Rostra, proclaimed Caius Marius with his son, Sulpicius, and nine other persons, to be traitors, having their lives and property forfeited. He set a price upon their heads, and had this decree proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout every town in Italy; cavalry being at the same time sent off to scour the country in search of them, and to bring them in, alive or dead. Slaves were offered a large bribe to betray their masters, and a slave of Sulpicius, who took the bait, delivered him to his pursuers. Sulpicius was decapitated, and his head fixed on a pole opposite the Rostra. Sylla paid the promised recompense, and then had the slave thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, as a warning to other traitors.

Marius, accompanied by his son, and Granius, his step-son, escaped to the house of Q. Mucius Scævola, his brother-in-law, near Rome. Thence, he sent his son to procure provisions; but he dreaded discovery too much, to await his return, and hurrying off to the coast, he embarked in a vessel at Ostia, and put out to sea.



Young Marius, when he found that his father had fled, occupied himself in packing up his effects to follow him, but day dawned before his labour was completed, and a slave rushed in to warn him that troops were seen advancing upon the house, and that they would certainly capture him, if he delayed any longer. The faithful, ingenious slave had a cart of beans in the court; he hid young Marius under them, and drove the cart straight up to the soldiers, and through their troop, much to their entertainment. He proceeded forwards into Rome, pursued his way unnoticed and unsuspected, through the busy streets, and boldly stopped at Marius's own door. Here the fugitive was received by his astonished wife, who shipped him off as fast as possible in a vessel which was waiting in the Tiber; and after a prosperous voyage, he was landed safely in Enarca, now Ischia.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXX.

**METELLUS NUMIDICUS**, who suffered banishment rather than violate his oath, was detested and ensnared by Marius, because his virtues and reputation threw the military achievements of the latter into the shade. As long as Numidicus appeared in the Senate, Marius felt himself in the presence of a superior, and he could not rest until that superior was removed. Numidicus was so generally respected and beloved, that a numerous party would have fought to compel the revocation of his sentence, but he protested that no blood should be shed in Rome on his account, and added, that unless his countrymen returned to sounder principles, he was better absent from them. He said, "I have not acted on this occasion without weighing the consequences. To do well when there is no danger, is the conduct of most men; but to do well in the face of danger, becomes the just and honourable." He retired to Rhodes, and thence travelled through several parts of Asia Minor.

Metellus, the son of Numidicus, put on mourning, and canvassed all the Tribes, earnestly entreating the recall of his father. Not only was this gladly granted, but the

Tribes conferred upon him the title of "Pius," or *dutiful*, in token of their approbation. A messenger was immediately despatched with the joyful tidings to his father. Numidicus was in the theatre at Trallis, witnessing a play, when the letter of the Senate was delivered to him, and he delayed to open it until the drama was concluded. His joy and gratitude were great. He returned to Rome as soon as possible, and all the Senators went out to meet him. They conducted him to his house as if they were celebrating a triumph, and thronged to congratulate him, for two days consecutively. Marius could not endure the mortifying sight, and suddenly recollected that the Bona Dea (Cybele) in Phrygia, had predicted his late victories, and that it was his duty to return thanks in her temple. He therefore left Italy for Asia. In the midst of his devotion, it also occurred to him that if he could provoke Mithridates, the young and ambitious King of Pontus, to war with Rome, he should certainly be appointed to the chief command. In that case, he anticipated gaining new laurels by fresh victories, and adding to his accumulated wealth by fresh spoils.

The Romans had most unjustly, while Mithridates was a child, despoiled him of Upper Phrygia (Paphlagonia), a province which they had sold to his father after the war of Pergamus. Mithridates had sent to Rome to complain, but his ambassadors were abused, and dismissed without redress. Marius now appeared at his court, and rudely told him that he must either render himself more powerful than the Romans, or submit without murmuring to their will. The proud, but politic prince, kept silence. He knew that the insolent Consular spoke the truth, and he dismissed him with presents. Marius returned to Rome, and built himself a magnificent house near the Forum, under pretence of saving his clients a long walk to his former dwelling, but in reality to make himself an object of notice, and to obtrude himself more upon the public view.

Whilst this work was in progress, Bocchus, king of Mauritania, who affectionately loved Sylla, sent that General a number of splendid gifts. Amongst them were some votive groups of golden figures, which represented himself in the act of delivering Jugurtha into Sylla's hands. These he desired might be dedicated to

Jupiter Capitolinus, and placed in his temple. Marius, almost frantic with rage, attempted to smash them in pieces, and allowed his passion so to master him, that nothing but the breaking out of the Social War saved Rome from the far worse calamity of civil conflict.

Bocchus also presented Sylla with 100 Mauritanian lions, and a band of expert Moors to fight them. These were exhibited at the Ædilian games in the Circus, and the remembrance of the gratification they afforded was more instrumental with the multitude in afterwards procuring Sylla's election to the Consulship, than his best statesmanship, or his most dazzling victories.

Marius being a Volscian, and not a native Roman, was glad to seize every opportunity of extending the Quiritary franchise to the Allies. During his war with the Cymbri, he bestowed it upon a thousand Camerians whose valour he wished to reward. Being reproved for this assumption of power by the Senate, and told that he had acted illegally, he coolly answered that law could not be heard amid the din of arms.

Philippus, the Consul, who was so violent against the Allies, and insolently styled them rebels, made himself still more odious by his intimacy with Varius, a *novus homo*, who courted and gained popularity by his virulence upon the same side. Varius was by birth half a Spaniard, and owed his rise to his party consistency, and headstrong recklessness. He proposed to expel the Allies from the Roman State, to erase their names from the Censor's Lists, and to punish every one who presumed to speak in their favour. One of the many Senators whom he impeached upon the ground of favouring them, was Æmilius Scaurus. When this dignified noble was brought to trial before the Equites, he haughtily rose and said, "Varius of Sucro (*i. e.* of a city in Spain, Varius not being a Roman) accuses M. Æmilius Scaurus, Prince of the Roman Senate, of having excited the Allies to take up arms. M. Æmilius denies what Varius says. There are no witnesses on either side. Quirites! which of the two will you believe?" The prosecution was withdrawn.

A Knight, named Rabirius, boasted that the Tribune Saturninus had fallen by his hand, and that with him, the Latins and Allies had lost all chance of the Roman

franchise. The cession of this point was a subject so strenuously disputed between the Romans and Italians, that Saturninus was regarded by his party as a martyr. Thirty years afterwards, Julius Cæsar, the nephew of Marius, and friend to the Italian cause, prosecuted Rabirius for this murder. It required all the eloquence of Cicero, backed by the influence of the whole Equestrian order, and stratagem to boot, to effect Rabirius's acquittal, and every picture or likeness of Saturninus was ordered to be destroyed.

Whenever the *Comitia Centuriata* were assembled, a red flag was placed on the Janiculum, and if that flag was removed, the assembly was dissolved. Such a signal had been necessary in the early days of Rome, that she might not be surprised defenceless, whilst her warriors were making laws. Metellus Celer, deeply interested in the acquittal of the aged Rabirius, and anxious to maintain the superiority of the Romans over the rest of the Italians, lifted the flag during his trial, and the Centuries were forced to disperse.

Whilst Drusus was addressing the people, the Consul Philippus committed the high crime of interrupting him upon the Rostra. One of Drusus's clients, in excessive irritation, seized the Consul, and committed him to prison, squeezing his throat so tightly, that the blood burst from him. The client contemptuously remarked, "It is only the blood of a babbler." This being an insult that Philippus never was able to forgive, rendered him the implacable enemy of Livius Drusus, of whose murder he was accused.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## ADVENTURES OF MARIUS.

B.C. 89 TO 87. Y.R. 664 TO 666.\*



TRIPOD.

CAIUS MARIUS, after he had so far escaped the fury of Sylla as to gain a vessel which stood out to sea, met with storms and contrary winds, and could not advance. He dreaded being driven into Terracina, where Geminus, one of his powerful enemies, would, he knew, be on the watch to capture him, or take his life. He besought

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit. lib. lxxvii.*; Nieb. *Lect. v. i.*; Plut. in *Mario*; Michelet, *Rome, iii.*; Univ. Hist. *xiii.*

the captain to run farther from the coast, and not to put in there; but the wind blew so hard, and he was so seasick, that the mariners feared to proceed, and they landed him at Circeii, in the neighbourhood. Marius was very wretched, ill, weary, and proscribed. As soon as his strength was sufficiently recruited, he and his retinue wandered about the fields, without food or shelter, apprehensive that every person they met would prove an enemy. Towards evening, they asked bread from some shepherds, who had none to give, and who told them to conceal themselves without delay, as cavalry were scouring the district in search of them. They passed the night in a small wood, and the next day pursued their cheerless way along the coast. Marius said to Granius, "Let us not lose hope; feeble and miserable as you see me now, I shall again be Consul in Rome. When I was a little child, an eagle's nest, with seven birds in it, fell into my lap; and on my parents consulting the Augurs to know what it meant, they interpreted that I should seven times possess supreme power over my own country." This was probably a vivid dream of Marius, as eagles have only two young ones at a time. He had scarcely ceased speaking when the tramp of horses was heard, and a troop of cavalry appeared bearing down upon them. At the same moment two small vessels started into view, and approached the shore. The fugitives plunged into the water, and Granius reached one of the barks safely. The unwieldy Marius was borne by his slaves into the other, whilst the horsemen shouted to the crews to put them again on shore. The captains hesitated; but their better feelings prevailed, and they once more stood out to sea. Marius's captain, however, not relishing his freight, landed at Minturnæ, at the mouth of the river Liris, and told Marius to refresh himself whilst he waited for a fairer wind. The old general lay down, and slept soundly on the beach. Presently he awoke, and the vessel was gone. His friends had disappeared, every means of escape had vanished, and Marius stood upon the sands deserted and alone! He knew not what to do; and toiling for a time through the reeds, he came to a small hut. He entreated its owner, a poor old man, to give him shelter; and promised that he would some day richly reward his hospitality. The man bade him welcome; but said if he

was afraid of discovery, he could point out a more secure retreat near the river. Marius followed his guide to a cave, and there laid down to rest. Very soon after he heard some soldiers, who were sent by Geminus, reproaching the man for harbouring an enemy of the Republic, and threatening him with death if he did not deliver the fugitive, or discover to them the place of his concealment. After listening anxiously until the sound ceased, Marius left the cave, and plunged naked up to the neck in the swamps of the Lake Marica. The soldiers, searching about, found him; and hauling him out, delivered him bound to the magistrates of Minturnæ. Tall, strong, gaunt, old, and ferocious, Marius was a horrible sight; but he had spared the Italians in the late war, the Consulship of Sylla had nearly expired, and the Italian magistrates of Minturnæ had no desire for their captive's blood. They did not even send him to prison, but committed him to the custody of Fannia, a lady of small reputation, who, they thought, would revenge herself for having once been fined by him. But Fannia, who was a divorced woman, only remembered that Marius had formerly obliged her husband to return her all her fortune; and in gratitude for that deed, she treated him with the utmost kindness. On entering the court of her abode an ass ran out, frolicking and braying, as it went towards a spring to drink. Marius said, that it had gazed upon him, which was a sign that water and not land was to save him, and lead him to future prosperity.

It is remarkable, that though Marius was for ever seeing omens in the most trivial occurrences, they always either predicted him good, or warned him from evil. They enabled him to mould other men to his will; and the conduct they prescribed was uniformly that of firmness of purpose, prudence, and sagacity. Had the superstitious Marius been also weak, the same omens would have foretold him evils which he could not avoid, and would have led him to acts either of imbecility or of rashness.

The magistrates of Minturnæ, overpowered at last by their dread of Sylla, removed Marius into a dungeon, and sent a Gallic slave to kill him. The eyes of the wild and savage-looking warrior glared upon the Gaul, whilst, with a thundering voice, he called out to him,

“Darest thou to slay Caius Marius?” The slave, terrified, threw down his sword, and ran away, exclaiming, “I cannot kill Caius Marius.” The magistrates, now certain that he was under Divine protection, accompanied him with honour to the shore through the sacred grove of their patron genius, Marica, which it was not lawful to traverse. They saw him on board a vessel, which conveyed him first to Sicily, where the Prætor attempted to capture him, and then to Africa. Marius had the scene of his release painted on a shrine, which he afterwards dedicated to Marica in Rome. He landed in the bay of Carthage, and learned that his son was at the court of Hiempsal, king of Numidia. Scarcely had he touched the shore, when a messenger arrived from the Governor, and warned him, that unless he instantly departed the decree of the Senate would be executed upon him. Marius was seated on a broken column, and stared as if he did not understand the message. At length the Envoy asked what reply he was to return to his master. “Tell him,” said Marius, “that thou hast seen Caius Marius sitting an exile on the ruins of Carthage.” He who had six times been Consul in Rome was now a helpless, deserted fugitive, amid the ashes of a city which had but recently been the Queen of Africa.

Marius, junior, a youth of seventeen, was endeavouring to procure aid and arms from Hiempsal. In this he not only failed, but found himself an honourable prisoner at his court. He was environed with difficulties, and in great perplexity, when one of the King’s ladies falling in love with him, contrived his escape. He rejoined his father, but they were in a perilous condition, and as they were walking along the shore, Caius Marius observed two scorpions fighting. “Let us flee,” he said, “my son, for this is a warning that danger awaits us here.” They stepped into a boat, and had scarcely shoved out to sea, when a troop of cavalry appeared, sent by Hiempsal to capture them. They sailed to the island of Cercina, and not being pursued, awaited there the course of events in safety.

Whilst Caius Marius and his son were in Africa, the new Consuls, C. Octavius and Cornelius Cinna, were chosen in Rome. The latter being one of the Cornelii, was of the same illustrious *Gens* with Sylla, but being



his opponent in political views, was personally hostile to him. Sylla, who was all-powerful at the time of Cinna's election, before he would suffer him to be chosen, took him into the Capitol, and made him swear at the altar of Jupiter, that he would not act against the Senate. Then believing the Consulship to be safe in his hands, Sylla permitted the election, and quitted Rome at the head of a large army, to fight against the generals of Mithridates in Asia and Greece.

No sooner had he departed, than the new Consuls quarrelled. Cinna insisted upon enrolling the Allies in the thirty-five Plebeian Tribes, which would have swamped the votes of the real Romans; whilst Octavius resisted him with the most determined vehemence, until the matter came to a civil war. Many thousands of the Allies were killed in the heart of Rome: the remainder, with Cinna, were expelled beyond the gates. Cinna returned to the army at Capua, and the Allies flocked to him there as their patron, until his forces numbered 150,000 men. With these he advanced to Rome in the quality of Consul, though Octavius and the Senate had deposed him, and elected Merula in his room. Cinna, not acknowledging the deposition, sent to Africa to recall the exiles. Marius obeyed the summons, and shortly after, landing in Etruria, with some Mauritanian horse, collected 5000 desperate men around his standard. With these he advanced to join Cinna, who saluted him as "Proconsul." Sertorius was consulted before their meeting, and deprecated any association with Marius, who, he said, was insolent and domineering, and would never act with any one excepting as a master. "It is true," replied Cinna, "but I have invited him." "Then," answered Sertorius, "you need not have consulted me, but if you would still be safe, guard yourself against him as your worst enemy." The Generals accordingly divided their forces. Cinna blockaded the city on one side, Sertorius on the other hand, and Marius possessing himself of the coast, took Ostia, and threw a bridge across the Tiber, which prevented any provisions from reaching Rome.

The Senate summoned to their assistance the wicked Cn. Pompey, though by no means sure that he would not join their enemies; but he obeyed their mandate, and

sustained an indecisive conflict with Sertorius, in which two brothers actually fought together, being ignorant of each other's identity, until the one had mortally wounded the other. "Dear brother," exclaimed the shocked and repentant victor, "I knew not it was thou. But since we cannot live united, let us at least die together." Upon this, he slew himself with the same sword, and falling upon his brother's dead body, both were burned on the same funeral pyre.

The Consuls authorised Metellus, a son of Numidicus, to make peace with the Samnites, and march to their assistance; but the Samnites believing that none of their demands could now be denied them, claimed the Roman franchise for all their Allies as well as for themselves, and refused his advances. Whilst Metellus demurred, Marius offered to guarantee their terms, and they joined him. Metellus, therefore, was obliged to leave his army in its defensive position, and return to Rome alone. Unfortunately he did not assume the command, and the Consuls Octavius and Merula being unwarlike and inactive men, the city began to suffer from famine. The army of Cn. Pompey being the only obstacle to the complete success of Cinna, he plotted that General's death and the seduction of his troops. But Cneius's son, afterwards Pompey the Great, having discovered Cinna's design, placed guards around the Prætorium, in which his father's tent was situated, and upon meeting some of the soldiers as they were approaching one of the gates, in order to desert from the camp, he laid himself down across the entrance, and swore that they should not pass, excepting over his dead body.

Young Pompey, ere long, secured the affections and fidelity of the troops, by his filial piety, gallantry, and eloquence; and he would soon have made himself a formidable adversary to Cinna, had not pestilence broken out in his camp, and his father been destroyed by lightning, which the troops believed to be a punishment from the gods for his many iniquities. They gave the body no burial, but dragged it with iron hooks through the city, and cast it, as that of a malefactor, into the Tiber.

Metellus was now at the head of the Senatorial army, but as he could make no impression on the host opposed to him, Latium was overrun, and awfully desolated

The Roman citizens consulted their own safety, by deserting to Cinna. The Senators had no alternative but to make the best terms they could, and they sent ambassadors to treat with him. He asked whether they addressed themselves to him as Consul, or merely as a General at the head of a besieging army. The Senators were sadly perplexed what to answer; but Merula immediately resigned, in order to relieve them from their difficulty, and bade them acknowledge Cinna. He was therefore addressed as Consul, and besought to spare the lives of his countrymen. His answer was, that he had no thirst for blood, and that he would advise Octavius to retire. Marius stood by him with a grim malignant smile, and uttered not a word. Cinna marched into the Forum without opposition, whilst Marius, in old weather-beaten garments, unshaved and uncombed, halted scornfully at the gate, and refused to advance, because he was a banished man. Cinna assembled the Tribes to repeal his sentence, but after three of them had voted what none of them had the power to refuse, Marius grew tired of the farce, and entered surrounded by his ferocious guard, called "Marians," or Bardizæans, who had orders to slay every person they met, whose salute he did not return. The Prætor was killed in the Temple on the Capitol. Octavius, the Consul, was slain in his Curule chair. Catulus, whom Marius had never forgiven for triumphing over the Cymbri, suffocated himself with the fumes of charcoal. Merula, who was the Flamen of Jupiter, an honourable, and according to heathen notions, a religious man, breathed his last clad in his priestly robes. He seated himself in the portico of the Capitoline Temple, and took off his flame-coloured cap, in which it was not lawful for him to die. He then calmly opened his veins, and when sinking from weakness, staggered to the altar of Jupiter, and sprinkled it with his blood. Rousing himself for a last effort, he invoked vengeance on his enemies, and retiring to his Pontifical chair, he then expired. All who were obnoxious to Marius, half the Senators, and all the friends of Sylla, were put to death without mercy. Metella, Sylla's wife, who was the daughter of Numidicus, was doomed with her children, but they escaped. Marius seized Sylla's house, proscribed his person, and confiscated his property.

The Marian guards, the greater part of whom had once been slaves, revenged not only their master's wrongs, but their own, so that the vicinity of Rome became deluged with blood. Sertorius and Cinna, not able to endure their wholesale and useless massacres, fell upon them with a detachment in the night, when they were stupified with wine, and cut them off.

Many of the unfortunates proscribed by Marius, were betrayed by their intimate friends out of fear or for the sake of gain. Among the few exceptions, was Cornutus, a Roman who was much beloved by his slaves. He was pursued to his house in the country, and the soldiers killed some of his people before they could effect an entrance. His slaves meanwhile secreted him, and took up the body of one of their newly murdered companions, which they dressed in his clothes, and hung up in his house. They presented this to the soldiers as their master, and in proof showed the gold ring which they had placed upon his finger. The soldiers being deceived, the slaves buried the body with great solemnity, and conveyed their master into Gaul.

Marcus Antonius, the first prator of his day, and grandfather to Mark Antony, of whose history you will presently hear, fled to the house of a friend, who concealed him with the most affectionate fidelity. At the same time, as he felt much honoured by his presence, he incurred unusual expenses to entertain him. He procured for him the best wines from a *taberna*, or tavern near; and the landlord, being astonished at the fastidiousness of the servant who tasted the wines, asked him why he was so particular as to its quality. The servant confided to him the secret of M. Antonius being his master's guest, upon which the perfidious landlord hastened to Marius, and informed him that he could deliver his enemy into his hands. Marius sent the Tribune Annius with a guard to destroy him, and as Antonius was supping in an upper room, the soldiers were obliged to climb to it by ladders and enter at the windows. All the company were unarmed. When Antonius saw that he was discovered, he entreated the soldiers to spare his life, and used such moving terms, that their rough hearts melted, and they refused to touch him. Annius, im-

patient at their delay, mounted to ascertain the cause, and when he saw them leaning on their swords listening to Antonius, he reproached them with an oath, and himself struck off Antonius's head. Marius received it with savage exultation, and fixed it on a pole before the Rostra. Cicero says that Antonius was the most eloquent man Rome ever produced, equal to the best Grecian orators in his expressive language and wonderful powers of persuasion.

After the Marian, or Bardicæan guards had been murdered, it was necessary to propitiate Marius for their loss; Cinna, therefore, nominated him to be joint Consul for the ensuing year, and Marius's prophecy was fulfilled. He was in very deed again Consul, and he was the only Roman who ever enjoyed the Consulship seven times. Though seventy years of age, he was as cruel and vindictive as ever. The very day he entered upon his office, he caused a Senator to be precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock, and he added two Prætors to the list of the proscribed.

The Senate now received letters from Sylla, which threw Marius into the greatest agitation. Sylla enumerated a brilliant list of victories over Mithridates, and added, "For these and others, Conscript Fathers, you have rewarded me by setting a price upon my head, burning my house, and confiscating my property. Expect me and my conquering legions at the gates of Rome, to take vengeance upon you and all my enemies." Marius was conscious that he should be the first sacrifice, and that he could not contend with Sylla. He fancied he heard voices telling him that the den of a lion, though distant, was to be dreaded. He knew that he was hated, and began to talk sentimentally about men not trusting too much to the constancy of fortune. He strove to drown thought in excessive drinking, which brought on a madness called *delirium tremens*, in which he fancied he was fighting Mithridates; and on the seventeenth day after taking office he expired, thus relieving his distracted country from the odium of his presence and the dread of his power.

There were many marble statues of Marius in Italy, but they are all now destroyed. Plutarch, who saw one

at Ravenna, says that the features were coarse and the expression fierce and stern. The only likeness which exists of him is one on a glass antique, preserved in one of the European museums.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XXXI.

DURING the ascendancy of Marius before the Social War, tumults were caused by the extortion and rapacity of the Roman Equestrian Usurers, or Publicani. Q. Mutius Scævola, Proconsul in Pergamus, being a just and upright man, could not endure the scenes that occurred in his province, and he remedied them with a strong hand. He convicted, fined, and imprisoned the extortioners brought before his tribunal, made all the Knights responsible for the money they received, and appointed officers to examine their accounts. Several other Governors imitated his example, and when he departed from his province, the grateful Asiatics instituted an annual festival in his honour named "Mutia." The Equites at Rome dared not revenge themselves upon him, but they denounced and condemned his principal agent, the Legate P. Rutilius Rufus, whom they could not forgive because he was of their own order. Rutilius exiled himself to Smyrna, and was so much esteemed there, that when his sentence was repealed he did not choose to return to Rome.

Shortly after these events, the Prætor Urbanus, A. Sempronius Asellio, was murdered by the Equites before the altar of Castor and Pollux, because he defended some wretched debtors by reminding the Publicani of the laws which limited interest. This flagrant crime brought its own chastisement. The Tribune Plautius deprived the Equites of the power of judging, which had so lately been confided to them, and transferred it to a body of men who constituted a separate court, and who consisted of persons of known probity, chosen out of each Plebeian Tribe.\*

About this time, the magnificent and witty Licinius Crassus was prosecuted by the Censor Domitius Ahen-

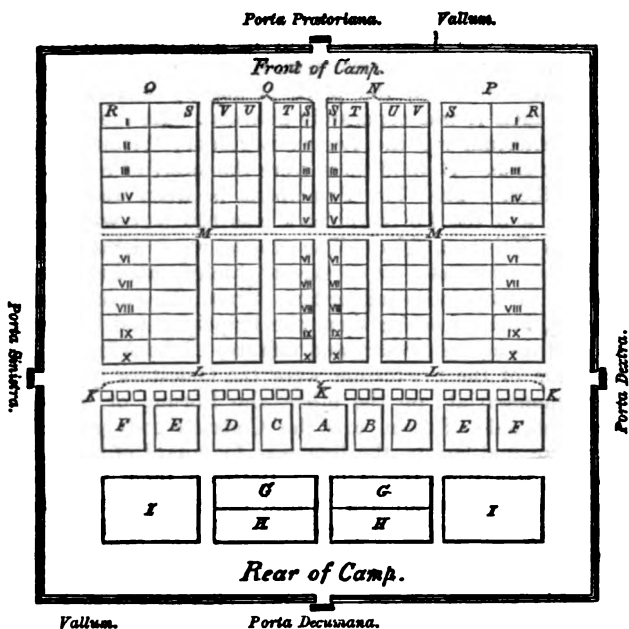
\* Each Tribe was to furnish fifteen.

barbus. He accused Crassus of an effeminate love for a kind of eel called "*Muræna*," which Crassus had adorned with jewels whilst it lived, and had wept over when it died, putting on mourning, and erecting to it a tomb. Crassus said, "It is true that I grieved for the tame and favourite fish, which used to come at my call and eat out of my hand; but I did not consider it an example dangerous to public manners, nor did I think it would shock any one, excepting *Ahenobarbus*, who has buried three wives without a tear. His title," he continued, "is well deserved, for not only is his beard of brass, but his heart is of iron, and his body of lead." Crassus's stately mansion on the Palatine was supported by marble columns, and furnished with tables of curiously wrought bronze, and with silver cups of the most exquisite chiselling.

At the end of Marius's sixth Consulate, the *Ædile*, P. Claudius Pulcher, gave magnificent games to the people, and was the first who had the scenes in the theatre painted. This was done so naturally that the birds are said to have alighted on the mimic roofs of the houses, and to have attempted to perch on the branches of the trees. Many schoolmasters were expelled by the Censors as insufficient for their important occupation. The Roman nobles who used formerly to be educated in Etruria, were now instructed by Greek professors and masters of arts and sciences at home.

The civil wars of this disastrous period destroyed the Patrician order. Pliny tells us that until the Marsian war, two myrtles, the one Patrician and the other Plebeian, both green and vigorous, grew before the ancient Temple of Quirinus, but that after that event the Patrician myrtle drooped and withered away, whilst the other increased in strength upon its decay.

The army was henceforward more generally reckoned by Cohorts than by Legions, and a Cohort consisted of 420 men. The engraving on the following page gives the form and different parts of a Roman Camp. The outlines of several still remain in Great Britain. Amongst the most perfect are those of Ham, near Yeovil, in Somersetshire, where the very rings are still to be seen in the stones to which the horses were tethered; and of Ardoch, near Dunblane, in Perthshire, where the ridges of the outer walls are still formidable barriers.



A ROMAN CAMP.

**A** Prætorium, 200 feet square.  
**B** Quæstor.  
**C** Forum.  
**D** Ally horse.  
**E** Volunteers.  
**F** Select Ally Infantry.  
**G** " Cavalry.  
**H** " Infantry.  
**I** Foreigners.  
**K** Tents and baggage of the twelve Legionary Tribunes and twelve Prefects.

**L** Via Principalia.  
**M** Via Quintana.  
**N** First Roman Legion.  
**O** Second Roman Legion.  
**P** Right wing of Allies.  
**Q** Left wing of Allies.  
**R** Foot Cohorts.  
**S** Horse Turma.  
**T** Triarii.  
**U** Principes.  
**V** Hastati.

A perfect camp was square, with one gate or entrance at each side. That to the north was called Porta Prætoriana, to the south Porta Decumana, to the east Porta Dextra, and to the west Porta Sinistra. After the ground had been chosen, the first step was to select the most suitable spot for commanding a view of the whole



encampment, and sending out orders to the different divisions. Here the standard was planted, and a square of 200 feet was measured about it, and considered holy ground. It was the *Prætorium*, the abode of the *Prætor*, or General-in-chief, the place of augury and sacrifice, and as such it was separately guarded. At the back of the *Prætorium* lay the twelve *Legionary Tribunes*, six on each side. Beyond them were the twelve *Prefects of the Allies*. The *Via Principalis* between the *Porta Dextra* and the *Porta Sinistra* was 100 feet wide, and the *Via Quintana* fifty. The troops were arranged on each side the main cross street which fronted the *Prætorium* in the following order. First, the cavalry and *Triarii*, back to back; then, the *Principes* and *Hastati*; beyond them, the cavalry and infantry of the *Allies*. On one side of the *Prætorium* were the *Quæstors' quarters*, or *Commissariat*; on the other, the *Forum*, or market. On each side of these was the *Consul's body-guard* of cavalry; and last in the line was his guard of infantry, both chosen from the *Allies*. Between them were the volunteers. The squares behind these were allotted to the extraordinary cavalry and infantry of the *Allies*, and foreign subsidies. The whole camp was surrounded by a rampart of earth, termed *Vallum*, which was surmounted by a barricade, and protected by a deep fosse. Sometimes the camp had three *Valla* and three fosses.

When two *Consular armies* were united the camp formed an oblong square, and had six gates. The prodigious labour bestowed upon the encampments may be judged of by their vestiges remaining in so many places to this day; and one cause of the durability of the Roman dominion consisted in these mimic fortresses being guarded in peace with as much vigilance as in war.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR. SYLLA.

B.C. 87 TO 79. Y.R. 666 TO 674.\*



MITHRAS.

AT the time of Marius's death, Sylla was pursuing a successful war in Greece against the hosts of Mithridates VII., King of Pontus. He had first been despatched against this powerful monarch in the year 660, after

\* Authorities: Univ. History, xiii. ; Livy, Epit. lib. lxxviii.—xc. inclusive; Plutarch in Sylla; Nieb. Lect. vol. i. ; Michelet, Rome, iii. ; Biog. Univ.

Marius's visit to Asia, in order to place Ariobarzanes, an Asiatic nobleman, on the throne of Cappadocia, in the room of Ariarathes, the nephew of Mithridates, whom that ambitious despot had slain.

Mithridates was descended from Artabazes, one of the great Satraps of Persia, in the days of Cyrus. His native kingdom was unconquered by Alexander the Great, and his father, Mithridates VI., had aided the Romans to subdue Aristonicus, the pretender to the throne of Pergamus. In acknowledgment of this service, the Senate had ceded to their Ally, or rather had allowed him to purchase, Paphlagonia;\* and after his death, when the present king was a boy of twelve years old, they resumed the province without even a pretext, and declared it an independent state. Mithridates VII. sent ambassadors to claim redress, but they were unceremoniously dismissed. He then reconquered Paphlagonia, and divided it with Nicomedes of Bithynia. After this he became infected with the lust of dominion, and amongst other violent acts, caused his nephew, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, to be murdered; but not choosing openly to avow that he intended to appropriate this kingdom, he placed the youthful son of Ariarathes on the throne, and proclaimed himself his guardian. Nicomedes disputed the guardianship, and on the death of the young prince set up an impostor; but his fraud being discovered, the Senate promised to confirm and support any native the Cappadocians might select as their sovereign, and they nominated Ariobarzanes. Mithridates, considering himself the lawful heir, deposed Ariobarzanes; but when Sylla appeared on his behalf, bearing the mandate of the Roman Senate, Mithridates suffered him to be reinstated without opposition.

Sylla upon this occasion advanced as far as the Euphrates, which bounded the Parthian Empire westwards, and the powerful monarch Pacorus sent ambassadors to greet him, and to proffer his alliance. Sylla considered himself most fortunate in securing the neutrality, and propitiating the friendship, of so warlike a people as the Parthians. He accepted the king's offer; but at the interview with Oromazes, his ambassador, Sylla ordered

\* Upper Phrygia.

three chairs, or thrones, to be set, and placing Oromazes on his right, and Ariobarzanes on his left, he seated himself in the centre, which was the post of honour. When Oromazes returned to his country, Pacorus beheaded him for suffering his master to be treated as inferior to the Roman General.

Soon after Sylla's return to Italy, Nicomedes of Bithynia died. His natural son, Nicomedes, seized the throne, but found a rival in Socrates Chrestos, the late King's brother, who was supported by both Mithridates and Tigranes, the magnificent King of Armenia. The Senate sent to Mithridates, ordering him to reinstate Nicomedes, as an Ally of Rome, and he complied. The Roman Governors in Asia were much disappointed, for they eagerly desired a pretext to make war on the King of Pontus, in order to enrich themselves with his spoils; and they urged both Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes to trespass upon his dominions, assuring them of Roman support in all their aggressions. Once more, Mithridates condescended to complain, and his envoys were scornfully dismissed. He then took up arms to defend himself, and knew well how to choose his moment, for the Social War was on the point of breaking out, and the Senate could no longer employ the choicest troops of Africa and Europe against him.

The Proconsuls in Asia were overjoyed when hostilities were declared. They joined Nicomedes, and advanced with him towards Pontus, at the head of 120,000 men. Mithridates, in the first encounter, gained a decisive victory, and put Nicomedes to flight. His Generals at the same time defeated, captured, and executed, two of the Proconsuls, M. Aquilius and Q. Appius, and were everywhere successful. Aquilius, in punishment of his avarice, had melted gold poured down his throat.

Mithridates traversed Asia Minor in triumph. The Greek cities opened their gates to him with joy, and as he had received a Grecian education, they welcomed him as one of their own blood. In consequence of his kindness to his prisoners, the inhabitants of the various cities before which he appeared, clothed themselves in white, and went out to meet him as their deliverer from the Roman yoke. All the Roman monuments were pulled down, especially those at Ephesus, which was full of them, and the provinces voluntarily contributed such a

sum of money as sufficed to maintain the Pontian army for five years without taxes. Mithridates, finding that the Romans had made themselves universally detested by their extortions, wrote to the Governors of each Asiatic town, authorising them on a certain day to massacre all the citizens of the Republic who were living amongst them. Accordingly, when the day came, the gates were closed and guarded, the people assembled, and the decree was read. The natives were too glad of such permission to revenge themselves, and 80,000 Romans, including women and children, perished in a few hours by the sword. Rutilius Rufus, who had formerly protected the Asiatics, was allowed to escape. He, and all who were fortunate enough to save themselves, took refuge in Rhodes. This island was the only State which remained faithful to that arrogant Republic whose haughty freemen made all others slaves.

Mithridates attacked Rhodes, but his army being inferior to his adversaries, he was driven back to Pergamus, where he remained for some time. He took the island of Cos, and in it 800 talents of gold, belonging to the Jews, which were intended for the Temple at Jerusalem. There, also, he captured the Prince Alexander of Egypt, who claimed the crown of the Ptolemies. Mithridates was kind to Alexander, and educated him well, but the young Prince ran away afterwards, and placed himself under the protection of Sylla, who made him King of Egypt, over which he nominally reigned for fifteen years.

Whilst Mithridates was at Pergamus, the Samnite Chief, Pompeius Silo, sent to invite him into Italy, asking him for succours, but he unfortunately declined any negotiation, and contented himself with the career of victory which he was then pursuing. His General, Archelaus, was sent into Greece, where the States all gladly received him, and Aristio, an unprincipled philosopher of talent and influence, placed Athens in his hands. The Piræus now received for the first time a Pontic garrison.

Ariarathes, a gallant son of Mithridates, whom he afterwards put to death, having conquered Macedon, Thrace, and all the country near the Euxine Sea, was created by his father King of the tribes he had subdued.

Mithridates, at this time, was Lord Paramount over twenty-five nations, who paid him tribute, and with the Ambassadors of whom he conversed in their own tongues. Amongst them were Rhossani, or Russians. Sylla, at this critical juncture, left Italy, Y.R. 664, and landed with his Legions at Athens. Finding that he could not take that city, he blockaded it, and the resistance and insolence he encountered exasperated him to extremities against a place which his refined tastes would otherwise have spared. He was infuriated because the witty and frivolous people called him, on account of his red-spotted face, "A mulberry sprinkled with flour." They lampooned him and his beloved wife Metella, and jeered at him from the walls. To revenge himself, he cut down the stately Athenian groves of the Academy and Lyceum, and he sacrilegiously plundered the temples of Olympia, Epidaurus, and Delphi, to pay his troops.

At length Athens was reduced to the last extremity by famine, and Sylla overheard some men within the walls blaming Aristio for not strengthening a portion of them which was weak. He examined the spot, and the night following made an attack. The wall fell, and his army made an entry at the breach, and continued to slay until the streets ran with blood, even to the suburbs. Aristio retreated into the Citadel (named Acropolis), and defended himself until his supplies of water were cut off. The garrison then surrendered, and Aristio was slain.

Archelaus still occupied the Piræus, but seeing that the place could not hold out, he sailed away with his garrison, and joined the hosts of Mithridates which were assembled in Thrace. Sylla took possession of the port, levelled its strong walls, and razed its magnificent arsenals. He at the same time gained over Archelaus, and bribed him to become the secret Ally of the Romans, and to betray his master's cause. In consequence of this, the fleet of Mithridates suddenly surrendered to Sylla, in a manner that appeared unaccountable, and Sylla, with a force the smallness of which could not escape remark, boldly marched to attack the Pontic army, commanded by Archelaus, at Chæronea. The Asiatics fled instantaneously, and Dorylaus, who arrived with reinforcements, at once declared their flight to be the work of treachery.

Sylla advanced to Orchomenos. He cut up the plain with trenches, to render it impracticable for the Pontic cavalry, and Archelaus made a feint to drive away his labourers. His troops, struck by a panic, fled on the first charge, and Sylla, mortified to the quick, seized a standard, and galloped with it towards the enemy, crying out, "Soldiers! when you are asked where you abandoned your General, say, fighting at Orchomenos." The men, stung by his reproaches, rallied, and gained a victory, in which 15,000 Asiatics were slain.

Archelaus retreated to Chalcis, and Sylla wintered in Thessaly. Thence he sent that threatening letter which so much alarmed the distracted Senate, and whilst quartered there, all who could escape from Marius and Cinna sought refuge in his camp. He, ere long, boasted of having a Senate collected around him, and believed that it was capable of legalizing all his proceedings.

After Marius's death, Cinna appointed Valerius Flaccus to be his colleague, and dismissed him with an army to supersede Sylla in Thessaly. As Flaccus was no General, Fimbria was associated with him in the capacity of Legate, an officer of distinguished military talents, and not more insubordinate nor more ambitious than the other Roman leaders of that age. Flaccus and Fimbria marched into Bithynia, but before reaching Sylla, they quarrelled. Fimbria, who had the greatest contempt for Flaccus, killed him, and threw his head into the sea, leaving his corpse unburied on the shore. He then usurped the Consular ensigns, and attacking Prince Mithridates, the King's son, pursued him to Pergamus, where the King then resided, and chased both father and son to Pitane.

Lucullus, the Roman Admiral, was stationed with a large fleet in the vicinity, and Fimbria besought him to blockade the harbour, whilst he besieged Pitane by land. This would have finished the war. But Lucullus being the friend of Sylla, was consequently hostile to Fimbria, and would not move his ships. Mithridates's navy had thus time to reach the port, and the King, with his son, were borne off in safety to Mitylene. Pergamus submitted to Fimbria, with all the other cities along the coast, until he arrived at Troy, which shut its gates, and sent

to Sylla for aid. It was a singular sight to see one Roman General fighting against another in Asia. The cause of the Republic had now given place to the quarrels of her officers.

Sylla could not reach Troy in time to afford relief, and the city was taken after eleven days' siege. Its famous Temple of Minerva was burnt, and the Palladium (or victory-giving image of that goddess) was despatched to Rome, and concealed in the Temple of Vesta. Sylla, perceiving that he must, at all hazards, arrest the progress of Fimbria, met Archelaus openly at Delos, and conferred upon him 11,000 acres of land in Chalcia, together with the friendship of the Roman people. He then made him the medium of peace with Mithridates, merely demanding from that monarch seventy ships, a small sum of money, and that he should abandon Paphlagonia (or Upper Phrygia), the original cause of dispute. He, moreover, offered to release all the Pontic prisoners, without requiring the Roman captives in return.

Mithridates gladly agreed to these lenient and favourable terms, wishing only to except the cession of his father's purchased territory, but Sylla who could not ask less, heard with indignation of any objections being offered. "Does he forget," he said, "that I leave him free *that* hand with which he signed the death-warrant of 80,000 Romans?" The two potentates met at Dardanos, where the peace was signed. Sylla immediately marched against Fimbria to Thyatira. The troops of this General, weary of his cruelty, deserted in masses, and he was obliged to retire to Pergamus, where, in despair at finding his numbers daily diminish, he stabbed himself. Sylla buried his body, joyfully received his men, and punished with a fiend-like system of oppression all the Asiatic cities which had thrown off the Roman yoke. He imposed upon them a fine of 20,000 talents, which he well knew to be beyond their means of payment. This was discharged for them by his own rich Equites, who were authorised to levy the money from the beggared provinces, and to distress them with an additional interest of thirty-six or forty-eight per cent. Sylla quartered his rapacious troops upon the unfortunate citizens, and made the landlords pay them so much per



day for their detested company. Each private was to receive sixteen Denarii daily, and each officer fifty.

Meanwhile Cinna, who continued Consul, marched towards the coast, intending to cross the Adriatic, and give Sylla battle in Dalmatia. He had reached Ariminum, and was making preparations for his passage, when the troops mutinied, and in the tumult he was slain. When this occurred, Sylla had advanced to Dyrrachium, on the opposite shore. Here he halted, and required his men to renew their military oaths, for he dreaded otherwise to venture into Italy, lest his Legions should desert him and join the lawful Consuls. He needed not have felt either doubt or fear. The soldiers crowded round his standard with enthusiasm, and not only swore to follow him, but offered him all their Asiatic spoil, should he require money to carry on the war, certain of fresh victories and fresh booty wherever he should lead. He no longer hesitated, but leaving the affairs of Asia and the troops of Fimbria under the charge of Lucullus and Muræna, he trusted himself upon the waters, and landed safely at Tarentum. He had only 30,000 men to compete in rebellious warfare with the 200,000 of the new Consuls, Norbanus and Scipio. But Sylla did not know fear. He was promptly joined by Metellus Pius, and soon after by young Pompey, who had raised five Legions amongst his own clients in Picenum, and who defeated three armies before he could reach the Cornelian camp. Pompey was then only three-and-twenty, and Sylla was so charmed with his gallantry and timely aid, that he rose up on his entrance, and saluted him, "Imperator," the youngest man to whom that salutation had ever yet been given.

The joint armies advanced upon Capua, and sustained a successful engagement with Norbanus. Sylla concluded a truce with the other Consul Scipio, and during its continuance, bribed and seduced his troops, received his infamous Quæstor Verres, who deserted with the military chest, and finally took prisoners the astonished Scipio and his son. The soldiers having all forsaken them, they were left alone in an empty camp, whence Sylla dismissed them unhurt. When Papirius Carbo, the Proconsul, who was commanding in Cisalpine Gaul, heard

of this, he said, "We have now both a fox and a lion to contend with, but the fox is the worse of the two."

Carbo hastened to Rome, and after procuring his re-election to the Consulate, proposed young Caius Marius, not yet twenty years old, to be his colleague, and forced him to accept the office, though unwilling. Sertorius, the personal enemy of Sylla, was despatched to secure Spain. The Gauls, Etruscans, Latins, and Samnites, were regarded as faithful to the Marian party. The great body of the Allies however, Marsi, Campanians, Piceni, &c., embraced the cause of Sylla.

The Consuls placed Rome in a state of defence, and having convoked the Senators, they, with barbarous cunning, seized and executed all who were known to favour the opposite faction. Carbo marched into central Italy, and young Marius joined the Samnites under Pontius Telesinus, and endeavoured to block up Sylla in Campania. Sylla, upon learning the massacre of his friends, delayed not a moment his march towards Rome. He met Marius near Signia, and after a bloody battle, gave him a complete defeat. Marius's army fled to Præneste, and Sylla's men were so close at their heels, that the Prænestines shut their gates, lest the victors should enter along with the vanquished. The youthful Consul himself was only saved by being drawn up into the city in a basket let down by ropes from the walls. As Sylla besieged Præneste, Carbo advanced to relieve it, but being checked, he retreated upon Clusium, and soon after fled into Africa, and abandoned his troops, who joined Sylla.

Telesinus and the Samnites endeavoured to break the blockade, which was already causing famine in Præneste. Sylla lay before them, and Pompey suddenly appeared with his Legions in their rear, so that Telesinus was supposed to be entrapped. This able General, however, outwitted his adversaries, by changing his line of march, and to their consternation, he suddenly appeared pouring down upon Rome. Had he instantly attacked the walls, they could not have resisted, and Rome would have been destroyed. But though he had vowed her overthrow, and said that there never could be peace in Italy whilst the wolf's lair existed, he stopped short of the city to rest his men, and thus the destined mistress of the world was once more saved.

Appius Claudius had time to marshal the Knights and Senators, and was killed fighting at their head. Whilst they were keeping the enemy at bay, Sylla's cavalry appeared, and fiercely sustained the action. Sylla himself hastened to the spot with incredible celerity. He only allowed his army two hours' rest after their fatiguing march, and engaged the Samnites with the energy of despair. It was a struggle for life or death, triumph or ruin. Sylla, being driven back with the left wing, believed the day to be lost. But his Legate, M. Licinius Crassus (afterwards the celebrated Triumvir, and proverbial for his riches), was victorious with the right wing; and when Telesinus appeared cheering on his Samnites to burst open the gates, and level the hated city, Crassus, with flushed Legions, opposed his progress, forced him to recommence the struggle, and ere long laid him with the dead.

When the Samnites knew that their gallant leader was slain, they dispersed on all sides, and Crassus sent to Sylla, desiring that he would advance and complete the victory. Sylla surrounded a large body of retreating Samnites, and promised them their lives, if they would merit the favour by killing their companions. Eight thousand were induced to accept the terms, and afterwards surrendered their arms. Sylla confined them in the Villa Publica, and assembled the Senate close to it, in the Temple of Bellona. Here, whilst he made the Fathers a tiresome speech, setting forth his great services in his own cause, their attention was distracted by the most harrowing cries and groans in their vicinity. "Attend to my discourse," shouted Sylla, "and not to that noise. It is only a few malefactors whom I have ordered to be punished." It was the 8000 unarmed Samnites, whom he had commanded his soldiers to slaughter in cold blood.

Præneste, hopeless of succour, surrendered to Sylla's Legate, Lucretius Ofella, and 12,000 of the inhabitants were deliberately murdered. Præneste has ever since been in ruins. Palestrina, with 6000 inhabitants, only occupies the space of its ancient citadel, and magnificent Temple of Fortune. Young Marius attempted to escape by a mine, but finding the exit guarded, he perished by his own hands. Sylla buried him in the Forum as a

Roman Consul, and with him ceased all effectual opposition; for the war, though not ended, languished in all quarters, and no enemy was sufficiently powerful to cause further anxiety.

Sylla's adversaries being now prostrate, as an all-powerful victor, he entered the Comitium, and announced the fearful sentence: "Not one shall live who has ever opposed me." Scenes of massacre worse than war, followed this declaration, and the Romans found themselves oppressed by a tyranny tenfold more fearful than had ever been exercised upon them in the worst days of their worst King. Sylla daily condemned fresh offenders to death, obnoxious often from mere caprice. No one was surprised that his personal enemies should be doomed, but he proscribed many, merely because they were rich or influential, or because they were not friendly to his partizans.

Catiline, an infamous noble, of whom we shall hear more hereafter, murdered his brother, and asked Sylla to legalise the crime, by adding his name to the list of the proscribed. His request being complied with, he was ever after one of Sylla's most active agents.

Q. Aurelius, a rich citizen of Alba, going one day to read the Lists written up in the Forum, saw his own name. "Alas!" he cried, "my beautiful Villa has ruined me." He was killed a few minutes afterwards. Caius Metellus, though young, stood up in the Senate, and said, "Sylla, we intercede not for those whom you judge guilty, but we entreat you to deliver from suspense those whom you permit to live." Sylla answered, "I have not decided who shall live." "Then," cried Metellus, "publish the lists of those who are to die." Sylla wrote out the names of eighty persons. The next day he added 220, and the day afterwards 220 more; and he continued adding names, until forty Senators, and 1600 Knights, had been condemned. Altogether 9000 souls are said to have perished in his proscriptions. He commanded the trembling Senate to appoint a Dictator, who should rule until Italy was thoroughly reorganised, and he offered himself for the office, well aware that he could not be refused.

In P. R. 671, Sylla was proclaimed perpetual Dictator. He confiscated all the estates of the proscribed, and sold

them for nothing, in comparison of their value; and he presided in person at the sales, in order to bestow them on his favourites. Others he conferred upon actors, dancing and singing women, and licentious characters, to whom the public weal was perfectly indifferent, but who contributed to his amusement. Some of these were contemptible buffoons, whom he obliged women of quality to marry. The children of the proscribed he degraded from their rank, and declared for ever incapable of any public office.

Sylla subdued the cities of Etruria, which had espoused the cause of Marius, one by one; dismantling them all, and razing their strong walls. Volterra resisted him courageously for two years. Near the ruined Fiesole, he founded the colony of Florentia, now Florence. He ravaged Latium, took Nola from the Samnites, and completely subdued and desolated Samnium.

Pompey, meanwhile, was successful in the recovery of Sicily. Finding it almost impossible to restrain his soldiers from rapine, he sealed up their swords in their scabbards, and punished those whose seals, upon examination, were found to be broken. He made afterwards a brilliant campaign in Africa, where he defeated Ahenobarbus, and killed his ally Hiarbas, King of Numidia. Sylla becoming jealous of his rapid victories, suddenly recalled him. Pompey obeyed the command, though at the risk of a mutiny in the army. Sylla was so highly gratified by his submission, that when he returned to Rome, he received him with marked distinction, and went out himself to meet him. He granted him a triumph, though only twenty-four years old, and saluted him by the title of "Magnus," or Great. Pompey was the first who triumphed being only a Knight. His want of rank was objected to by Sylla, but he boldly answered, "My services deserve a triumph, and should Sylla refuse, I will appeal to the people. They will grant it, for more adore the rising than the setting sun." Sylla, thunderstruck at the audacity of this speech, considered it as inspired, and exclaimed, "Then let him triumph in the name of the gods."

Sylla never appeared in public without twenty-four Lictors, and appointed for himself a guard of 10,000 freed slaves, whom he named from his own gens "Cornelii."

Livy tells us that he dispersed over Italy forty-nine Legions of his soldiers, not only bestowing upon them the forfeited lands of his adversaries, but depriving of their property the innocent and peaceable, wherever the guilty had not afforded him space sufficient. In many cases the rightful lords of the soil farmed these lands from the rapacious soldiers, and bought them back again after military improvidence had plunged these men of all Tribes and nations into debt.

Sylla partly redeemed his tyranny by many excellent laws which he caused to be strictly observed. He reduced the Tribunes to their pristine insignificance, and declared them incapable of holding any other office. He filled up the Senate to its proper number from the Equestrian order, and ordained that no man should be Consul unless he had first been both Quæstor or Prætor. Lucretius Ofella, the conqueror of Præneste, venturing to transgress this law, Sylla, notwithstanding his great services, had him put to death, and sternly told the people that it was done by his command. He related to them the fable of a countryman, who, observing vermin on his coat, twice took it off and shook it, but when he saw them the third time, he threw it into the fire. "You," he added, "who have been twice conquered, take warning, and see that you provoke me not a third time."

He decreed himself a triumph of two days for his victories in Asia, and displayed a dazzling quantity of gold, silver, and precious spoils. He assumed the title of "Felix," or Fortunate, and informed the Romans that he was under the peculiar protection of the goddess Fortune, and that he should be prosperous until his death.

After having destroyed 100,000 Italians, and been Dictator for three years, it pleased Sylla to assemble the people in the Forum, and there to resign his dignity. He despoiled himself of his Consular robes, and descended from the Rostra a private man. Well did he know that his enemies were in their graves, and that his forty-seven Legions, and 10,000 Cornelians, made his power irresistible. He walked home to his palace, and one young man, probably weary of life, ventured to follow and curse him. Sylla said to his attendants, "This will teach another not to part with his authority so readily."

He retired to a luxurious villa at Cumæ, where he passed his days in writing his memoirs, and in effeminate amusements. From this place he issued his commands, when he chose to interfere with the provincial legislatures. He was presently attacked by a loathsome and incurable disease called "*morbus pedicularis*," vermin swarming over his body. Whilst in this state, he was informed that Granius, the Prefect of Puteoli, would not settle his accounts, hoping for Sylla's death. The ex-Dictator, infuriated at his presumption, had Granius conducted before him, and strangled him by his bedside. But the excitement caused the bursting of a blood-vessel, and the haughty, imperious Sylla fell back a corpse.

Sylla's influence could not cease with his death, for Italy was filled with his adherents. Lepidus the Consul, who hated him, vainly wished to prevent public honours from being paid to his remains. Pompey easily obtained a vote of the Senate, not only for his honourable interment, but for his burial in the Campus Martius, where none had been laid since the days of the Kings. His body was conveyed in state to Rome, the Senators, Knights, Vestals, and Pontiffs, came out to meet it, and placed it on a golden bier. The next day they formed in procession, and conducted it to the grave, all joining in a solemn hymn. Hundreds of his own Legionaries flocked from all parts of Italy to attend, and mourned him with real sorrow. He had ordered himself to be burned and not buried, according to the custom of the Cornelii, and a magnificent pile of aromatics was raised for him, upon which the corpse was laid. His felicity attended him even to the last, for when placed upon the pyre, a sudden breeze sprung up which quickened the flame, and when the body was consumed, the heavy threatening clouds which until then had only lowered, dissolved in rain. Two hundred and sixty baskets of spices, and 1600 crowns of gold, were offered at his tomb by the Roman ladies. A splendid monument was raised over his ashes, and an epitaph, written by himself, was engraved upon it, purporting that "no man had ever done so much good to his friends, or so much evil to his foes."

Revenge and power were the cherished attributes of his heathen soul. His most praiseworthy act was a sin-

cere attempt to restore the ancient authority of the Senate, though it may be doubted how far he would have submitted to that authority, had it ever been exercised against himself. Sylla died at the age of sixty.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XXXII.

SYLLA was a stern and able ruler, a distinguished general, and a refined scholar, but a proud, vain, and tyrannical man. His better nature became brutified by prosperity, and "in the two great elements of moral worth, sympathy with the feelings, and respect for the rights of others, he was essentially deficient."\* He had red hair, green eyes, and a florid, discoloured, spotted face, which provoked the ridicule of the Athenians. His name, "Sylla," meant the "purple-coloured." In addition to the affront which the Athenians offered to himself when they called him a mulberry, they spoke lightly of his wife Metella. This lady was a widow, and he divorced another wife in order to marry her. Divorce had now become very common amongst the degenerate Roman nobles, they having abolished the tremendous ceremonies which formerly made it so difficult. A man had now merely to give his wife a writing, putting her away, and both parties were at liberty to re-marry. Sylla loved Metella, and yet when she was dying of an infectious fever in his house, he divorced her, that she might be carried out and die elsewhere.

He was extravagantly fond of shows and pageants, and his favourite companions were actors and actresses. At his public feasts as Triumpher, every Roman citizen was welcomed to the entertainment, and yet the provisions were so abundant that quantities were thrown into the Tiber. Delicacies of every description abounded, and the wine provided was forty years old. He amused the people with the agonies of multitudes of gladiators, and he procured so many actors from Greece that the Olympic games could not be supplied, and were stopped for that year.

\* Macaulay.



At the gladiatorial shows, the seats of the men and women were not separated, and at a "Ludus Gladiatorium," Valeria, a beautiful woman, came behind him and rubbed some nap off his cloak. He asked what she meant, and she said, "Merely to benefit herself by rubbing against one who had always been so fortunate." Sylla made her acquaintance, and soon after married her. She was his fifth wife, and had a child born after his death, who was in consequence named *Posthumus*.

Sylla had an excellent library, having captured during the Asiatic war the libraries of Aristotle and Theophrastus. He was as superstitious as Marius, and like him interpreted every omen for his own benefit. When he spoiled the Temple of Delphi, he was told that Apollo threatened him in angry music. He answered, "Do you not know that Apollo's music testifies his approbation?" When opposed to Mithridates, he made a Chaldean predict to him a life of prosperity. When he landed at Tarentum, he declared that he saw the figure of Victory impressed on the liver of the sacrifice, by which he inquired of the gods; and when, in an agony of shame, he had to retreat before Telesinus, and felt his horse wounded, he pulled a golden figure of Apollo from his breast, and solemnly placed himself and Rome under that deity's protection.

When Carbo and young Marius were raising new Legions to replace those which had deserted to Sylla, they were distressed for money to pay their troops, and the Senate permitted them to use the treasures accumulated in the Capitoline Temple. Much of this gold was transferred to Præneste, and on the capture of that city it was all taken back again, and replaced by Sylla. The burning of the temple, immediately after the removal of the gold, he probably considered as a token of anger from the gods. He rebuilt the sacred edifice of the same form as before, but adorned it with increased splendour. He did not, however, live to perfect his work.

Many of the Sibylline books having been destroyed, he sent to Cumæ, Ilium, Samos, and wherever Sibylline oracles of renown were kept, to endeavour to replace them. He also collected all those Sibylline prophecies which were most esteemed over Asia Minor. Authors enumerate fourteen Sibyls, or priestly women, who at

different epochs wandered from place to place uttering prophecies, and writing them on palm-leaves, in verse. The Cumæan and the Erythræan were the most revered. The Sibyls and the prophets of the Old Testament are painted alternately on the roof of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican at Rome, which has shocked many English travellers, who did not know that the early Christians imitated the Sibylline books. They composed and propagated prophecies of the Messiah under the names of the ancient Sibyls, and these became current amongst the heathen, as the testimony of their own Seers to the great Deliverer who was to come.\*

In consequence of Sylla considering himself the favoured votary of the goddess Fortune, he named the two children he had by Metella, Faustus and Fausta,—Fortunate and Happy. Sylla's cruelty to the proscribed often resembled madness. He rejoiced to hear of their torments; he was pleased to look at their bloody heads, and he murdered those who dared to pity them. In some instances, wives refused to secrete their own husbands; and Mutillus being turned away from his house by his wife, killed himself, and sprinkled her door with his blood. One of Sylla's oldest acquaintances pleaded early intimacy to save himself, and reminded him of the days when they lived in the same house, Sylla paying 2000 sesterces for the upper floor, and he 3000 for the lower; but early memories had lost their power to soften.

Cicero fled to Athens, because he feared proscription for pleading the cause of Roscius against a client of the Dictator's. Roscius was the father of the great actor, who was Sylla's favourite friend. The celebrated Julius Cæsar was proscribed at the age of seventeen, because he refused to divorce his young wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. He saved himself by taking refuge with the Sabines. The following year (672) he was pardoned, but he prudently retired into Asia Propria and Bithynia. Many persons represented that Cæsar was too young to be dangerous. "Think you so?" said Sylla; "in my opinion that young man is worse than many Mariuses." Pompey, notwithstanding his distinguished merits, would

\* Names of the Sibyls: Erythræ, Cumæ, Samos, Egypt, Libya, Sardinia, Cumæ in Æolia, Judea, Persia, Delphi, Marpessa, Ancyra, Tiburtine named Albunea, Tuscan named Bygoë.

have shared the same fate with Cæsar, had he not divorced his wife, and married, as he was commanded, Æmilia, the daughter of Metella.

Catiline, after murdering one of the proscribed, and carrying his head to Sylla, excited horror by washing his bloody hands in the holy water of Apollo's Temple. The temples had vessels filled with water at their gates, in which those who entered dipped their hands by way of purification. This water was occasionally sprinkled on the worshippers, and was considered holy. An exclusion from it was with the Greeks held tantamount to excommunication.

Sylla's house had dungeons in it, and these were filled with the proscribed, of whom he executed a certain number daily. Those who assembled in his lofty halls, hated and trembled at his tyranny, but ventured not to reprehend it. Youths of noble birth and political importance sought admittance there, as an introduction to distinguished society. Amongst this number, was young Porcius Cato, son of the General who was shot at Lake Fucinus. He asked his guardian, Sarpedon, why a man so generally abhorred as Sylla was not assassinated. "Because," answered Sarpedon, "men fear still more than they hate him." "Give me a sword, then," exclaimed Cato, "and I will kill him, for I am not afraid of him." His Mentor seldom afterwards took him to the house.

Sylla's favourite seal was an engraved stone, representing himself in the act of capturing Jugurtha, and he used it to the end of his life.

At the moment when he sailed from Italy, to commence his Asiatic war, King Mithridates was in the theatre at Pergamus, and the people were lowering a statue of Victory, with a crown in its hands, to place upon his head. As it reached him, the crown fell to the ground, and was dashed to pieces, an omen that struck all present with horror.

The name "Mithridates" was common to the kings of Pontus. From the earliest times, it was the Eastern custom for kings and queens to assume a throne, or regal name, besides their own. "Cleopatra" was the designation adopted by the Greek queens of Egypt, and "Ptolemy" by the kings. Nicomedes was assumed by the sovereigns of Bithynia; Ariarathes, by those of Cappadocia, &c.

Before any of these high personages conferred with each other, they were searched, to see if they concealed arms about their persons ; and Mithridates, when he murdered his nephew Ariarathes, had escaped detection by joking with the officer who searched him, so as to prevent him from feeling all the folds of his royal mantle.

After the death of Ariarathes, Nicomedes set up an impostor to the throne, who pretended to be the late king's son. Laodice, the widowed queen, out of hatred to her brother Mithridates, went to Rome, and swore that the impostor was her eldest child. How unlike the truth and courage of Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi ! Laodice's falsehood and malignity were exposed, and she was justly punished by seeing the throne taken from her family.

When Sylla defeated the Asiatic hosts at Chæronea, the chariots of Mithridates, armed with scythes, were so pent up for want of room that they could not act ; and the Romans laughed at their conductors, bidding them bring fresh ones, or return to their starting-posts, and take a better run, as if they had been show-chariots contending for victory in the Circus at Rome.

A loud shrill noise, like the blast of a trumpet, was heard throughout Etruria in the year 666, soon after Marius's death, and was interpreted by the Augurs to announce that the day of Etruria was over, and that she had ceased to exist as an independent nation. Sylla's destruction of her cities immediately after appeared to verify this prophecy, which perhaps had some influence upon its own accomplishment. The Romans about this period interfered much with the affairs of Egypt. Ptolemy Physcon was murdered in x.c. 657, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Lathyrus, in conjunction with the younger Cleopatra. Physcon left his kingdom of Cyrene to his natural son Apion, who, after a mild and prudent reign of twenty-one years, died, and bequeathed it to the Romans. They formed it into the province of Pentapolis ; and imposing a moderate tribute, left the people to govern themselves. Two Africans contested the vacant throne ; but being feebly supported, Lucullus, the Legate of Sylla, easily subdued them, and Cyrene was restored to tranquillity.

Lucullus solicited aid from Lathyrus whilst Sylla was

besieging Athens; but Lathyrus excused himself with much courtesy from mingling in the contest, and presented Lucullus with an emerald cameo, upon which his head was cut in relief. There exists a similar emerald, with an antique head carved upon it, in the possession of the Bavarian Baron de Palm. It is nearly the size of half-a-crown, and valued at 1000*l*.

When Lathyrus died, he was succeeded by Cleopatra, his daughter; but her cousin, the young Prince Alexander, whom Mithridates had captured in Cos, considered himself the heir; and Sylla, under whose protection he placed himself, seated him upon the throne of Egypt. Ptolemy Alexander, to secure his power, married Queen Cleopatra; and nineteen days after assassinated her, and reigned alone.

The history of the East had long been a disgusting catalogue of murders, treasons, and family tragedies. A sweltering mass of corruption, which portended inevitable dissolution. When men cease to be moral agents, they cease to be capable of firm or lasting government. In such a disorganised state of society even their most brilliant actions, being destitute of principle, have but a faint interest for the virtuous and just.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

**SERTORIUS. SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR UNDER  
LUCULLUS. GLADIATORIAL WAR.**

**B.C. 79 TO 71. Y.R. 674 TO 682.\***



**GLADIATORS.**

No sooner was Sylla in his grave than Lepidus the Consul proposed to recall the proscribed, and endeavoured to overthrow all the late reforms. Catulus, who was second Consul, the friend of Sylla, resisted him, in consequence of which the contentions between the Consuls

\* Authorities: Univ. Hist. xiii.-ix., &c.; Plutarch in Sertorius and Lucull.; Livy, Epit. lib. xciii.-xvii.; Michelet, Rom. iii.; Nieb. Lect. vol. ii.

became so sharp, that the Senate was necessitated to make them swear not to take up arms against each other.

To deliver themselves from Lepidus, the Conscript Fathers ordered him to his province of Narbonensian Gaul. He obeyed so far as to depart from Rome, but he never advanced beyond Etruria; and he persuaded M. Junius Brutus, Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul, to support him in his efforts to overthrow the absolutism of the opposite faction. Lepidus unexpectedly appeared with his forces before Rome, and threatened to extort for himself a re-election to the Consulate; but Catulus, aided by Pompey, drove him away, and dispersed his army. He retired to Sardinia, where he died of a broken heart. Pompey rapidly advanced upon Mutina, and surprised M. J. Brutus, who, not being prepared to resist him, surrendered upon terms, and joined Pompey with all his troops. Pompey forgave the rebels, but with infamous perfidy put Brutus to death, without trial, as soon as he had him in his power. This Brutus was father to the celebrated M. Brutus the conspirator, who upon this account, for a long series of years, hated and avoided Pompey as the murderer of his father.

Pompey returned to Rome, and remained without the gates, disregarding all orders to disband his Legions, because he was resolved to transport them into Spain, if he could obtain the command there against Sertorius, who still supported in that country the interests of Marius and Cinna. Sertorius had never submitted to Sylla as Dictator of Rome, nor to any of the Consuls who succeeded him. He was one of the bravest and noblest military Chiefs whom Italy had ever produced, and was called a "Marian," though in reality of no party, but opposed to the violence and lawlessness of all. He, many years before, had served against Sylla, with Scipio at Capua, and was despatched to secure the allegiance of Spain just before that Consul's troops deserted him. Sertorius reached his government in safety, though Sylla delayed not to write his name in the earliest lists of the proscribed.

Caius Annius was despatched with a large force to dislodge him; but when he arrived at the foot of the Pyrenees all the passes were so strictly guarded, that

Annus found it impossible to proceed. The expedition would have completely failed had not Sertorius's General been slain by treachery, and the pass he guarded abandoned. Annus's troops poured into Spain; and Sertorius, being unable to cope with their numbers, retreated to Carthagera. Here he concluded a treaty with the Cilician pirates, who were then masters of the Mediterranean; and in conjunction with them, took Ivica from Annus, besides routing and dispersing the Roman fleet. Sertorius was tossed about by storms at sea for ten days near Gibraltar. He passed the straits, and landed, sick and weary, at Gades. Here he met with some sailors who had just returned from the Fortunate Isles, supposed to be the Canaries, and they gave him such a glowing account of the climate and inhabitants in that favoured locality, that he determined to spend the remainder of his days amongst them.

Hearing, however, that a Legate of Sylla's was in Mauritania, aiding Aspalis the King, to subdue a revolt amongst his people, Sertorius crossed over to oppose the Cornelian party in that country. He joined himself to the revolvers, secured them their liberty, and overthrew both Sylla's forces and the cause they supported. The Lusitanians hearing of his valour, and of his mild and generous conduct to the Mauritanians, whom he neither plundered nor taxed, sent him an invitation to be their Commander, and to defend them against the Romans. Sertorius accepted the invitation with joy, for he knew that the Peninsula produced the best troops in the world under a leader who could win their confidence. He landed at Mount Ballera, and received the volunteers, who amounted to no more than 8000 men. These picked warriors he thoroughly disciplined; and with them and those whom they attracted, he defeated at various times no less than four Roman Generals, and upwards of 120,000 men. Secure in the affection of his troops, and in his own accurate knowledge of the country, he incessantly harassed his enemies with unexpected attacks, so that at length his very name became a terror before which they quailed; and Titus Didius, whom Sylla despatched to oppose him, had scarcely entered the country before he was chased out again. Sylla next committed the war to his friend Metellus Pius; but this General, being



unequal to contend with the activity and subtilty of Sertorius, was obliged to summon the assistance of the Prætors from Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior. Both of them were defeated by Herculeius, a Legate of Sertorius.

Sylla was now at the height of his tyranny, wielding the terrors of his proscription; and all the proscribed who could make their escape found a refuge and welcome with Sertorius. This noble-minded Italian, clinging with fond love to the institutions of his native land, formed a Senate for himself of 300, out of the Curule magistrates and Equites who had fled to him, and from these he selected all his own Commanders, civil and military.

The Spaniards south of the Ebro espoused his cause with enthusiastic zeal, believing him to be inspired by the gods, and Metellus, unable to make any progress, sent to Rome in despair for reinforcements. Sylla being dead, Lepidus, who was Consul, despatched Perpenna with a reinforcement of 23,000 men. This officer learning shortly after, the disgrace and decease of Lepidus, thought that by acting independently, he could imitate Sertorius, and secure in Spain a government for himself. He lingered, therefore, and did not join Metellus, whilst Pompey stood candidate in Rome for the Spanish command. The Senate would not supersede Metellus Pius, Sylla's friend, out of respect for his age, dignity, and former services, but they elected Pompey, and associated him with Metellus as Proconsul. Pompey's army had no sooner crossed the Pyrenees, than Perpenna's troops insisted upon joining Sertorius, and their unwilling Chief was obliged to comply. He united himself to Sertorius, but with envy burning at his heart. He could not forgive the affront, and he laboured, only too successfully, to effect the ruin of his generous and confiding leader.

Metellus Pius had at length the good fortune to defeat Herculeius, during the absence of Sertorius. This General had marched to drive Pompey back from the river Sucro, and began his attack in the evening, being certain that Pompey would not know the country in the dark, and would thus be more easily confused and routed. In effect, Pompey, after overthrowing the division of

Perpenna, was obliged to fly wounded. He only escaped capture, by divesting his horse of its rich caparisons, and throwing them in the way of his pursuers, who, being arrested by their glitter, quarrelled for the spoil. Sertorius drew out his troops to renew the battle next day, before Metellus could bring reinforcements, but Pompey declined an engagement, and Sertorius did not venture to attack the united camps. Speaking of Metellus, he said, "Had it not been for the arrival of that old woman, I should have whipped the youth soundly, and sent him back to Rome."

Soon after, Pompey and Metellus pursued Sertorius, and fancied that they had forced him into a mountain fortress, whence he could not escape. Sertorius remained there until a large body of Spaniards had collected by his orders on the opposite side of the mountain. He then marched out unobserved by his besiegers, and appeared with an army behind them. He offered them battle, but they were terrified: and being harassed by his inexhaustible wiles, they once more retreated and separated. Metellus in despair retired into Gaul, whilst Pompey set a price upon his enemy's head of 100 talents of silver and 20,000 acres of land, besides the abrogation of proscription, should his betrayer be a Roman. Soon after, Pompey, in distress, wrote imploring letters to the Senate, assuring them, that unless he was quickly and vigorously relieved, Sertorius would be in Italy before him, and would dictate to the Fathers that repeal of his banishment which he now asked as the basis of peace. Conscious of his superiority, he did indeed make an offer on these terms, out of love to his aged mother, who had educated him, and whom he passionately desired to see again; but the Senate refused, and she soon after died; an affliction which nearly broke the heart of her illustrious son.

Sertorius was roused from his melancholy, in x.r. 678, by Ambassadors from Mithridates, proffering an alliance upon very advantageous terms, which he gladly accepted. This coalition of enemies in the East and West augmented the embarrassments of the Senate, and obliged Pompey to remain inactive for two years, because he was not powerful enough to meet his enemy in the field. But what he could not effect by force, treachery in the camp

accomplished for him. Perpenna irritated both Romans and Spaniards against Sertorius, whose superiority he envied, by magnifying his partiality to the Lusitanians, and at the same time vexatiously and unjustly taxing many Spanish cities, which he affirmed he did by his General's command. The Spaniards, in an angry mood, threatened to withdraw their alliance; and Sertorius, ignorant of their wrongs, imputed their conduct to fickleness, and unwarrantably seized a number of young and guiltless hostages, the sons of their noblest families, whom he was educating at Osca, and whom he now condemned to death or slavery. It is the only stain upon his otherwise great and pure character, and he was the only Roman general of the day from whom such an act of violence and perfidy could never have been expected.

The exasperated Spaniards no longer regarded him with the same feelings of confidence and respect as before, and Perpenna, who aspired to his place, found it easy to organise a conspiracy to murder him. The execution of it was hastened by an officer talking about the plot, which made Perpenna dread its immediate discovery. To hasten the catastrophe, he congratulated Sertorius upon a fictitious victory, which he pretended that his troops had gained at a distance, and persuaded him to accept of an entertainment in his tent to celebrate the event. The guests, as agreed upon, feigned intoxication, an excess never permitted by Sertorius; and they talked loudly and loosely, not doubting that he would reprove them. He leaned back, and seemed not to hear, upon which the officer next him struck his poniard into his side, and threw himself upon his breast to prevent his rising again. In this manner he was quickly despatched. He was deeply but fruitlessly lamented.

Pompey no sooner heard of Sertorius's death than he considered every obstacle to his success removed. He marched upon Perpenna, gave him battle, routed his army, and took him prisoner. Perpenna, base in all things, wished to purchase his life by betraying the secrets and delivering up the correspondence of Sertorius, which he knew would implicate some of the leaders in Rome. Pompey had all the papers burnt without looking at them, as he wished to heal, and not to inflame, the wounds of the country. He ordered Perpenna to immediate ex-

ecution, lest he should create mischief by his disclosures. It is said that men love treachery, but hate traitors ; therefore the Romans were pleased that all the conspirators came to an untimely end. Pompey only continued in Spain to receive the submission of the Spanish tribes, and then returned to Italy. Y.R. 681.

We must now review the history of Mithridates during the last twelve years, since the peace concluded between him and Sylla in Y.R. 668.

Sylla, when he returned to Italy, left Lucullus and Muræna to command in Asia Proper, with the cohorts of Fimbria, called "Valeriani," a mutinous and turbulent set of men. Muræna longed both to enrich and to distinguish himself at the expense of Mithridates, and being joined by the traitor Archelaus, he, after a time, invaded the dominions of the Pontic monarch, affecting ignorance of the treaty with Sylla. He crossed the Halys, and invaded the royal city of Sinope. Mithridates drove him back into Phrygia, and kindled bonfires on the tops of the mountains, in honour of Jupiter who had delivered him. Sylla being now Dictator, recalled Muræna, but soothed his vanity by granting him a triumph, which, as it gave him rank in the Senate, was the main object of his military manœuvres.

Mithridates, being now at peace, strengthened himself on every side against the future encroachments of Rome. He concluded an alliance with Ariobarzanes, and confirmed him on his throne, that he might leave no enemy behind, whilst he was reducing the Bosporani and the various nations round the Euxine Sea. Over these he succeeded in extending his authority as far as the Dneister and the Danube, and he left his son Machares to govern the newly-conquered territories, whilst he returned to Pontus. At this period, Y.R. 675, Sylla died, and Mithridates was relieved from his predominance. At the same time, his own might was increased by the augmented power of his ally and son-in-law Tigranes of Armenia. This Prince had accepted an invitation from the Syrians, to assume the ancient crown of Antiochus, and to rule over them from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean.

Syria had been a powerful monarchy under the Seleucidæ, but recently it had dwindled into a set of dis-

membered provinces distracted by the contentions of the five sons of King Antiochus Grypus, and the two sons of his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus. Each of these Princes claimed the throne, and all of them expected sympathy from the court of Egypt, for the wives of almost all the Greek Kings of Syria had for many generations been Princesses of Egypt. The wife of Grypus was the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon; and Selene, the wife of his nephew Antiochus Eusebes, was the sister of Ptolemy Lathyrus. The Syrians chose Tigranes to be their ruler, because he was neither connected with Egypt, nor hostile to the Romans, and he ruled over them for eighteen years.

In Y.R. 678 the illegitimate Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, and left his dominions to the Roman people. This was an important acquisition of territory to them, and a very galling check to the Kings of Pontus and Armenia.

Mithridates made an agreement with Tigranes, that they should conquer Asia Minor together; the former being lord of the cities and countries, and the latter being enriched by the captives and plunder. This was also the most ancient form of treaties between Rome and the other states of Italy. Tigranes overran Cappadocia, drove away the feeble Ariobarzanes, who fled to Rome; placed on the throne Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, and returned home with 300,000 prisoners. These he employed to build, and afterwards to people, a beautiful city in Armenia, named after himself "Tigranocerta," and founded on the spot where he had first been proclaimed king.

Mithridates, meanwhile, recovered his ancient dominions, and made a league with Sertorius, who sent him troops under M. Varius, as has been already mentioned. They were placed at his disposal for Cappadocia and Bithynia, but were prohibited from invading the province of Pergamus (Asia Proper). Varius, however, did not understand why the Senatorial Fathers might not be defied in Asia Proper as well as in Africa Proper, or in Spain; and he received the submission of most of the Asiatic cities within the forbidden limits, for they were so cruelly oppressed by the grinding taxes laid upon them by Sylla that any change was acceptable. Varius

marched through Paphlagonia, and entered each city, preceded by the Lictors and ensigns of a Roman Consul, in which character he received their homage for Mithridates. Julius Cæsar, who was then twenty-four years of age, and studying at Rhodes, was so indignant at this presumption, that he placed himself at the head of all the forces he could muster, reconquered Bithynia, and drove away the obnoxious Varius.

Lucullus and Cotta were invested by the Senate with the command of the second Mithridatic war. Cotta sailed through the Hellespont up to Chalcedon, where he was ordered to co-operate with Lucullus; but fancying that he could gain a victory without assistance, he attacked the King's fleet, and was forced to shelter himself within the harbour. Mithridates prevented succours from reaching him, and soon after sailed in, and burnt the Roman ships without resistance. Seventeen thousand Italians are said to have perished on this occasion.

When the disastrous news reached Lucullus, he hastened towards Chalcedon to attack the King; but seeing his numerous forces of 120,000 infantry, besides cavalry and armed chariots, he kept within his entrenchments, and could not be provoked to fight. Mithridates, wishing to strike some blow in the face of his adversary, besieged Cyzicus, a powerful maritime city in alliance with the Romans, and the key to that part of Asia. He had previously taken the dreaded Cilician pirates into his pay; and with their help he blockaded the harbour, whilst his troops, assembled from ten tributary nations, covered the surrounding hills. Cyzicus made so gallant a resistance, that Mithridates in two years' time had scarcely made any progress.

There was a hill in rear of his camp, which if it fell into the possession of the enemy, would intercept his supplies from the open country. Of this he was aware, and the passes to it were so strictly guarded that Lucullus could make no effectual attack. At last he was aided by the treachery of Manius, a Legate of Sertorius, upon whose advice the King relied. Manius persuaded Mithridates to withdraw the guards, and suffer the Valeriani to take their places, assuring the King that he had secured their desertion, as soon as they should have passed their own lines. Mithridates consented to the plan, and

sent a few troops to welcome them. The Valeriani seized the passes, occupied the hill, and massacred those who were to have received them. From this time, the troops of the King were distressed for food, and their overwhelming numbers only served the more to embarrass them. Plague broke out in the camp, and swept away vast numbers, besides endangering all; so that the mighty monarch found himself, ere long, obliged to flee, and taking ship, landed at Heraclea, having been twice wrecked by the way, and losing from violent storms upwards of 100 ships and 10,000 men. His army dispersed and took different routes, under different leaders, most of whom being overtaken by the troops of Lucullus, were made to suffer severely. As the country was deep in snow, thousands of benumbed men perished endeavouring to pass the river Rhyndacus, and many more fell victims at the passage of the Esopus, amongst whom were 11,000 Spaniards, sent by Sertorius. The whole body would have been exterminated, had not Varius desired them to scatter the gold and silver which was mingled with their baggage, and the Romans slackened their pursuit to enrich themselves with the spoil. Varius was captured a few days later, and slain.

Mithridates fortified himself in Sinope, where he heard of one defeat after another, sustained by his generals in all quarters. Cotta kept the sea, and prevented the arrival of fresh supplies from Sertorius, whilst Lucullus, subduing all before him, penetrated into Pontus. He suffered so much from famine before he reached the fertile plains of that country, that he was obliged to carry with him 30,000 Galatians, each laden with a sack of corn. The strong and rich Pontian cities, though bravely defended, were forced to submit. The King's forces were defeated in Cappadocia, and he himself, disheartened by a mutiny in his army, abandoned the contest, and fled to Tigranes, his son-in-law, with whom he took refuge in Armenia. He was so hotly pursued, that he would have been taken prisoner, had not one of his officers diverted the attention of the Romans, by driving towards them a mule laden with treasure, which they stopped to plunder.

Y. R. 680.

All the Pontic nobles now submitted, and amongst them the grandfather of Strabo, the distinguished geographer. Pontus was entirely reduced.

Machares, the son of Mithridates, assumed the Regency, and concluded a humiliating truce. Lucullus then ceased from hostilities, and applied himself, by wise and merciful reforms, to gain the affections of the people he had subdued. This happened in the same year that Sertorius was murdered, and Rome was thus delivered contemporaneously from her most formidable enemies, both in the East and in the West. Cicero, the great orator, served under Lucullus during the whole of this campaign.

Whilst Pompey was making head against Sertorius in Spain, and Cotta and Lucullus were contending with Mithridates in Asia, the Senate was alarmed by a new war in the heart of Italy itself. A man named Lentulus Batuanus, at Capua, kept an institute Gladiatorial War. for Gladiators. He bought young and well-made slaves, trained them to endure every extremity of torture, and to fight with various weapons, and then hired them out for the public shows. His wretched scholars were Thracians and Gauls, men by nature hardy and brave. Unable to endure their degradation, 200 of them plotted their escape, but they were betrayed; and it is a remarkable feature in all the slave conspiracies, that they were invariably ruined by treachery. The Gladiators were placed in greater restraint than before; but seventy of them, under a noble-minded, lion-hearted Thracian named Spartacus, eluded the vigilance of their master, and entering the cookshops, seized the spits, saws, knives, and whatever other weapons they could find, and left the city. Near the gate they surprised and plundered a waggon full of arms for Gladiators. With this slender store they ascended Mount Vesuvius, and fortified themselves in a small enclosure, near its summit. Here they were soon joined by many runaway slaves and debtors, the herdsmen around the mountain, and all the Gladiators from other schools whom they could free. A Prætor who was sent against them with 3000 men, was shamefully defeated. Claudius Pulcher then marched against them, and believed that he had blockaded them on the mountain, as he had possessed himself of the only access to their fort. They, however, made themselves ladders of the wild vine, which covered the steep rocks behind them, and descending unsuspected, appeared in the rear of Claudius, and forced him to a precipitate retreat.



The army of Spartacus was now augmented to 40,000 men, and he divided the command with Crixus, a Gaul. Leaving his quarters, he ranged over Campania and Lucania, everywhere freeing the Gladiators, and being joined by the slaves. He defeated four Roman armies, which were successively sent to oppose him, and he purposed to lead his men across the Alps, and to restore them, free and enriched, to their native countries. His victories unfortunately made his troops esteem themselves invincible, and his large number inspired the men with the belief that they could divide into separate bands and make independent conquests.

Crixus and 20,000 Gauls, leaving Spartacus, turned southwards, to win for themselves a settlement in Apulia. There they were met and overthrown by the Consul Gellius, the greater part of them with Crixus being slain. Spartacus upon this ceased his pursuit of the other Consul, Lentulus, engaged and overthrew Gellius, whom he forced to take refuge within a fortress, and then erected a magnificent funeral pyre to Crixus, upon which he sacrificed his prisoners. He had now 120,000 men, and was expected with terror in Rome, but he foolishly contented himself with ravaging Lucania, and possessing himself of Thurii, where he fixed his magazines.

The Senate committed the war, which was become of an alarming character, to Sylla's favourite Legate, Licinius Crassus. He sent forward Mummius, to obstruct the advance of Spartacus, and ordered him not to fight. Mummius, ambitious to obtain a victory, in which his commander should not share, immediately attacked Spartacus, and was signally overthrown, 500 of his men running away before their swords were drawn. Crassus, in great indignation, had this band decimated, and then advanced with his Legions upon the Gladiators. He was conscious that this was not like the slave war of Sicily, a contest with overworked, though desperate labourers, but with men who from their infancy had been inured to hardship, and who by profession were heedless of fatigue, habituated to blood, and devoted to death. He took his measures so well, that Spartacus abandoned the idea of traversing Italy to cross the Apennines, and formed a design of passing into Sicily. In the misgoverned and oppressed state of that island, he would

easily have raised the slaves, and as he would probably have been joined by all classes, he might have created for himself a sovereignty there. He left Thurii, crossed the mountains of Petelia, and forced Crassus to follow him to Rhegium. Had Spartacus possessed a navy, he would certainly have succeeded, but his slaves and Gladiators could bring him no ships. He endeavoured to conclude a treaty with the Cilician pirates, to transport him over the narrow strait, which alone separated him from the object of his enlightened ambition. The pirates took his money, but they were so blind to their own interest that they proved faithless, and Spartacus found himself deceived, abandoned, and blocked up in Rhegium. Crassus now thought that he should starve his enemy to death. He cut a wide and deep trench from sea to sea, behind which he built a strong broad wall. In the rear of these he lay securely, waiting a surrender. Spartacus made preparations to burst his toils, and one dark stormy night, filling up a portion of the fosse, he scaled the walls, and appeared with his army beyond the camp of Crassus. The Romans were in consternation, and Crassus hastily believing that Spartacus would now march before him triumphantly to Rome, wrote to implore the assistance of Pompey, who had just returned from Spain.

Pompey considered himself as the victor of Hiarbas, Lepidus, and Sertorius, and was delighted to be summoned to conquer Spartacus also. He proceeded without delay, and continued his march, though Crassus, when recovered from his panic, sent an urgent message to arrest him, not desiring that the glory within his reach should be snatched from his grasp by another. Crassus followed the footsteps of Spartacus, always provoking him to battle; and a body of the Gauls, who were elated by their recent exploit, accepted his challenge, and were defeated. Spartacus, on the other hand, gained an easy victory with his main body over the Prætor; but his men, full of presumption, and confident that they were invincible under his command, could not be restrained from attacking Crassus, who had reached them near Petelia. Spartacus bewailed their rashness, and with a presentiment of his approaching fate, made the best dispositions in his power. On the morning of the fight, he commanded his horse to be brought to him, and slew it. "If I win this day," he

said, "I shall have many better horses, and if I lose, I shall never more require one." The battle was long doubtful. Spartacus was wounded, but he fought on his knees with sword and buckler. At length, being overpowered, he died the death of the brave, and lay under a heap of Romans whom he had slain. Forty thousand of his men perished on the field, and all, excepting two, died with their faces to the foe; the rest dispersed in all directions.

Crassus pursued his march towards Rome, anticipating the thanks and congratulations of the Senate. Judge, then, of his mortification to hear that Pompey, who had met a body of 3000 Thracians retreating, and who had routed them, had written to the Senate, "Crassus indeed overthrew the Gladiators in a pitched battle, but it is I who have plucked up the war by the roots." This vain boasting caused a coolness between Pompey and Crassus ever after. Crassus was indeed honoured with an ovation for his services, but the glory of quieting Italy was attributed by the people to Pompey. All the Gladiators captured were put to death, a fate far preferable to their ignominious thralldom, and 5000 of them were hung upon trees, along the road from Capua to Rome.

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### AFTER CHAPTER XXXIII.

SERTORIUS, the noble Sabine, is more frequently regarded as a King of the Lusitanians than as a Roman citizen, for he swayed the hearts of his adopted people as the heart of one man, and they regarded him as a deliverer sent to them by the gods. He was not only humane, brave, upright, and generous, but he was their best hunter, their boldest and most active sportsman, and their merriest and wittiest boon companion. He excelled equally in daring and cunning, and was for ever perplexing and overreaching his enemies by some new surprise or ingenious deception. He embittered their lives by ceaseless and fruitless marchings and counter-marchings, forcing them into the most difficult positions, in order to approach him, and then leaving them to fight against empty camps.

The Spanish tribes, in alliance with Rome, gradually joined him, and with such hearty affection, that Metellus failed to detach from him a single city. The subtle Sertorius established a University at Osca, of the Illergetes (Huesca in Arragon), into which he persuaded the nobles to send their sons. He provided it with Greek and Latin professors, he attired the students in the Roman dress, and he occasionally visited the colleges, examined the young men in person, and bestowed the golden bulla upon those who had distinguished themselves. He followed the policy of Hannibal, in treating the people as his equals, and he secured their fidelity at the same time that he flattered their pride.

Metellus, that he might not appear baffled at all points, undertook the siege of Lagobriga (supposed to be Lagos), near the Bay of Cades, and he made sure of reducing the town by blockade, as it had but one well. Sertorius contrived to introduce 600 skins full of water into the Citadel, and to withdraw from the town all those persons who were not available to defend it. He cut off the foragers of Metellus, and in a short time reduced him to such straits, that he was glad to raise the siege and retire. This old General lost much credit with the Spaniards by refusing a challenge to single combat from Sertorius, but he was too frail to risk his life against so vigorous an opponent, and he said, "It became him to live like a General, and not to die like a Gladiator."

The Spaniards thought otherwise, for they were accustomed to duels, and despised death. Many thousands of them bound themselves, like the "Sacred bands" of the Etruscans and Samnites, to live and die with their chief; not only to defend him with their blood, but to perish with him, if he perished. This furnished Sertorius with a band of warriors who were invincible. On one occasion, being hard pressed near the walls of a town, they passed him over their shoulders from one to another, until he was lodged within the gates, and then they provided for their own safety.

Sertorius being fond of animals, a soldier brought him a young milk-white fawn, which grew up to be a stag, and followed him everywhere. Probably neither he nor his men knew that stags may easily be taught to head a regiment, and to become familiar with those who feed

them. Our own 42nd Highland Regiment for twenty years had a red deer which marched with its foremost division. Sertorius believed his bold stag to be a gift from Diana, the goddess of hunting, and brought it forth crowned with flowers whenever he heard that his troops had been successful.

When, after the repeated defeats of Metellus Pius, Pompey's claim to the Spanish command was under discussion, one of the Senators angrily asked if it were intended that Pompey, a mere Knight, should act instead of a Consul? "No!" answered L. Philippus, "he is not sent as Proconsul, but Pro Consulibus;" i.e. instead of both Consuls, implying, that his single talents would effect more than they and their Legions united.

Pompey's brilliant renown had an immediate effect upon the Spaniards. To neutralise it, Sertorius besieged Lauron (Leira, near Valencia), on the Turon, one of the few cities still faithful to Rome. Pompey marched to its relief, and believed that he had entrapped and surrounded Sertorius. Elate with this feat, he sent to the beleaguered citizens, bidding them rejoice, for their besieger was himself besieged. When Sertorius heard it, he laughed and said, "Sylla's disciple should learn to look behind him as well as before." Pompey found, to his dismay, that a body of 6000 hardy Spaniards were in ambuscade in his rear, so that he could not stir beyond his lines without immediate danger; and after losing 10,000 men in fruitless skirmishes, he was glad to retreat. The hapless Lauron surrendered, and perished by fire before his eyes, without his being able to render it any assistance. The Spaniards taunted him with saying, that he was near enough his enemies to warm himself, but not hot enough to fight.

The terms which Mithridates offered to Sertorius, in exchange for troops to aid him in the conquest of Asia Minor, were the use of forty galleys as a small navy, and a subsidy of 3000 talents to carry on the war in Spain. Sertorius willingly engaged to help the King in reconquering all that had originally belonged to Pontus, but Pergamus (the Province of Asia), he said, lawfully belonged to the Romans. Therefore, in that he should not advance one step. "Listen," cried Mithridates, "to this proud Roman! An exile on the Atlantic, he presumes

to bound our conquests here. What would he not do if he were Consul in Rome?" The treaty was amicably concluded, and Sertorius despatched auxiliaries into Asia, under Varius.

Amongst many other beautiful stories told of the wit and temper of Sertorius, there is one, of how he induced his Spanish Allies to submit themselves to Roman discipline. They gave him great uneasiness by charging whenever they pleased, and carrying on an irregular and useless warfare. After a smart defeat, he once assembled them in line, and set before them two horses. The one was old and feeble, under the charge of a young, robust man. The other was sinewy and powerful, with a fine flowing tail, but his groom was weak and small. Upon a given signal, the strong man endeavoured to pluck the hair from the weak horse's tail by seizing it, and switching it about violently, as if he would pull it off. The horse resisted, and kept his tail. The puny man then laid hold of the strong horse, and took the hair out of his tail one by one. "Behold!" said Sertorius, "how far system and perseverance are superior to rashness and force. Time is the best friend to the patient and enduring, but the worst enemy to the hasty and presumptuous. Let us combine together, and wait our opportunity."

When Mithridates, after the mutiny of his army, fled into Armenia, he was obliged to abandon his harem at Pharnacia. Fearing lest his ladies should fall into the hands of his enemies, he sent an officer with orders to strangle them. Monima, his Queen, attempted to perform this office for herself with her diadem, but finding it too weak for the purpose, cursed it as a useless thing, and caused herself to be beheaded. Most of the ladies cheerfully swallowed poison, and one of the King's sisters blessed him for remembering their danger and providing that they should die free.

At the siege of Cyzicus, Mithridates had excellent engineers in his army. One of them invented a machine called "Helepolis," 150 feet high, upon which he planted a tower filled with all manner of contrivances for throwing stones and missiles into the town. This worked so effectually, that it would soon have battered down the walls, but a violent whirlwind blew down the Helepolis,

destroyed the machine, and saved the city. Various portents were at the same time carefully reported to Mithridates and his officers, which had a great effect upon them. The Governor of Cyzicus announced that Proserpine, their tutelary deity, had appeared to him in a dream, and bid him not to fear, for she had provided a Libyan piper to match the Pontic trumpeter. This was interpreted by both parties, of a violent wind which blew from Libya, and dispersed the King's fleet, destroying quantities of his engines and military stores. Had Mithridates been Sertorius, he would have had his counter-dream of seven-fold revenge and final triumph. But he failed, whenever sustained efforts were required from him, because he had not the systematic patience and perseverance which that great General contrived to infuse into all with whom he came in contact, and who were consequently invincible, as long as they continued under his command.

We have hitherto scarcely mentioned the Gladiators, because the insurrection under Spartacus is the first event which brings them prominently into notice. Their origin in Europe was at Capua, after the Samnite war, when the exasperated Campanians made their Samnite prisoners fight and kill each other in the Circus, for their amusement. The Romans so far adopted the custom, as at first to sacrifice a few of their prisoners at the funerals of distinguished Senators. But after the change introduced by Fabius Maximus, when the *Ædiles* were made eligible by the populace, and the favour of this populace was to be courted by expensive and exciting entertainments, the demand for Gladiators became great. Brutal men then set up institutions for them called "*Ludi*," where young and vigorous captives were trained, and where refractory slaves were sent for punishment. The masters of these schools hired out their pupils for the shows, and if they escaped with life, they returned to their owners to be hired out again. A more horrid life of cruelty, suffering, and degradation, cannot be conceived.

The Gladiators were led armed into the arena, and took an oath to fight to the death, after which they were ranged in couples, according to their classes. The *Retiarius* and *Secutor*, or *Myrmillo*, always fought together. The first was so named, from carrying a *Rete*,

or net, in his right hand, with which he endeavoured to entangle his adversary, whilst he despatched him with a sharp-pronged trident in his left. He was dressed in a short tunic, without other defence. The Secutor wore a helmet, on which a fish was engraved. He was armed with a buckler and scymitar, with which he struck the Retiarius, should the latter miss his aim in casting the net. The Secutor commenced by fleeing from his adversary, who followed him, saying, "I do not want thee—I seek the fish. Why dost thou flee from me, O Gaul?"\*

The second class coupled together were the Samnites and Pinnirapi. The former were so called because furnished with the Samnite arms, a shield shaped like a boy's kite, a belt, and sword, greaves, and a crested helmet. Their crests were named Pinnæ; and the Pinnirapi strove to knock off the Pinnæ. The Thracii used the Thracian weapons, daggers, and round shields. The Equites wore helmets, with apertures for the eyes, and contended on horseback. The Andabatae wore helmets without apertures, which entirely covered their faces, and many specimens of which may be seen in Museums. They struck at each other blindfold. Hence the Roman proverb, "To fight like an Andabata;"† and it meant, to struggle, or to do a thing blindfold. The Essedarii contended with each other in chariots.

The masters of the Gladiators were called "Lanistæ," and usually stood behind their "Families," as their wretched victims were disgustingly called, urging them on with threats and blows.

When a Gladiator was vanquished, he usually begged his life from the spectators, by holding up his hands. If they were pleased with him, they turned down their thumbs, and he was spared; but if they turned their thumbs up, his fate was sealed. When a man failed to resist, so as to afford them sufficient sport they shouted out, "*Recipe ferrum*," and the "*ferrum*," or sword, was stabbed into him without mercy. The mortally wounded Gladiator had a hook thrust into his belt, and his body was dragged forth to an outer court, called the "*Spoliarium*," where it was stripped of all its accoutrements and

\* "Non te peto: Piscem peto. Quid fugis, Galle?"

† "Andabatarum more pugnare."



despatched, if still breathing. Men often rushed forward to drink the gushing blood, which was considered as a cure for epilepsy. The trumpet always sounded to the charge at the commencement of a fight, and announced the death at the conclusion. A triumphant or reprieved Gladiator returned to his Lanista, that he might continue his life of torture, and exhibit again in future shows. The Lanista exercised him in supporting every kind of hardship and agony without a groan. A victorious Gladiator was rewarded by the presiding magistrate with a crown of mastic, or palm-leaves, and sometimes with a trifling sum of money. One who had been often victor, was occasionally freed by the Prætor, a wooden sword called "*Rudis*" being placed in his hands, as a symbol of enfranchisement, and a *Pileus* set upon his head. His arms were consecrated to Hercules.

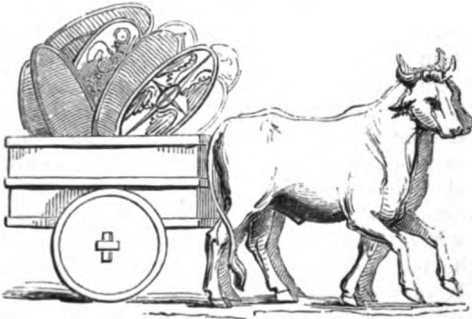
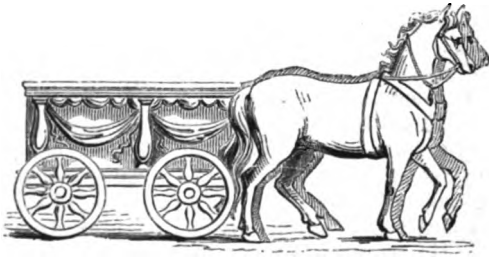
After the death of Spartacus, the courage and skill of the Gladiators became an object of emulation to the Roman youth; and the lower a man's intellect, the greater was his delight in dealing blows to others, and his pride in mere animal strength. Men of birth and family, Knights and Senators, learnt in the Lanista's schools, and exhibited themselves in brutal strife upon the stage. The infatuation at length seized the very women who imagined that they magnified themselves by beating and maiming each other for the public entertainment.

When the wardrobes of the fine ladies were sold after their deaths, it was not unfrequent to find in them helmets, cuirasses, greaves, and all the other appurtenances of male armour. Under the Emperors dwarfs were compelled to fight, in order to excite the laughter of the people. The Romans fancied a *Munus Gladiatorum* to be a manly spectacle, teaching them to despise death. They entirely forgot that their ancestors had despised death as heartily, and fought for their country better, before they had any such exhibitions. These were in reality brutal and savage amusements, which hardened their hearts against the sufferings of others, and taught them to delight in scenes of ferocity and blood.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

CILICIAN PIRATES. THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR UNDER  
LUCULLUS AND POMPEY.

B.C. 71 TO 61. Y.R. 682 TO 692.\*



WAR-CHARIOT AND BAGGAGE-WAGGON.

CRASSUS, though indignant at the vain-glorious Pompey for arrogating to himself the termination of the

\* Authorities : Livy, *Epit. lib. xcvii.-cii.* ; Nieb. *Lectures, ii.* ; Plutarch in *Pomp. and Lucull.* ; Univ. *Hist. ix. xiii.*, in loco ; Michelet, *Rome, iii.*

Gladiatorial war, yet gave him all his interest at the ensuing election for Consuls. He and Pompey were chosen together, though the latter was under age, and had not passed through any of the previous magistracies enjoined by law. Both Generals were expected to disband their armies, but neither would trust the other to do so first; and Pompey, on whom the prior obligation devolved, pleaded that before he could dismiss his troops he must await the arrival of Metellus from Spain, and celebrate his own triumph over that country. Crassus accused him of aiming at despotism; and the Consuls were so inimical to each other that the Senate made them swear not to break the peace. Crassus, the aggrieved party, having taken the oath, kept it to the end of his life.

The dreaded Legions were discharged after the Spanish triumph, and Pompey affected to retire from public affairs, though he continued in Rome, and kept men's eyes fixed upon him. He admitted none to his intimacy except the chief of the Senators, dexterously making tools of all who had much political influence, and never appearing in public without a princely train of clients. He maintained this policy for two years, during which time the war with Mithridates was suspended; and Lucullus was making himself unpopular amongst the Romans in the East by repressing usury and reforming the administration. Thousands of men whom Roman extortion had ruined and driven to despair, fled to the mountains or the sea, and became Pirates. They, ere long, increased into a powerful community, and led a free and jovial life, retaliating upon others the rapacity and barbarity which had been practised upon themselves. We may imagine the oppression which ground the Asiatics from the fact that the fine of twenty millions, imposed by Sylla upon their conquered cities, had been increased to 120 millions by the iniquitous usury of the Publicans, most of whom were Roman Equites. Nobles, once rich and powerful, sold their properties, their wives and children, and then joined the Pirates, and lived by plunder and for revenge.

The Cilician pirates had first arisen in the continual wars between Egypt and Syria, being encouraged by one king against the other. All Cilicia and Pamphylia, be-

sides many fortresses, towns, and islands, owned their sway, and they became the allies of every power successively that raised itself against Rome; of Sertorius, the Numidians, the Cretans, and Mithridates.

Young Julius Cæsar was captured by them on his voyage to Rhodes. They demanded twenty talents for his ransom; but Cæsar, reckless of danger, offered them fifty, and easily raised it in the city of Miletus, where he had powerful friends. He lived with his captors for thirty-eight days, writing verses on them, making speeches to them, and reproaching them with their ignorance and barbarity. He scolded them when they disturbed his sleep, and said if they were not quieter they should be crucified. The Pirates were highly amused, and were sorry when he was ransomed. Cæsar went to Miletus, fitted out some ships, captured the Pirates, and carried them to Pergamus, where he demanded that they should be condemned. The avaricious governor of Asia Proper, hoping that they would pay him a large sum for their freedom, delayed to give judgment; upon which Cæsar crucified them himself, and then pursued his voyage to Rhodes. The credit he gained by this gallant enterprise afterwards enabled him to reduce Bithynia.

In Y.R. 677, Servilius destroyed the pirate capital of Isaura, for which he was granted a triumph, and named "Isauricus." But his success was only temporary, for the very next year the Pirates defeated Antony at Crete, besieged Syracuse, and plundered some of the richest and most sacred temples of Europe, ranging over the Mediterranean from Syria to Gades. They had now a fleet of more than 1000 galleys, and put to sea with banners streaming and music playing. Their chief vessels had gilded poops, oars of silver, and cabins adorned with thick carpets of the richest purple. They set the Romans at defiance; and when they found captives of this nation amongst their prisoners they dressed them in robes of honour, bowed the knee to them, entreated pardon for their boldness, and desired them to walk into the sea, "for they would not be guilty of enslaving the Lords of the Earth." They seized two Prætors in their robes of office walking with the Lictors and attendants. They pillaged Cajeta, attacked Ostia, impeded in every direction the Italian commerce, rendered the shores of Italy

dangerous, and prevented the corn of Sicily from reaching Rome. The city of the seven hills was in danger of famine, and necessity forced the Senate to provide a remedy.

Pompey, who was befriended by all the Tribunes, prompted Gabinius to propose that he should be appointed to extirpate the Pirates, with unlimited power against them for three years. This law was carried. Pompey was appointed to command over the whole Mediterranean, and fifty miles inland, both in Europe and Africa; and his forces were raised to 500 vessels and 120,000 men. Twenty-four Senators served as his Legates; and he had power to augment his armies if they proved insufficient.

The conduct of this war is the most meritorious act of Pompey's brilliant life. Though he might have protracted it, with absolute power, for three years, he brought it to a close in four months, executing his commission effectually, but without any unnecessary cruelty. He destroyed 1300 vessels, 120 castles, and 10,000 Pirates. He chased, or attracted their scattered forces to one point, Caracesium in Cilicia, defeated them in a decisive, though hardly contested battle, and crushed their power for ever. His 20,000 prisoners he converted into friends, and distributed through the deserted cities of Cilicia, which he forced, or induced them to rebuild. One of these cities he named after himself, Pompeiopolis. He also bound to him by ties of gratitude the numerous slaves of the Pirates, all of whom he liberated and treated well.

The same year Metellus added Crete to the Roman dominions, having almost extirpated the inhabitants because they were friends of the Pirates. He triumphed, and was honoured with the title of Creticus.

We must now return to the acts of Cotta and Lucullus in Asia. After Mithridates had fled to Tigranes, he lived for nearly two years in a fortress assigned to him by that monarch, who would never deign to see him, and who did not choose to embroil his country in hostilities against the Romans. Cotta took the two great cities of Heraclea and Amisus, and returned to Rome, where he triumphed, and was named "Ponticus." Lucullus remained in Asia Proper, and secured the affec-

tions of the natives by protecting them against the Publicans, and placing them under a milder and better system of government. He restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, subdued a portion of Armenia, and then sent to Tigranes and demanded the delivery of Mithridates to grace his triumph.

Tigranes would not listen to so haughty a mandate. He was the King of Kings, who ruled from Bactria beyond the Euphrates, to the Mediterranean sea. Four kings served him at his table, and four more ran beside his horse. He had been victorious even over the Parthians, and he would not stoop to obey the commands of an arrogant Roman. He indignantly proclaimed war, and sent for Mithridates, whom he received with kingly pomp, and to whose cause he now united himself with fervour. Mithridates returned to Pontus, and once more raised forces against his old enemies, entreating Tigranes not to be provoked to an engagement until he should have joined him. Lucullus, whose forces were comparatively small, after taking Sinope, which he declared a free and allied city, besieged Tigranocerta, in order to prevent the junction of the kings, for he thought that Tigranes with 150,000 men would never suffer his favourite city to be attacked before his eyes. Tigranes approached, as Lucullus had foreseen, and covered the mountains with his hosts. The Roman General crossed the river to attack him with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. "What," asked Tigranes, "do these men mean? If they come as ambassadors, they are numerous enough; but if as enemies, their forces are ridiculous." Lucullus charged with his handful of men, and the first to flee before them was King Tigranes himself; his army, in disorder, following him, and his mighty host disappearing like a cloud of locusts. The Romans slew all whom they overtook, and in this pursuit lost five men. Tigranes, who was bereft of reason by his cowardice, met his son flying in the same desperation as himself. He embraced him, told him that all was lost, and resigned to him his diadem and robes. The young prince gave them in trust to a friend, who was captured, and thus they came into the possession of Lucullus. Tigranes did not feel himself safe until he had reached Mithridates, who received him with the utmost sympathy and honour, put upon him

his own crown and robes, and spared no endeavours to comfort him. Fresh forces were drawn from Syria and Armenia, and the two Kings marched together upon the Romans. Meanwhile, Tigranocerta was betrayed by the Greek garrison, and Lucullus offered up his richest spoils upon the funeral pile of a King of Gordyene, whom Tigranes had put to death for becoming an ally of Rome. All the captives, and especially the Greeks, were released to their own countries; and many cities ever after remained grateful to Lucullus for the privileges conferred upon them, and regarded him as their second founder.

Lucullus next attacked Artaxata, which the Kings advanced to relieve. They fought, and again the Asiatics seem to have been panic-stricken, for both Kings fled, and Lucullus continued the siege. It is a curious fact, that though so much cowardice was shown in the field, all the Asiatic cities defended themselves with consummate bravery. Lucullus ought to have ended the war by pursuing the Kings, instead of which, lured by the hopes of booty, he wasted months by attacking those places in which he knew treasure to be amassed. Finding that he could make no impression upon Artaxata, he raised the siege, and transferred his army to Nisibis, the ancient seat of the Kings of Mesopotamia, and a place of great wealth and consequence. After several months he took it, favoured by a violent storm, which drove the sentinels from their posts, and allowed his men to scale the walls before they were perceived. Lucullus passed the winter at Nisibis, and in spring called out his troops to attack the two Kings in Cappadocia, but, to his horror and amazement, the soldiers all refused to follow him, saying that they would not fight for a general who enriched himself, whilst he allowed them no benefit from his conquests. They threw their empty purses at his feet, and bade him make war on his own account. His brother-in-law, P. Clodius, a friend of Pompey, headed the mutiny. Lucullus was forced to remain idle, whilst he heard of the Kings recovering their dominions on every side. Manilius, the Tribune, denounced him in Rome as useless, and proposed that Pompey, who had just terminated the Pirate war, and was still on the coast of Asia, should supersede him in command, retaining the same powers which had been conferred upon him against the Pirates.

Nothing could be more unfair to Lucullus, or more dangerous to the state; but the law was carried, and Pompey was sent out as the only Roman whose banner victory never forsook. Catulus, Prince of the Senate, was one of the few upright men who opposed it. "Let us rather secede," he said, "Conscript Fathers, as our ancestors would have done, for if we acquiesce we are doomed to slavery." In truth, however, the freedom of Rome had been extinct ever since the fall of Carthage. The supremacy of law was gone, and powerful military chiefs had obeyed or disobeyed the Senate, whilst factious Tribunes had made laws or abolished them, as they pleased.

Pompey had earnestly desired to obtain the command in Asia, but when the news of his appointment was brought to him, he affected displeasure, and said, "Must I then never rest? Must I always slave in the service of my country?" He hastened, however, to relieve Lucullus of his charge, and saw him return mortified and baffled to Rome. The Senators, who as a body sympathised with Lucullus, all came out to meet him, received him with distinction, and granted him a triumph.

Pompey's first act was to renew the alliance with the King of Parthia, in order to secure himself towards the East. He offered peace to Mithridates upon condition of his confining himself to his own dominions, and delivering up the deserters; but the King of Pontus thought himself strong enough to reject the terms, as he and Tigranes had recovered Cappadocia, Pontus, and Armenia. But the Prince Tigranes rebelling against his father, checked his victories by alluring the Parthians to war against him. Phrahates II. besieged Artaxata, but finding that the city would be difficult to reduce, he left an army with the Prince, and returned home. King Tigranes raised the siege, and drove away his undutiful son, who went over to Pompey, and became an ally of the Romans against his father.

Pompey meanwhile had pursued Mithridates, and overtook him encamped upon a hill in Armenia, where he enclosed him with a deep wide ditch. The King was thus besieged for six weeks, and was only driven by famine to struggle for his deliverance. He suddenly broke through the Roman army, and marched along the road to Artaxata, intending to join Tigranes; but Pompey,



aware of this, passed him in the night, and pursuing the same route, arrived first at a narrow gorge between the mountains, where he posted his legions in ambuscade. Mithridates, believing his enemy to be behind him, took no precautions in this pass, and when his army was in the centre of it, having nowhere space for above a few men to advance together, the Romans blocked up each end of it, and lined the heights above. It was the scene of the Caudine Forks repeated. The King's mighty host was destroyed with scarcely the possibility of resistance. He himself burst through his enemies at the head of 800 horse, and continued his flight, reckless of its direction, all night long. When morning dawned, he found himself left with his wife and daughter, and one single officer. He met, however, a body of 3000 fugitives, who escorted him to the borders of Armenia, and he thence sent to Tigranes to acquaint him with his arrival.

His ambassadors met with a very different reception from what he had anticipated. Tigranes being alarmed by the advance of Pompey towards Artaxata, led on by his wicked and rebellious son, perceived that he could only save himself by immediate submission. He sent to Pompey the ambassadors of Mithridates in chains, forbidding their master to remain in his dominions, and setting a price of 100 talents upon his head. Tigranes rode forth in person to meet Pompey, dismounted when he entered his camp, prostrated himself before him, and unbuckling his sword, and removing his diadem, placed them as a suppliant in the hands of the victorious Roman. Pompey restored them, and raising up Tigranes, conducted him honourably to his tent, and sat as a judge between him and his unnatural son. The Armenian Prince did not even rise as his father entered, and was so indignant that the kingdom of Armenia and its treasures should be confirmed to his father, that he conspired against his life, and Pompey found it necessary to send him in chains to Rome. How can young men forget that they must expect from their children the same meed of duty or contempt which they have themselves shown towards their parents?

When Mithridates was informed of the submission of Tigranes, he fled across the Euphrates, but Pompey overtook him, and by means of a mistake amongst the

Pontic troops, completely overthrew the army of the luckless King. The advanced body of the Pontican infantry being attacked by the Romans, the cavalry dismounted to assist them. Meanwhile, the Roman cavalry coming up, the Ponticans ran back for their horses. The main army seeing this, and fancying they were flying before a victorious foe, became disheartened, fell into inextricable confusion, and threw each other over the rocks in their hurry to escape. Upwards of 10,000 were slain, and the camp and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy. Pompey, in memory of his almost bloodless victory, erected a city which he called Nicopolis (or Victory town), and made it a home for his sick and disabled soldiers.

Mithridates fled into Colchis, and thence pursued his way to the interior of the wide dominions which he ruled around the Euxine Sea. Those territories had never yet been penetrated by the Romans, but three centuries earlier they had owned the sway of Darius Hystaspes, the head of that great Persian race from which Mithridates was descended. Pompey pursued the retreating sovereign, impelled by the love of conquest and the hopes of fame, but he met with such determined opposition in Albania and Iberia,\* and suffered so much from cold and want of provisions, being obliged to carry even water with him, that after two fruitless years of suffering, and nearly reaching the Caspian Sea, he announced that Mithridates was dead, and retraced his steps into the rich and fruitful Pontus. Here he gained the affections of the nobles by his chivalrous behaviour, and Stratonice, one of the King's ladies, delivered up to him Symphoré, a strong fortress, upon his promise that he would secure the life of her son, Xiphares.

Pompey proceeded triumphantly into Syria, and designed to render Arabia tributary as far as the Red Sea; but scarcely had he entered the country, when information was brought him that the dead Mithridates had reappeared in Pontus, mastered the whole of his native kingdom, retaken the castle of Symphoré, and murdered Xiphares before the eyes of his mother. Pompey hastened back, and was met by ambassadors from Mithridates,

\* Ancient Albania and Iberia were countries situated between Colchis and the Caspian Sea.

offering tribute from their master upon condition of peace. Pompey answered, that Mithridates must imitate the example of Tigranes, and sue for it in person, but he spurned the indignity, and renewed the war.

Mithridates made a general levy of his own subjects, and alienated his provinces by the heavy taxes he laid upon them. He strove to rouse the Princes of Asia and the Parthians, but in vain. Then he turned to the Scythians, and formed the wild and desperate scheme of marching with them and the Bastarnæ to join the Transalpine Gauls; at the head of whom he projected to cross the Alps, and pour, like another Hannibal, upon Italy. But he wanted all Hannibal's prudence, wit, and calmness. He thundered out his commands in rage and fury, disregarding alike the feelings of men and the rugged obstacles of nature; and his soldiers, certain that he would only lead them to perish, refused to follow him further. He destroyed one of his sons for venturing to remonstrate with him, and by force and fear urged on his reluctant forces to Pantacapeum on the Cimmerian Bosphorus (Krimæa). Here, his favourite son, Pharnaces, rebelled against him, and offered to lead the murmuring Roman deserters back into Pontus. They proclaimed him King, seduced into their revolt the rest of the army, and, surrounding the city, insisted upon the resignation of Mithridates and their own immediate return. Mithridates, astonished and forsaken, solicited a safe-conduct from the governor, and, being unable to obtain it, mounted the walls, and vented in imprecations upon his son the poignant anguish which overwhelmed his breast. He bade his attendants a solemn adieu, desiring them to make terms for themselves, and, then entering his palace,

Y.R. 689. he gave poison to his wives and daughters, and swallowed it himself. His women soon expired, but he had so long habituated himself to antidotes, that the poison would not take effect. Resolving not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, he stabbed himself; but his arm was too weak to give a mortal wound, and when the soldiers entered his palace, he was lying on the ground alive weltering in his blood. A Gaul, named Bitocus, approached, and taking pity on his misery, gave him the final blow, and then left the room, allowing the rich treasures which it contained to remain untouched.

Mithridates perished at the age of sixty-eight, worn out by the variety of his fortunes and the violence of his passions. The unnatural Pharnaces caused his body to be preserved in brine, and sent soldiers, having their javelins wreathed with laurel, to tender his submission to Pompey, and to tell him that the corpse of his inveterate enemy should be delivered into his hands. Pompey, warned by the sufferings of his first campaign, had not hazarded to follow Mithridates into the unknown regions of the Bosporani. He had already reached with his conquering arms the Atlantic in Spain, and that same great sea which he imagined to be some other ocean, in Africa. He had advanced to the Euxine, in Pontus, and nearly to the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea, through Iberia. His ambition was to compass the earth, as far as it was known to the Romans, by reaching the Red Sea through Arabia. He said that famine would destroy Mithridates, and he turned, with the confident contempt of ignorance, into Syria. He overran this distracted and divided country, making it a Roman province, and confirming in their governments such of the petty Princes as joined him. He marched through Judea, as far as Jerusalem, to settle the quarrels of the Sadducees and Pharisees, who were struggling for the mastery under the brother-Princes Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Pompey protected the former, because he was a quiet man of no capacity. The latter he detained as prisoner, whilst visiting him in his camp, and he quartered his troops in the holy city. The fortress and temple held out against him, but he took them on the Sabbath-day, when the Jews would not fight. He dismantled the walls, put 12,000 men to the sword, and violated the temple, by entering it, he being a heathen, and examining all the sacred vessels; but he ordered it to be purified after his departure, and would not suffer a single article to be plundered.

Whilst on his progress from Jerusalem to Petra, he was overtaken by the couriers of Pharnaces, and his soldiers were so impatient to hear the news, which was indicated by the laurelled spears, that they would not wait to elevate their commander on the usual platform of earth, but heaped their saddles upon each other, and raised him upon the summit, that he might proclaim the joyful tidings on the spot. Pompey read the letter aloud,

announcing that the war with Mithridates was ended by his death; that his son surrendered himself unconditionally; and that Pontus, with all the rich provinces it swayed, was the property of the Roman people. Pompey returned in all haste to Amisus, where he received the submission of Pharnaces, whom he crowned Monarch of the Bosporani. He would not see the body of the late mighty King, but sent it to Sinope, to be laid in the burying-place of the Persian sovereigns of Pontus; and along with it, he restored the glittering and magnificent armour in which Mithridates died, and which Pompey viewed with astonishment and admiration. The funeral was conducted with the utmost pomp, and the expenses were defrayed by the Roman Chief, one of whose most attractive qualities it was to show uniform respect for the dead. When Pompey's letters were received in the Senate, twelve days of thanksgiving were appointed, and the Senators decreed, that the victor should in future wear a crown of laurel and a triumphal robe when he appeared in the Circus, and be clothed in princely purple at the theatre.

In the following year, Pompey returned to Italy, so covered with glory, and so strong in the affections of his troops, that the Senate feared he would prove  
Y. R. 690. a second Sylla; but he disbanded his army and quietly awaited his triumph. In approbation of his conduct, the population of every town he passed through, came forth to welcome him, and his triumph lasted for two whole days, and was greeted by the people with transports of joy. "Pompeius Magnus," they said, "was the hero of the world. His first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe (Spain), and his third over Asia." The list of his conquests was heralded

before him, including fifteen nations besides the  
Y. R. 691. Pirates, 1000 castles and 900 cities taken, beside thirty-nine rebuilt and repeopled. He added 20,000 talents to the treasury, and nearly doubled the amount of tribute due from the conquered cities to Rome. Besides this, he dedicated all his rarest and most valuable spoils to Jupiter Capitolinus, and he was, on the whole, free from cruelty, treachery, or rapacity. Amongst those who followed his car were Tigranes, Prince of Armenia, with his wife and daughter; Aristobulus, Prince of Judea;

and the sister and several children of Mithridates, besides the King of Commagene, and many nobles of Albania and Iberia. After his triumph, he had the unusual humanity to free all his captives not royal, and to save from death and ill-treatment those whom pride or policy induced him to retain.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXXIV.

##### MITHRIDATES, VERRES, POMPEY.

MITHRIDATES the Great was the most formidable enemy the Romans ever encountered in Asia, and, notwithstanding his many vices and foibles, he was a man of extraordinary abilities and strength of character. He was the most powerful and dreaded of all the Pontic monarchs. He ruled twenty-five nations, and spoke all their languages, and his memory has still its echo in the country subject to his dominion, for there is a recess in the rock near Odessa, which is at this day called "the Throne of Mithridates." He was of giant stature, inaccessible to fatigue, an elegant scholar, a patron of the arts, and a skilful physician. To secure himself against poison, he discovered numerous antidotes, and he invented the most useful and least fallible of them all, called "Mithridate," from his name. His armies were accompanied by engineers of the highest merit, and his cities were full of the costliest works of art, and the most skilful efforts of genius. Pompey captured in Sinope an astronomical sphere of great rarity, and the statue of Autolycus its founder, one of the finest pieces of sculpture in the world. From another city he pillaged 2000 cups of onyx set in gold, and so much horse equipage, adorned with gold and precious stones, that the commissioners were thirty days in making out the inventory. In one fortress he found tables, salvers, and statues of the gods, in massive gold, besides two chess-boards, of precious stones, three feet long by four broad, with golden chessmen. - In another, he captured a golden throne and sceptre, the King's statue in gold twelve feet high, and the bed of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, which had descended to Mithridates from his ancestors. The diadem

of this unfortunate sovereign, and the scabbard of his sword, both worth immense sums, were stolen after his death. The former came into the possession of Faustus, the son of Sylla and ward of Lucullus; the latter was sold to the King of Cappadocia.

Besides all the costly treasures exhibited by Pompey, Lucullus displayed in his triumph a golden statue of Mithridates, six feet high, and his buckler covered with precious stones. Twenty trays filled with vessels of silver, and twenty others with vessels of gold, followed by eight mules bearing golden beds, and fifty mules laden with ingots of silver. A number of captive cavalry were also exhibited completely sheathed in steel; several scythed chariots, and 110 galleys, with brazen prows.

The children of Mithridates lived and died in Italy; and the urns of many of them may be seen in the Villa Campana at Rome. In the museum of the Capitol there is a large and handsome bronze vase, the gift of Mithridates to the Roman Senate after his peace with Sylla. Some treatises on botany and medicine, written by this King, Pompey had translated into Latin; and both he and Lucullus possessed themselves of numbers of Pontican MSS. and state papers. So numerous were they, that Lucullus formed out of them a handsome library, which he liberally threw open to all who loved literature. He first introduced the cherry into Europe from Pontus.

When Pompey was in Albania his enemies were reinforced by foreigners from the Caucasus, whom, judging by their shields, in the form of a half-moon, and their buskins, he believed to be Amazons, or female warriors. He had the corpses examined, but they all proved to be men. There is little doubt, however, that the women in that district have always borne arms, and defended themselves and their homes when occasion required, for they do so at this day. The females of the Gauls and Spaniards also used to fight when their husbands were absent, or in extremity.

At Damascus twelve petty Kings did homage to Pompey. Amongst them was Aristobulus of Judæa, who strove to propitiate his favour by the gift of a golden vine which had belonged to Jannæus, his father. This vine had birds upon the branches, and wild animals beneath its boughs; and Pompey dedicated it to Jupiter

in the Capitoline Temple. The King of Iberia presented him with a bedstead, a table, and a throne of gold; and these he placed at the service of the treasury to be turned into money.

During the Consulship of Pompey and Crassus, Y.R. 683, the Censorship was restored, and a fortune of 800,000 sesterces was made the qualification of a Senator. Sixty-four Senators were degraded for bad conduct on the first inquiry by Q. Catulus, Prince of the Senate, a man so much esteemed by his countrymen that when he opposed the appointment of Pompey to supersede Lucullus, and asked, "If Pompey falls in battle, to whom will you then commit the safety of your country?" the Fathers unanimously answered, "To thee, O Catulus." The Tribunes were restored in the same Consulship to the dangerous and inordinate power they had possessed before Sylla. The first elected were of the Equestrian order, friends of Pompey, by whose means he was raised to the Dictatorial authority during his wars with the Pirates and Mithridates. Pompey was elected Consul by the unanimous enthusiasm of the people, who looked upon him as their hero. Crassus, his colleague, almost the richest of the Romans, and victor over the Gladiators, being jealous of him, vainly endeavoured to appropriate part of his popularity by lavishing gifts on the impoverished and demoralised citizens. He entertained them magnificently, after his ovation, at 10,000 tables; and he ordered corn to be distributed gratis amongst them sufficient to last for three months.

At this time Verres, the infamous Prætor of Sicily, was banished; and the judgment of civil causes was taken from the Senate, and transferred to a new court composed of Equites and the Tribunes of the *Ærarians*. Verres was the perfidious Quæstor who deserted with the military chest to Sylla at Capua. Sylla despised and neglected him; but after that Dictator's death he was chosen Prætor of Sicily for one year; and owing to the perplexities of the Senate, engaged as it was in wars against Sertorius, Mithridates, Spartacus, and the Pirates, all at once he was continued in office for two years longer. Verres, after his return to Rome, stood a prosecution for extortion; and would have gained his acquittal by bribery had not Cicero taken up the defence of the oppressed



with a zeal and talent that could not be resisted. The Senators condemned Verres, in hopes both of being able to retain the judgment of future similar causes in their own hands, and of saving themselves from exposure. But Cicero, burning with indignation against the villain and tyrant whom they would willingly have shielded, circulated his speeches throughout the country. Their glowing eloquence, and fervent defence of a righteous cause, have made them the models of every succeeding generation, and have crowned their author with immortal honour.

Verres was a man who revelled in luxury, and cared not by what cruelties he obtained the objects of his desire. He seized the pictures, statues, and cherished treasures of all who came within his reach. He raised fines and taxes for the Roman Tribute, and appropriated the money to himself. He then fined and taxed the Sicilians a second time, to discharge the dues of Rome. He plundered the very temples of their golden images and sacred vessels; and the statues of Hercules of Agrigentum, Juno of Samos, and Ceres of Enna, he removed from their shrines to place in his cabinet. He slew fathers for defending their daughters from insult, half roasted the Prætor of Sicyon for resisting an unjust fine, and crucified a Legate because he was defeated by the Pirates, when Verres had left him destitute of troops and provisions. Every year he openly sent to his own home two vessels filled with his ill-gotten spoil.

Silene, the widowed Queen of Antiochus Eusebes, King of Syria, after the ruin of her husband's affairs, retained a small sovereignty at Ptolemais, where she educated her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus, and Seleucus Cybiosactes. As they were nephews of Ptolemy Lathyrus, of Egypt, she thought they had as good a claim to that crown as Alexander, upon whom Sylla had conferred it; and when Alexander had excited tumults by his tyranny, she sent her sons to Rome to negotiate with the Senate for being elected in his room.

Ptolemy Alexander outbribed them. He was confirmed in his dignities, and the Seleucian Princes were commanded to return to Syria, where they ended their days in obscurity. Antiochus, wishing to see the wonders of Sicily, landed at Syracuse on his outward voyage,

and Verres sent to welcome him with every demonstration of joy. Verres ordered abundance of provisions for his attendants, and gave a costly and sumptuous entertainment to the Prince himself, at which he displayed vessels of gold and silver of great and singular beauty. Antiochus invited Verres to a feast in return, at which the value and exquisite workmanship of his furniture and ornaments far surpassed anything which had hitherto been seen by the Romans. Besides innumerable salvers, cups, and vases of gold, set with jewels, and chiselled in relief, he had one wine-vessel made of a single precious stone. Verres expressed aloud his admiration, and said the entertainment was worthy of a King. The next day, he sent his servants with a request, that Antiochus would lend him some of his rarest vessels, that he might have them copied by his artists. Antiochus readily complied. Verres then asked for the precious wine-holder for a few hours, and also to be allowed to inspect a colossal candelabrum of gold and jewels of inestimable value, which he understood the Prince designed as an offering to Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. Antiochus sent the wine-holder, but demurred about the candelabrum, because it was the joint offering of many towns in Syria, and he did not wish it to be seen until it was placed in the temple. He was conveying it back with him to Ptolemais, because the rebuilding of the temple was not yet completed. Verres was, however, so urgent in his request to be allowed to see it, that Antiochus yielded, and sent it under many precautions to his Palace. Here the servants waited in vain to carry it back again. Verres said it should be returned the next day. The Prince, somewhat alarmed, went the next day to claim it in person, and then Verres threw off the mask. He seized the Prince, told him that all his precious things should remain where they were, that any other candelabrum would please Jupiter as well, and that he might consider himself fortunate not to atone for his temerity by the forfeiture of his life. Finally he released the Prince, but commanded him to quit the island by sunset. The hapless Antiochus hurried to the Forum, where he told his tale to the Sicilians with tears in his eyes, cursed the Prætor, and invoked Jupiter to avenge him. Antiochus never could obtain justice afterwards, and

never had the slightest restitution or compensation made him by the Roman people.

When Verres was first prosecuted for his incessant cruelties and extortions in Sicily, he was sanguine of his acquittal, and boasted that he had nothing to fear, for he could buy off all his judges. He said he should divide amongst them one year's plunder, he should bestow that of another upon his advocate, and he should still be a wealthy man with the plunder of a third reserved to himself. Notwithstanding his flagrant crimes, no one but Cicero could have procured his condemnation, and when sentenced, he delivered up twenty-four millions of sesterces, all of them pillage. His conduct, being a specimen of the system pursued by the unprincipled Governors in their provinces, and of the oppressions of the Equites and Publicans everywhere, explains why that class were so universally detested in our Saviour's time. Verres was slain by Antony, many years afterwards, for purloining some precious vases of Corinthian manufacture.

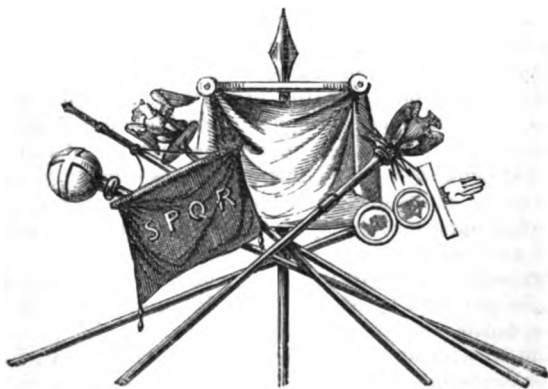
Ptolemy Alexander was driven from his throne, subsequently to the unsuccessful expedition of the Syrian Princes, and he took refuge with Pompey in Asia, and endeavoured to obtain his assistance. As Pompey declined interfering, Alexander removed to Tyre where he was slain after a tyrannical reign of fifteen years. He bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people, in order to ruin his rival and successor, Ptolemy Auletes.

The Cilician Pirates introduced the Persian worship of Mithras, or the signs of the Zodiac, into Europe. Almost every Museum contains sculptures of the Mithra worship, represented as a man killing a bull, with a crab and scales near to it. From Soli, a city desolated by the Pirates, and repeople by Pompey, is said to have originated the word "Solecism," to express improprieties and incongruities of speech. The mixed dialect of Greek and Asiatic, which soon became the peculiar tongue of Soli, abounded in heterogeneous confusions. In r.a. 685, the year in which C. Metellus reduced Crete, the renewed temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was dedicated by the excellent Q. Catulus, the Prince of the Senate above mentioned.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

B.C. 64 TO 57. Y.R. 689 TO 696.\*

**CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY ; FIRST TRIUMVIRATE ; BANISHMENT AND RECALL OF CICERO ; ANNEXATION OF CYPRUS.**



ROMAN STANDARDS.

**DURING** the time that Pompey was pursuing his career of victory in Pontus and Syria, an atrocious conspiracy had nearly destroyed Rome. Lucius Sergius Catiline, a man of Patrician family, was a prodigy of strength in mind and body ; tall, muscular, and energetic ; of great talents, and insinuating manners, indomitable

\* Authorities : Sallust, *Catilina* ; Livy, *Epit. libb. cii. ciii.* ; Plut. *Lives of Cicero, Pompey, M. Crassus* ; Univ. History, *xiii. p. 133, &c.* ; Nieb. *Lectures, ii.* ; Michelet, *Rome, iii.*

will, and persevering courage; but avaricious, profuse, and wholly unprincipled, so that his ambition and necessities together urged him to render himself master of the commonwealth. Rome had long been governed by those only who could either gain the affections of the soldiers, or bribe the votes of the people. Catiline said, "This state is a body without a head,—I will be its head." Having squandered his substance, and being sunk deeply in debt, he partly reimbursed himself by the murder of his brother and others during the proscriptions of Sylla, and partly by extortions during his Prætorship in Africa. He hoped to enrich himself still further by becoming Consul and Dictator in Rome. Sylla's nephew, P. Cornelius, had just been deposed with his colleague, from the Consulship for bribery. This irritated them exceedingly, because every magistracy was now openly obtained by bribery. They readily joined Catiline, who affected to sympathise in their disgrace, and plotted with him a deep and unnatural revenge. They associated with their party crowds of ruined spendthrifts and idle bravoës; the children of the proscribed, and the multitudes of factious, needy desperadoes, who had nothing to lose by a revolution, and everything to gain. Catiline used that language which has in all ages been employed to excite the multitude to mischief. He told the people they were oppressed by tyrants, and that if he were invested with authority, he would divide amongst them the magistracies, and the fortunes accumulated by usury. In short, he proposed to despoil the rich, in order to relieve the burdened.

The avaricious and deceived malcontents plotted to murder the Senate, and to seize the government at the next election, but Catiline having given the signal too soon; the attempt failed. It was not, however, abandoned, and the conspirators endeavoured to arrange their plans more securely. Crassus and Cæsar were both accomplices, the one to increase his wealth, and the other to raise himself to greater distinction. Lentulus, the abandoned Prætor, and Cethegus, a worthless and powerful Roman, were heads of the conspiracy under Catiline. Fortunately for Rome, one of the traitors discovered the plot to Fulvia, a woman with whom he was in love, and she, being startled at its enormity, revealed it to Cicero.

Catiline presented himself as a candidate for the Consulship, and resolved to obtain his aim at all hazards. The Senators felt that their doom was sealed should he succeed, and therefore united with the people in urging Cicero to stand as his opponent, and, notwithstanding their previous jealousy of him as a *novus homo*, they now heartily united in his election. Their pride yielded to their consciousness of his peculiar fitness to meet the impending crisis.

Catiline, being mortified and baffled, hated Cicero with implacable malignity. He assiduously increased his partisans by bribery, and, to render himself more irresistible, gained over the reckless veterans of Sylla, who were placed as Colonists in various parts of Etruria, and who being already half ruined by their own extravagance, were glad of any chance of plunder. More than 20,000 of them willingly enlisted under his standard, and ranged themselves under the command of his Legate Manlius, at Fæsulæ. Fortified with this additional power, Catiline again stood for the Consulship, but, through the eloquence and influence of Cicero, he was again rejected. Cicero acquainted himself with all Catiline's plans, by maintaining spies amongst the conspirators. Crassus, who was implicated, one day received an anonymous letter revealing to him the whole plot, the magnitude and diabolical nature of which he had never before suspected. The Capitol was to be seized, and the city fired by the agents of Catiline within the walls, Cicero was to be murdered by Lentulus and Cethegus in his own house, and as soon as this was accomplished, an army of traitors was to march upon Rome from Fæsulæ.

Crassus exonerated himself from all further participation in these plans by consigning his letters to the Consul, and Cicero read them the next day in full Senate, and was immediately invested with Dictatorial power. Catiline, hearing a rumour of these proceedings, audaciously entered the Senate, to exculpate himself, but none of the Senators choosing to sit by so vile a character, his former companions walked over to the opposite side, and left him in his place alone. Cicero, in a magnificent speech, exposed his guilt with a warmth and truth which roused him to fury. He rose to reply, and at length, seeing that he made no impression, exclaimed to the assembled

Fathers, "Since you have raised the flame, I will quench it in the blood and ruin of you and yours."

His designs being thus unmasked and almost avowed, he left Rome and hastened to Fæsulæ to take the command of the rebel army under Manlius. Meanwhile Lentulus and Cethegus undertook to be his substitutes in Rome, and to carry into execution his designs of blood and fire. Being Curule Magistrates, they also hoped to raise the Gauls in their favour, by winning over the Ambassadors of the Allobroges, who had recently arrived in Rome to sue for the redress of certain extortions exercised upon their nation. The Allobroges had heard of Catiline, and that part of his system was to abolish all fines and taxes due to the Republic, as well as all private debts. Lentulus seduced them with the most ample promises, and they in return agreed to support him with a body of troops. Upon second thoughts, however, they had recourse to the Patron of their nation, the Senator Sanga, and consulted him upon the subject. He explained to them the conspiracy, and promised them immediate redress if they would assist in defeating it. By his desire, they insisted upon a written treaty to carry back with them into Gaul, and upon letters to Catiline in Etruria. These were unhesitatingly granted, and as they left Rome, Cicero had them seized, and deprived of their papers, which were immediately laid before the Senate. The Ambassadors were permitted to depart free, but the perfidious Lentulus and Cethegus were arrested, imprisoned, and, according to the old martial law of Rome, without further trial condemned to death, having been taken in manifest crime (*delictum manifestum*). Cicero hesitated to carry this decree into immediate execution upon two men of such elevated rank and powerful connexions. But his domineering wife, Terentia, who hated the two culprits, reproached him with timidity, and, stung by her taunts and bitterness, he passed by the prison in which they were confined, and stood to see them strangled. On his way home, he said to the crowds in the Forum, "*Vixerunt*," i.e. they have lived. He did not say "*Mortui sunt*," they are dead, because the Romans considered the mention of *death* as unlucky. The multitude rejoicing in their deliverance from such a fearful and imminent danger, cheered and saluted him as

the Saviour of Rome, accompanied him home with music and torches; and illuminated the city in his honour all night long.

When Catiline heard of the fate of his colleagues, he raised the standard of revolt, and placed himself at the head of the Etrurian army. He hoped to march into Cisalpine Gaul, and with reinforcements from that country to overwhelm Rome. The Consul, C. Antonius, was directed to oppose him, but as he had once been his friend (if not also his accomplice), he pretended sickness, and delegated the army to Petreius. Metellus Celer guarded the passes of the Alps, so that Catiline could not leave Italy, and Petreius came up with him at Pistoria, now Pistoja, in Tuscany. The action which ensued was bravely fought, and when Catiline perceived that his troops were defeated, he rode desperately into the midst of the enemy, and fell amongst a heap of slain. His body was discovered the next day almost buried under his opponents, and his face preserved, even in death, that expression of fierce and wild defiance which had distinguished his character in life.

With Catiline ended the conspiracy, and Rome was once more at peace. Cicero, who had saved the state, went out of office, and instead of swearing in the usual words, as he laid aside the Consular ensigns, "I have kept the laws," he swore, "I alone have preserved the Republic in safety." The multitude shouted exultingly, and confirmed his assertion with loud acclamations. He was publicly thanked in the Senate, and Cato having named him *Pater Patriæ*, or Father of his country, this title was confirmed to him by law. Cicero was the first person who received it from the Senate, as their grateful testimony that wisdom and promptitude had preserved their lives and properties, without sacrificing the blood of the people. It was one of the worst signs of Republican degeneracy, that the chiefs who shed blood in arbitrary conquests were now more honoured and admired than those who saved the state by sagacity and foresight.

This melancholy truth was evidenced by the enthusiastic admiration which attended the career of Pompey. He had just concluded the Mithridatic war, and Metellus Nepos, who hated Cicero, and who wished to diminish



his fame, proposed that Pompey should be recalled to settle Italy. Julius Cæsar, now Prætor and a distinguished man, though young, seconded the motion, but Cato forbade it to be proceeded with, and carried his point, declaring that so long as he lived Pompey should never enslave Italy by bringing his victorious army into Rome. Pompey soon afterwards landed at Brundisium, where, to the astonishment and relief of all men, he dismissed his army, and travelled to Rome as a private person. The following year he celebrated his triumph, and then once more affected to retire into private life. He aimed to gain a reputation for magnanimity, and hoped to be raised to the head of affairs by the voice of the people without seeming to desire it. Pompey, however, had five competitors for supremacy, whose weight he did not sufficiently estimate. These were, Lucullus Ponticus, L. Crassus, T. Cicero, Portius Cato, and Julius Cæsar. The first was his offended and supplanted rival; the second was the wealthiest of the Romans; the third, the most eloquent; the fourth, the most upright; and the fifth, the most ambitious and audacious, with a universality and versatility of talent which finally rendered him the master of the others. Pompey's great desire was to obtain grants of land for his veterans, similar to the assignments of Scipio and Sylla, and to have all his acts and treaties confirmed in Asia. But as he had repealed the acts and institutions of Lucullus, this chief and the Metelli obstinately and unceasingly refused him their concurrence.

Cæsar, meanwhile, was kept out of political mischief by being sent as Proconsul into Spain. On his route he was arrested by his creditors, for the enormous debt of 830 talents, not the half of the sum he really owed, and which he intended his sword to repay. He had incurred enormous debts with the utmost recklessness, by bribery, licentiousness, and pompous shows. Crassus, who began life with 120 talents, but whose usury and extortion had increased them to 7000, lent him the money, and he departed free. As he marched through a poor desolate village in Spain, one of his officers asked him if he thought there was any intriguing for supremacy there. Cæsar gravely answered, "I had rather be the first among these barbarians, than the second man in Rome." Cæsar aimed, even then, at the Dictatorship.

Arrived in Spain, he replenished his empty coffers by attacking and rendering tributary the southern tribes towards the Atlantic,\* which had not yet been subjected to Rome. He governed them well, though he acquired them unjustly, and returned to Italy to stand for the Consulship, which was the main object of his ambition. At the same time he claimed a triumph for his late achievements. The Senators objected that to gain the Consulship, he must stand candidate in the Forum, whilst to gain his triumph he must remain without the city. Cæsar never sacrificed substance to show, nor power to vanity. Without hesitation, he relinquished his triumph, and entered Rome. Here he found that, if supported by the wealth of Crassus, he should be thwarted by the influence of Pompey; and if he gained over Pompey, he should be bribed out by Crassus. He artfully, therefore, secured both, by representing to each, that if they would elect him Consul, and agree always to act together, their united fame, riches, and military capacity, would govern the Roman dominions. A compact to this effect was signed between them; their united rule was called "The first Triumvirate." Cæsar became Consul, and he, Pompey, and Crassus, ruled with irresistible sway the destinies of Rome.

Though the Senate did not know of this secret treaty, they foresaw the danger of Cæsar obtaining absolute power, and they combined together to buy the votes of the people, in order to provide him with an opponent as his colleague in the Consulship. Even Cato consented to the measure, though by nature opposed to all expedients, and C. Bibulus was elected second Consul by legalised and avowed bribery.

Cæsar's first act was to confirm all the Asiatic arrangements of Pompey. His next was, to propose a wise and humane law for distributing the public and unappropriated lands in Campania to citizen paupers who had three or more children. No man had anything to object to this law, but Cicero, Cato, and Bibulus, gave it their strenuous opposition, because Cæsar originated it, and, but for the resources of the Triumvirate, it would have been thrown out. Cæsar called upon Crassus and

\* Bætica, now Andalusia, and Lusitania.

Pompey for their opinions. Crassus said he would support the law with all his power. Pompey answered, "If any one opposes it by the sword, I will resist him with both sword and buckler." The Senators yielded to terror, and Bibulus was driven out of the Forum. He retired to his house, and was so overawed and inactive during the rest of his Consulship, that the Roman wits called the year in derision "The Consulship of Julius and of Cæsar."

Cato still resisted the passing of the law, and said he would go into exile sooner than give it his consent. Cicero's wonderful eloquence softened and overpersuaded him. "Yield," he exclaimed, "and remember that though Cato may not want Rome, Rome, alas! requires Cato." Cæsar attached the whole Equestrian order to his party, by farming the taxes to them for one-third less than had been exacted before.

The succeeding Consuls, Calpurnius and Piso, were creatures of the Triumvirs. Cæsar secured the interest of Calpurnius by marrying his daughter Calpurnia, and then applied for the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. Contrary to law, they were conferred upon him for five years. P. Clodius,\* a daring, ambitious, and unprincipled Patrician, persuaded the Triumvirs that he could give them powerful support, if they would enable him to procure the Plebeian Tribuneship. They accordingly effected his adoption into a Plebeian family, and obtained for him the factious office. Clodius was a descendant of Appius Claudius the Decemvir, and brother-in-law to Lucullus. He hated Cicero and his meddling wife Terentia; and though he pretended other aims, he had sought the Tribuneship solely to wreak on them his revenge.

Cicero's foible was an overweening vanity which could not rest without notoriety. The strongest characteristic of his mind was an exuberant, poignant wit, and unfortunately his regard for the feelings of others was never strong enough to restrain him from shining at their expense. His cutting sarcasms, uttered not from malice, but from a puerile desire for admiration, had estranged from him his most intimate associates, and he had irritated

\* This form of the Claudian name is occasionally found in the case of other individuals of that distinguished Gens.

each of the Triumvirs separately, until they were glad to see him humbled. He had accused Crassus of befriending Catiline, refused Pompey to confirm his ordinances in Asia, and opposed Cæsar's scheme to colonize Campania. The latter Triumvir alone attempted to shield him from Clodius. Cæsar offered to conduct him as a Legate into Gaul, but Cicero having declined, Cæsar departed angry at his folly.

Clodius bribed the Consuls not to interfere between him and his victim, by assigning to the one the province of Macedon, and to the other that of Syria. He then proposed and carried his invidious decree, that "whoever was accessory to the death of a Roman citizen before the people had passed sentence upon him, should be considered a traitor, and be treated as such." This was so palpably aimed at Cicero, who had saved his country from the horrors of civil war by the summary condemnation of Lentulus and Cethegus, that the great orator put on mourning, and engaged the Senators to go into mourning with him, hoping to gain over the people before the day of trial. P. Crassus, the son of the Triumvir, attended Cicero everywhere with a numerous guard fully armed, and offered to defend him with 20,000 clients. Clodius, who could command an equal number, provoked and insulted him wherever they met; and nothing but Cicero's humane feelings could have prevented a fatal result. He preferred banishment to bloodshed; and before matters came to blows exiled himself from Rome, first to Sicily, and finally to Macedon, where he was honourably received and entertained. Clodius had all Cicero's property confiscated; and his magnificent house in Rome, with his tasteful villas at Tusculum, Arpinum, Mola, and Pompeii, were brought to the hammer. To Clodius's mortification, no one on the day of the sale would purchase. He therefore burned down Cicero's house on the Palatine; and to prevent its ever being rebuilt, erected in its stead a temple to Liberty. His idea of liberty was, that all men should think and act as *he* pleased.

To rid himself of Cato, who was a very inconvenient check upon his ambition, Clodius remembered an affront which had been offered him many years before by Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, the grandson of Lathyrus, king of Egypt. Clodius had been captured by the Pirates, and carried into Cyprus, whence the King refused to ransom him.

Now that he was Tribune, he framed a declaration which the ignorant people passed into a decree, that Ptolemy by this act had insulted the majesty of the Romans, and had thereby forfeited his kingdom, which escheated to them. Clodius artfully contrived that Cato should be appointed to carry this unjust mandate into effect. The stern Senator, after vainly remonstrating, conceived it his duty to execute the capricious will of the people, and set sail for Rhodes. Thence he sent a message to Ptolemy, warning him that resistance was vain; and offering him, if he resigned his throne peaceably, an honourable maintenance, and the lucrative and distinguished post of Pontifex to the Paphian Venus. The hapless Ptolemy, in despair, ended his days by poison; and Cato sent his nephew Brutus (afterwards notorious as the assassin of Cæsar) to secure the royal treasures, and to settle the island.

During Cato's absence, Clodius opposed himself to Pompey, whose renown began already to be eclipsed by the victories Cæsar was gaining in Gaul. Clodius released Pompey's prisoner, the Prince Tigranes, from the custody of the Prætor, and though aware of his vicious character, permitted him to return to Armenia. Pompey being exasperated, Clodius threatened to disannul all his acts in Asia. Pompey gained over to his side the Tribune Milo, who was Prætor of Lanuvium, a person of great weight and consequence, with as numerous a following as P. Crassus or Clodius. After the Consuls were changed, Pompey, out of enmity to Clodius, proposed the recall of Cicero. Clodius appeared in the Forum to forbid it at the head of a band of Gladiators, but Milo seconded it, attended by an equal or larger force. A riot ensued, in which many lost their lives, but Milo obtained the advantage, and the Senators passed the decree. Cicero, after sixteen months of unjust and morbidly endured exile, returned in triumph to Rome, and all the city went out to welcome him. The sentence against him was revoked, and every possible compensation was made for the losses he had sustained. His

lands were restored unscathed, and his houses, or rather palaces, were rebuilt at the public expense. The remains of one at Tusculum, and one at Mola de Gaieta, still attest the princely magnificence in which he used to live.

## AFTER CHAPTER XXXV.

THE banishment of Cicero from Rome, after the signal services he had rendered to the Republic, was entirely owing to the hatred borne him by Clodius ; and the reason of a hatred so malignant requires some elucidation.

After the death of Catiline, Cicero had needlessly exposed Clodius before the Senate as a profligate and sacrilegious man. Cæsar had been elected Pontifex Maximus. The rites of the Bona Dea (or Goddess of Women) were celebrated every year in the house of this dignitary, and were attended and administered by women only, the presence of a man being considered profanation. Clodius was in love with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, and he concerted with her the monstrous impiety of effecting a meeting during the celebration of these sacred mysteries. Clodius, having disguised himself in woman's clothes, was introduced into the Pontiff's house by one of Pompeia's slaves as a singer, and was left alone whilst she went to inform her mistress of his arrival. Meanwhile he was seen and asked to sing by another slave, who, upon his refusal, discovered from his voice that he was a man. She was dreadfully shocked, and ran screaming amongst the ladies, who, fearful lest some dire calamity should ensue, stopped their rites, veiled the vessels of sacrifice, and locked the doors to secure the intruder. Clodius was seized, unmasked, and driven shamefully away. The mysteries were left unfinished, the ladies returned home, and complained to their husbands of the impious violation which their rites had endured, and Clodius was brought up for judgment before the Senate. His guilt was clear, and the punishment he deserved was death, but being very rich, he bribed the majority of his judges, and was acquitted. Cæsar, not choosing to provoke his enmity, said he had nothing to charge him with. He was asked by the judges why, then, he had divorced his wife. "Because," he replied, "the wife of Cæsar ought not even to be suspected." Clodius pleaded that he had been absent from Rome, but Cicero, incited against him by the imperious Terentia, who was jealous of his sister Clodia, placed his guilt in so clear a light that it could

not admit of a doubt. This Clodius never forgave. Cicero was told that the judges did not give him credit for his evidence. He answered, "Twenty-five of them believed me, but the remaining thirty could not give me credit, for they had received their money (Clodius's bribe) before they entered the court."

Roman manners had become so profligate, that marriage was now little better than a matter of temporary interest and convenience; and men changed their wives almost as easily as they changed their garments. Most of the leading men of Rome were four or five times married, and their divorced and generally intriguing or immodest consorts became the wives of other men. Cæsar had first married Cossutia, whom he divorced for Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. He now divorced Pompeia, the grand-daughter of Sylla, and married Calpurnia, the daughter of the Consul Calpurnius, through whose interest he obtained the provinces of Gaul.

At the time when the Senators were debating with the greatest anxiety what measures to adopt against Catiline, a despatch was brought to Cæsar in the Senate-house, which Cato insisted upon inspecting, because he believed it to come from a conspirator. Upon its being delivered up to him, he perceived that it was a passionate love-letter to the married Cæsar, from his own sister Servilia. Cato was so angry that he threw it back again, exclaiming, "Take it, drunkard." Cato was the most virtuous and rigid of the Romans, and yet he abandoned his own third wife, the young Marcia, to a Senator who had the presumptuous insolence to ask for her. In such a state of manners, domestic happiness could scarcely exist, but the pride of family connexions was as strong as ever. Pompey hoped to influence Cato by seeking his alliance, and Cato refused it, because he said he should then share the obloquy of all Pompey's illegal acts. Cæsar secured Pompey's adherence by giving him his daughter Julia. He seems himself to have felt a peculiar tenderness for Julia's mother, his wife, Cornelia. She died young, and he publicly pronounced her funeral oration, as well as that of his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius. Ladies of quality at this time often travelled with their husbands, and were received with great pomp in the cities where they took up their quarters.

If the Conscript Fathers refused to attend in the Senate-house after being summoned, they were fined by a piece of furniture being taken from their houses, and detained until they did their duty.

At this period bands of Gladiators were regularly kept in pay by the rich Romans, to enable them to execute their own designs by violence, or to defend them against their arbitrary and tumultuous neighbours. The Gladiators were closely confined during the revolt of Catiline, lest they should augment and espouse his cause. If security of public and private rights be the mark of civilisation, the Romans were now in great barbarism. The Tribune Otho gave violent offence by assigning rows of seats in every theatre, behind the Senators, to the Equites, thus distinguishing them publicly from the people.

Cicero is said to have invented short-hand writing, and to have taught it to a number of scribes, whom he employed in the Senate-house, like our Reporters in the houses of Parliament, to take down the words of the Members whilst they were speaking.

A curious scene occurred during the struggle between Metellus and Cato, as to whether Pompey should be permitted to re-enter Italy at the head of his army or not. On the day of Comitia, when the people had assembled to hear the new laws proposed, Metellus and his friend Julius Cæsar walked together into the Rostra. The former held the bill in his hand, having previously filled the Forum with hired Gladiators, who were to kill those who opposed it. The rich Romans of this time, like the unruly Barons of the middle ages, kept strong bands of armed men in their pay. Cato, who never knew fear, walked up to the Rostra unarmed, with his head uncovered, and took his seat between Metellus and Cæsar, to their infinite annoyance. When Metellus began to read his bill, Cato snatched it from him; and when he began to repeat it by heart, he found Cato's hand placed upon his mouth, so that he could not speak. Metellus, in a fury, now gave the signal to his Gladiators to act. Their swords were unsheathed, the crowd was dispersed in a few moments, and Cato was left alone. He escaped to the Temple of Castor, which the Gladiators had just vacated; and Metellus, who thought he had run away,



began once more to read his bill. The Gladiators had retired, as being no longer wanted, and behold! Cato reappeared. He headed the friends of Cicero, and completely defeated Metellus, whose guards and Gladiators had vanished. The whole scene was so ridiculous and unconstitutional, that Metellus left Rome in disgrace, and took refuge with Pompey. The Senate deprived Cæsar of his Prætorship; but the lawless men, who had supported him in the Forum, offered to reinstate him. Cæsar, though he plainly and gladly saw that "might superseded right" in the lost Republic, refused the illegal offer; and the Senate in gratitude restored him to his office.

Cato, when sent out on his unjust expedition against Cyprus, proceeded first from Rhodes to Byzantium, where he reinstated a number of noble exiles, who had fled to Rome, and then continued his voyage to Cyprus, where he had an exact inventory taken of the late King's effects. He made himself many enemies by selling everything for its fair value, and not permitting his followers to enrich themselves by shameful bargains. Cato carried home his treasures, amounting to 7000 talents, in a fleet of small vessels; and to secure them from being irrecoverable, if lost, he attached to every vessel a large piece of cork by a rope, so that if the vessel sunk this cork, or buoy, would mark its situation, and its cargo could be dived for.

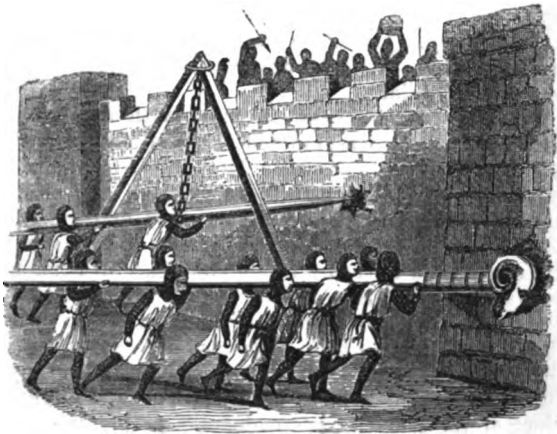
When the whole treasure reached Rome, Cato was received with triumph; and he affixed in the Capitol tablets recording all that he had done, and detailing the spoils he had gained for the state. Cicero, when he returned from exile, wished these, and all the other acts of Clodius's Tribuneship, to be effaced; but Cato sternly resisted interference with his tablets, and they remained intact. He regarded himself as the conqueror of Cyprus; and was so vain of his success as to be blind to the violence, covetousness, and injustice, by which it had been won.

Pompey once broke up an assembly of the people by saying he heard thunder. Clodius forbade any one in future to hear thunder when the Romans were met in their Comitia to pass new laws.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

B.C. 60 TO 51. Y.R. 693 TO 702.\*

WARS OF CÆSAR IN GAUL.



BATTERED TOWER.

WE will now return to the Consulship of Calpurnius, the father-in-law of Cæsar, through whose interest, united with that of Pompey, he obtained for five years the command in the Roman provinces of Cisalpine Gaul.

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit. lib. ciii.-cviii.*; Plut. *in loco*; Cæsar *de Bello Gall.*; Suet. *Jul. Cæsar*; Univ. Hist. *xiii., xviii., xix.*; Nieb. *Lect. ii.*; Michelet, *Rome, iii.*

Cæsar's ambition was to procure some employment, which, while it afforded him opportunities for action, should not remove him far from Rome. He had probably formed the design of subjugating the whole of independent Gaul, which he knew to be an extensive and rich country, but weakened by its divisions into many nations, and thus unable to resist the incessant invasions of the German Tribes. Once elected Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, he could occupy his summers in conquering expeditions amongst the Transalpine Gauls, return to winter at the foot of the Apennines, thence to watch over the elections in Rome, and support or oppose the various candidates for office as best suited his interests. On obtaining this much-desired province, Cæsar exultingly exclaimed, "Now I shall triumph over all my enemies." One of his auditors sneeringly replied, "That will not be an easy feat for a woman;" alluding to his foppishness and affected delicacy. Cæsar promptly answered, "Semiramis once reigned in Assyria, and the Amazons ruled over great part of Asia."

Scarcely had he been invested with the Cisalpine command, than he was hurried into the farthest part of his government to oppose the Helvetii (Swiss), who, to the number of 300,000, including women and children, intended to march through the country of the Sequani and Arverni, in order to conquer for themselves new settlements, and to secure a safe and peaceful home upon the Garonne and the Atlantic Ocean. They had been threatened with continual invasions by their warlike neighbours, the German Suevi, under Ariovistus, an ambitious chief, who had strengthened his power by an alliance with Rome when Cæsar was Consul. Orgetorix, Prince of the Helvetii, persuaded his people, when they intended to emigrate, to lay up provisions for three years; and when they were ready for their march, he prevailed with them to burn their towns and villages, that they might have no inducement to return.

Gaul was divided amongst a number of Tribes of different religions and races, which were continually quarrelling with each other. The Allobroges, occupying Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, and Savoy, whose King was treacherously taken prisoner by Ahenobarbus, and died at Alba, had once held the supremacy. Their posi-

tion was afterwards assumed by the Arverni, and now by the Ædui ; and all these three nations, extending over the south and east of France, were in strict alliance with Rome. The Ædui were also allied with the British Tribes ; and Divitiacus, their Prince, who was an Arch-Druid, probably received his education in the Isles of Anglesea or Man.

Dumnorix, the brother of Divitiacus, was not a Priest, and had no affection for the Romans. He aspired to be king instead of his wiser brother, and favoured the emigration of the Helvetii, because he thought their movements would forward his designs. Besides this, being son-in-law to Orgetorix, he was personally interested in his glory and success. Orgetorix died before the expedition had commenced ; but his people had bound themselves by oath to execute his schemes, and they appeared on the borders of Gaul, as formidable a travelling host as the Israelites of old must have appeared to the Canaanites when they departed from Egypt. They reached the Jura Mountains, close to the Lake of Geneva (then Lacus Lemanus), and they requested from Cæsar a passage through his province, promising to do no harm by the way.

Cæsar dared not permit the transit of such a host, for no man could foresee the consequences of their settlement in Gaul. He therefore amused their ambassadors by delay, and, in the space of eighteen days, contrived to build a wall from the lake to the mountain St. Claude, nineteen miles long and sixteen feet high, which he fortified so strongly as to present an insuperable barrier to the advancing multitude. He then broke down the bridge over the Rhone, and peremptorily refused their passage. The Helvetii were obliged to turn back, and to proceed through the territories of the Sequani and Ædui. Whilst among the latter, they committed many outrages, a folly which united the Allobroges and Ædui against them, and caused Cæsar and his army to be welcomed by those Tribes as deliverers. Divitiacus was an able as well as a faithful ally, and he and Cæsar overthrew the Helvetii at the passage of the Arar (or Saone), and revenged the deaths of Cassius and Piso upon the same Tribes which had defeated these Generals in the days of Marius.

A large body of the Helvetic nation had passed before

Cæsar reached the Arar. He pursued this band for many days, and came up with them at Bibracte, where they were routed in a bloody battle, and the son and daughter of Orgetorix were taken prisoners. Upon this, the Helvetii, finding the Romans and Ædui too powerful for them, and believing themselves to be deserted by Dumnorix, submitted to Cæsar. He granted them peace, and supplied them with corn, but forced them to return to their recently abandoned country with the loss of 90,000 souls.

Cæsar was complimented by his Gallic allies upon his success, and was not only chosen to be Arbiter between the Ædui and Arverni, but was urgently, though secretly, solicited by all the Gauls to become their Protector and Avenger against the German monarch Ariovistus, and his merciless marauders. Ariovistus, who was an ally of Rome, had some time previously been invited by the Sequani and Arverni to help them against the Ædui. His assistance terminated in settling 120,000 of his own people in the lands of the Sequani, making all the three Tribes tributary to him, and exacting from them an oath that they would never call in the Romans to aid them against him, or to deliver them from his power. Divitiacus was the only chief who could reveal this oath, because he was the only one free from its obligation, having made his escape before it was imposed.

Cæsar was astonished at the deep-laid plans of the haughty Prince, but rejoiced at an opportunity of interfering with the Germans, and gladly promised the Gauls his aid. He sent to Ariovistus, and desired a conference, but that monarch replied, that he should not move without his army, therefore if Cæsar had anything to say, he had better come to him and declare it. Cæsar answered by a proclamation, that it was his duty, as Proconsul of Gaul, to protect the Ædui, who were Roman allies; for which reason Ariovistus must relieve them of their tribute, restore their hostages, and not again cross the Rhine to do them harm. Ariovistus rejoined, that he did not dictate to the Romans, neither should they prescribe to him; and in proof of this determination, he immediately besieged the rich Æduan city of Vesontio. Cæsar marched thither to relieve it, and, to his surprise, whilst within the walls, was threatened with a mutiny from his

own men. The Roman Legions were terrified at the idea of war with the Germans, whom they regarded as giants and unconquerable. Cæsar harangued and reproved them with admirable presence of mind, recalled to their memory how often that dreaded nation had been defeated by Romans already, and even recently, whilst they composed the strength of the desperate army of Spartacus. He then added, "If it be possible that none of you will follow me, I will vanquish these barbarians with the Tenth Legion alone." This Legion was highly flattered, and was ever after particularly attached to Cæsar, whilst the others, ashamed of their timidity, were at once roused, and became emulous to gain his approbation. The whole army, calmed and encouraged by the superior intelligence of their General, were induced by Divitiacus to engage Ariovistus, who lay at some distance with a prodigious force. When the Romans had reached his encampment, he condescended to a conference, and through envoys, represented to Cæsar, first, that he had made war upon the Ædui by invitation from the Gauls themselves; and secondly, that those he conquered ought to pay him tribute. He said, that if Cæsar would abandon the Sequani and Ædui, the brave Suevi should be at his service; but, if otherwise, he must decide the matter in the field, where, if Ariovistus proved triumphant, it would please many powerful men in Rome, by whom his aid against Cæsar had already been solicited.

Ariovistus loftily boasted that his troops had not slept under a roof for fourteen years, and he followed up his assumed invincibility by putting the Roman Ambassadors in irons. Cæsar fortunately discovered that the German prophetesses had forbidden their leaders to fight until after the new moon under pain of defeat; he therefore attacked them vigorously, whilst they were influenced by this impression, and after a sharp struggle put them to the rout. Ariovistus escaped over the Rhine, but his two nieces were killed, and one daughter was captured. The Roman Ambassadors were recovered, and several of the Æduan hostages were saved from being burnt.

The Romans wintered in the country of the Sequani whom they had delivered, and Cæsar, when he returned to Italy, left them under the command of his friend and Legate, Labienus. Early in the spring, he was summoned

back to his camp by Gallic deputies, who informed him that the Belgæ, a powerful people, extending from the Seine and Marne to the mouths of the Rhine, were alarmed lest he should attempt to penetrate into their territories, and were preparing to drive him back with upwards of 300,000 fighting men. Cæsar, without delay, attacked the Remi, the nearest Tribe between the Belgæ and his own Allies. They not only submitted unresistingly, but furnished him with full information as to the plans and resources of their countrymen. The Remi are suspected of having intrigued with the Roman leader, in hopes, by his means, of obtaining the supremacy over Belgium.

Cæsar despatched his friend Divitiacus against one division of the enemy, whilst he himself marched against the other, and with his Numidian cavalry and Cretan archers, raised the siege of Bibrax, the capital of the Remi, which the Belgic army surrounded. He more than once entrenched himself behind wide ditches for fear of this latter people, and finally came to a smart action with them on the river Axona (Aisne). The result of the day was doubtful, but the Belgæ dispersed, and agreed to reassemble at whatever point the Roman forces collected together.

In consequence of this dispersion, Cæsar advanced rapidly. He pardoned the Suessiones (or Tribe of Soissons), at the intercession of the Remi, having failed to take their Capital Noviodunum (Noyon), because the walls were too high, and the fosse too wide. He also admitted to terms of peace the Bellovaci (or people of Beauvais), at the request of Divitiacus, because they had been subjects of the Ædui, who once held supremacy over all this part of Gaul. The Roman General advanced triumphantly to the confines of the Nervii (Hainault, Namur, and Brabant), a valiant but rough Tribe, who rejected civilisation, lest it should damp their courage, and whose Priests, not being Druids, had no necessity for intercourse with foreigners. These men would not hear of peace on any terms, and withstood Cæsar with a courage and resolution that called forth his warmest encomiums. "They overcame," he writes, "the greatest difficulties by their yet greater spirit. They crossed a broad river (the Sambre), ascended its steep banks, and

marched over the most broken and rugged ground, as though it had been a smooth battle-field." They at length surprised Cæsar whilst he was measuring out his camp, and nearly annihilated his Seventh and Twelfth Legions; but Labienus coming up opportunely with the Tenth Legion, turned the fortune of the day. The Roman charge soon became irresistible, for Cæsar himself, snatching a buckler, fought amongst the foremost, and led his soldiers on. The flower of the Nervii perished, but the survivors who submitted were received into signal favour. The old men, in recounting the misfortunes they had outlived, told Cæsar that their Senate once consisted of 600 members, but was now reduced to three, and that of 60,000 warriors, whom they once numbered, they had now only 500 left. Under Cæsar's protection they flourished again, and enjoyed their own laws and Governors.

As the triumphant Roman advanced towards the Rhine, along the whole course of which enmity to Ariovistus secured him Allies, he was opposed by a Tribe named Aduatici which had taken up arms to assist the Nervii. He surrounded their chief city with a rampart twelve feet high and fifteen miles in circuit, and then constructed a high turreted machine, with which he meant to assault the walls. The Aduatici laughed at the short stature and slender frames of the Romans, not believing that such diminutive men could effect anything formidable; but when they saw this tremendous engine progressing on its wheels, they said that the gods helped their enemies, and tendered their submission. They delivered up an incredible quantity of arms, which replenished the Roman stores; but as they were soon after guilty of treachery, Cæsar sold 53,000 of them for slaves.

During these transactions, his Legate, P. Crassus, son to the Triumvir, was receiving the submission of the various Druidical Septs of Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany; and Cæsar sent intelligence to Rome, that the whole of Gaul was subdued. Fifteen days of thanksgiving were ordered for this event. Many of the German nations sent to tender their alliance; and the Roman Chief, covered with glory, returned, according to his previously arranged plan, to pass the winter in his own Province (Cisalpine Gaul), in the north of Italy.



Next year, the Veneti (people of Vannes in Brittany), with all their allies and tributaries, along the Gallic coast, rose against the Romans. They manned 220 ships, sent for aid to Britain, captured and put in chains a number of the Roman officers, and set P. Crassus at defiance. He despatched expresses to Cæsar, who being greatly alarmed, immediately left his winter pleasures, and flew to the scene of danger. He commanded Labienus to keep quiet the Belgæ and eastern nations, appointed P. Crassus to quell the disturbances in Aquitania and the south of Gaul, and himself undertook to oppose the Veneti. His first act was to build a fleet at the mouth of the Loire, and to draw aid from the Picts of the Garonne; but he was unsuccessful at first, both because the towns of the Veneti were well defended by land and sea, and because their ships were better and stronger than those of the Roman. They drew less water, opposed a most powerful resistance to storms, and rose higher above the waves, so that they could throw their weapons with more effect. But Cæsar's vessels sailed faster, and he invented grappling prongs, with which he tore to pieces his enemies' sails and rigging, and forced them to engage him upon equal, or disadvantageous terms. When the sails of the Gallic vessels were destroyed, the Romans boarded them, and fighting hand to hand, gained the victory by their discipline and tactics. The Veneti submitted, and Cæsar chastised them severely; executing their Senators, and selling the people for slaves. He proceeded to attack their allies, who occupied the country opposite the Kentish coast, but the dense forests which then grew on the site of Calais, and the violent storms which half drowned his Legions, prevented his progress.

Cæsar had for two years cherished the design of invading Britain, without exactly knowing where it was situated, but now he looked upon its shores, and could not be much longer withheld. It is probable that Great Britain and Ireland (Britannia and Hibernia), were the Fortunate Islands described by the sailors of Gades to Sertorius. They were, at all events, a new world to the Romans, known only by vague and exaggerated reports, or veiled in allegories and mysterious tales. Cæsar thirsted to immortalise himself by being, at once, their historian and their conqueror; and the execution of this

project was only delayed a few months, by the necessity of his presence in Italy, and of his resistance to a fresh invasion of the Germans. His laurels shone brightly in the eyes of all men, when he returned to Italy after subduing the Veneti. He longed to preside over affairs in Rome ; but as he could not quit his province without resigning his command, he induced the Triumvirs, Pompey and Crassus, to meet him in his government at Lucca, and there to concert their future plans.

Cato was in Cyprus, or he would have traversed all their schemes, which his unmeasured and imprudent reproaches now only tended to ripen. He openly avowed that he meditated introducing a bill to shorten the period of Cæsar's command, and that he would support any candidate for the Consulship against Pompey and Crassus. At Lucca, where the Triumvirs held their court, they and the Curule magistrates appeared in public attended by 120 Lictors and 200 Senators. Here they contracted together as joint Kings, and agreed to support each other in every measure, upon condition that Cæsar's command in Gaul should be continued five years longer, and that Pompey and Crassus should be Consuls together. After the expiration of their office, they were each to have a Proconsulate, with a large army for five years additional. Pompey was to rule Spain, and Crassus Syria, beyond the bounds of which he resolved to enrich and signalise himself, by conquering the Parthians.

The wicked and able Clodius, who was Tribune this year, was completely gained over to the interest of the Triumvirs. When, therefore, Pompey and Crassus offered themselves for the Consulship, and Domitius, the brother-in-law of Cato, opposed them, he did so at the hazard of his life, and narrowly escaped assassination. He was thankful to retire from the contest without further injury, and all happened as had been predetermined at the Lucca conference. Pompey and Crassus were elected, and ruled in the most arbitrary manner, and Cato was sent to prison for opposing them. When their time of office had expired, the coveted provinces were assigned to them, and permission was granted them to levy what troops and money they pleased. Pompey, contrary to all precedent, was allowed to remain in Rome, to watch over his interests there, whilst the rich and warlike Spain was placed

under the government of Legates. No sovereignty could be more complete than that of the Triumvirs, and no despotism ever appeared to be more firmly established.

Crassus having obtained the long-coveted object of his ambition, in the Proconsulate of Syria, loudly boasted of the conquests he was about to make in Bactria, Parthia, and India. All these countries were at peace with Rome, but Crassus resolved to invade them, incited by an almost insane craving after vain-glory and an avarice which was quite insatiable. Atteius, chief of the Plebeian Tribunes, abhorring his mercenary motives, forbade him to quit Rome, unless he abandoned a scheme so fraught with wanton ruin to unoffending men. Crassus marched through the city in defiance of him; but when he had cleared the streets, Atteius, to his amazement, appeared before him in the gate, standing by an altar, upon which the sacrifice was burning, and holding in his hands perfumes and libations ready to cast upon the flames. The noble-minded Tribune, unable in any other way to withstand his progress or shield his victims, solemnly cursed him, imprecated judgments upon his head, and devoted him as an expiation to the infernal gods. This scene made a deep impression upon all the bystanders, and especially upon the Legions who heard the curse, and who were involved in its consequences.

Crassus was now sixty years of age, and had no longer the energy and acuteness of his youth. He failed, besides, in that liberality which attaches adherents, and his love of money increased with his years. He lazily wintered in Syria, though he ought to have proceeded directly to Babylon, and he excused the Allies from furnishing their contingents, provided they would substitute money. He made little use of Dejotarus, king of Galatia, who was devoted to the Romans, and he so recklessly affronted Artavasdes, king of Armenia, that this monarch returned with his forces home.

Cæsar generously spared P. Crassus in order to assist his father with the Legions which were serving under him in Aquitania, and he added to them some of his own Gallic horse. But no one believed that this aid could atone for Crassus's violation of the Temple of Atargatis, an awful Syrian goddess, whose precious vessels and rich treasures he had the sacrilegious daring to carry off,

and to appropriate as spoil. His delay in Syria gave Orodes, King of Parthia, time, both to learn his objects and to prepare against them. Ambassadors waited upon him from this Prince to inquire whether the impending war was to be waged with Rome or with Crassus? If the latter only, Orodes offered to forgive him, and to allow him a safe return to Italy. Crassus replied, "Orodes may expect my answer in his own metropolis." The chief of the Ambassadors showed his hand, and answered, "O Crassus! hair will grow in this palm, before you shall see Seleucia."

Crassus marched to the Euphrates and crossed it, though the bridge by which he had expected to pass had been destroyed by lightning, an accident which his army considered as a sign of wrath from the gods. For some time he met no enemy, and his able Legate Cassius urged him to advance without delay upon Seleucia; but he had given his confidence to a traitor, the Arab chief Agbar, who, pretending to be his guide, led him, step by step, to certain ruin. Agbar assured him that the Parthians, appalled at the renown of the Romans, were retreating to Scythia and Hyrcania, where, if he could overtake them, he would gain an easy victory and destroy them all. The wily Arab conducted the Romans through a sandy and barren country; and when, at last they had approached near to the Surena, or General of the Parthians, Agbar persuaded Crassus to hold him in contempt, and to deride him as a perfumed and painted fop, with more baggage than soldiers, and more vanity than vigour.

Suddenly Agbar disappeared at a place named Carrhæ, under plea of inveigling the Parthians into the toils of the Romans, and Crassus hastily made preparations for battle and would not give his wearied cohorts time to rest lest his enemies should escape. The Surena, whose rank was next to the King, and who was a man as distinguished for his courage and abilities, as for his handsome person and princely wealth, ordered his brilliantly armed soldiers to cover their weapons that Crassus might not by their glitter perceive their number. The Romans charged in three divisions, the first under Crassus, the second under his gallant son Publius Crassus, and the third under the Legate Cassius. In a short time they were dazzled, confused, and almost

Battle of  
Carrhæ.

blinded by the sparkling of steel and gold, which burst upon them from the unveiled armour of their foes. The Roman square was broken, their cavalry was routed, and young Crassus perished in the field. The Romans were more than once cheered and deceived by the belief that the squadrons of their enemies fled, but alas! when they pursued, they found the Parthians turn coolly round upon their saddles, and overwhelm them with showers of arrows, as sharp and strong as those shot by the English bowmen in modern days. These penetrating the thick hide bucklers, nailed them to their hands on the other side, often at the same time pinning their feet to the ground, so that the men were incapacitated from either moving or defending themselves, and died in horrible agonies.

When Crassus found that his son was slain and the day lost, he retreated with his main body to a height, and called a council of war. Cassius vainly urged him to flee, but he fancied that the season was too far advanced. "I shall leave you then," said Cassius, "for I fear Sagittarius more than Scorpio;" and he achieved an admirable retreat into Syria, whilst Crassus, losing all spirit, allowed his escape to be cut off. He was soon surrounded, and had no alternative but surrender or destruction. The Surena desired that he would meet him in the plain, and ironically promised to negotiate when they should have reached the Euphrates, which was the boundary between the dominions of the Romans and the Parthians. Crassus descended with 1000 horse, but from the moment he placed himself in the Surena's hands he knew that he was a prisoner, though treated with outward honour, and mounted on a charger with golden reins. As he was led forward in the Surena's train, the soldiers about him designedly raised a tumult, in which he was insulted and killed. His head and hands were cut off and sent to Orodes, his camp was overpowered, and 20,000 Romans, after a faint resistance, were slain, besides 10,000 taken prisoners. The Surena celebrated a triumph for this in Seleucia, and the Parthian war was ended.

The Romans little thought that the loss of Crassus, the rival of Pompey, was the death-blow to their freedom, and more immediately detrimental to them than the destruction of his brave army. But though this was the

case, yet Crassus being old could not long have maintained his influence against the rising star of Cæsar. Whenever he fell, the same consequences must have ensued. Pompey and Cæsar, the moment they disagreed, must have striven which should be master of the world, for there was no one capable of forming a third party, or of holding the balance of power between them. Cicero was timid and undecided, talked well, but could not lead in action. Cato was full of untenable theories about the old Republic, and could not yield to circumstances, nor live for his own day. With high ideas of such liberty as pertained to the ancient Patrician Senate before the Punic wars, he could glory in the seizure of Cyprus, transfer his young wife to another, indulge in habitual intemperance, and maim his unfortunate slaves. Cato's idea of liberty sounded well, but meant, in fact, the tyranny of oligarchy.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE insatiable avarice of Crassus, which occasioned the Parthian war, was first excited by contemplating the vast wealth which Gabinius transported from Syria after his Proconsulate. The Parthians were well aware of the motive, and, to testify their abhorrence of it, the Surena poured molten gold down his throat as soon as the head was separated from the body. He forwarded it immediately, along with the right hand, to his sovereign Orodes, who was in Armenia, celebrating a marriage between his son Pacorus, and the daughter of Artavasdes, the Armenian king. Both of the monarchs were Grecian scholars and passionately fond of the Greek drama. When the head of Crassus was presented, they were banqueting together and listening to a scene from the "Bacchæ" of Euripides. Jason, a celebrated actor, was reciting the lines in which Pentheus, King of Thebes, ventures to violate the sacred mysteries of Bacchus, though his mother Agave is officiating in them as priestess. When the head of Crassus was introduced, Jason immediately threw off the dress of Pentheus, and put on that of Agave, singing the part in which she, under the influence of temporary frenzy, rushes upon her

son and kills him. She then cuts off his head, and fixes it upon the end of her thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a lion, and exclaims, "On yonder cliff we pierced the lordly beast." The company in ecstasies took up the chorus, and sang, "Who gave the blow?" Agave answered, "Mine is the prize." Upon which the Parthian who had killed Crassus, and who was sitting at table, started up with indignation, and exclaimed, "Not so; the prize belongs to me, and not to Jason." The king, highly diverted, rewarded both the actors. This disgusting sight sufficiently shows the low-toned minds of those who were the amused spectators of, or participators in, such barbarous pleasures.

The Surena, no less ignoble than his master, would not lose his diversion, nor his opportunity of trampling under foot a fallen foe. Pretending that Crassus was still alive, and should be exhibited in triumph at Seleucia, he obliged a Roman officer who resembled him to assume his name, and to enter the city at the head of the Roman prisoners clothed in a purple robe, and mounted upon a war-steed. He was preceded by a flourish of trumpets, and the late Proconsul's Lictors mounted upon camels. The heads of their countrymen newly executed depended from their axes, and their rods were adorned in mockery with empty purses. The procession was closed by a body of shameless women, who sang scurrilous songs about the cowardice and effeminacy of Crassus.

The Surena then assembled the Parthian Senate, and to animate them more heartily against the Romans, he painted his foes as a blood-thirsty and rapacious nation, delighting in licentiousness and corruption. To prove this he produced a quantity of disgusting Greek books found amongst the baggage of one of the officers. The Senators were shocked, but could not avoid criticising the life and conduct of the Surena himself, who thus challenged them to express their opinions of military propriety. His example, they said, had no better tendency than the books he condemned, for he lived in a state of continual revelry; and the fruit of such a life is always selfishness and cruelty.

Marcus Crassus was, next to Lucullus, the richest of all the Romans, and counted every man poor who had not wealth enough to maintain an army. He was brave

and handsome, a good orator, an accomplished scholar, and an able commander. Had he, therefore, been untainted by avarice, he would have been an estimable man. He saved Rome from the Samnites after Sylla had been driven off the field and had abandoned all hope of victory. He was accordingly honoured by that General, until by false accusations he obtained from him the proscription of a wealthy proprietor in Bruttium, whose estates he seized. Sylla despised, and never noticed him afterwards. Crassus, by means scarcely less criminal, increased his fortune from 300 to 7000 talents. He purchased, far below their worth, the estates of the proscribed, lent his money on usurious interests, and especially bought up the ruins in Rome of burnt houses, which were constantly offered for sale.

There were two sorts of houses in Rome, the "Domus," or adorned and colonnaded palace of the rich, from two to three stories high, built of stone, or brick stuccoed; and the "Insula," or house of the ordinary gentry, which was six, seven, and eight stories high, the lower story only being built of stone, the second of brick, and the others of wood. Each story was inhabited by a separate family, and had a separate establishment of women, children, and servants, more or less careless. Therefore, though the Insulæ were separated by a space from each other, they continually took fire, and were burnt to the ground. Crassus bought the land and materials at the lowest price, and then hired out his 500 slaves, who were carpenters and masons, to build new ones.

Crassus had an enormous number of educated slaves, bankers, scribes, readers, stewards, and cooks, whom he hired out, and from whom he derived an immense revenue. Standing for many years on an equality with Pompey and Cæsar, possessed of inexhaustible pecuniary resources, a cultivated mind, and many valuable qualities, Crassus has come down to us distinguished only, and despised, for his lust of gain. This passion, which grew with his age, gradually extinguished every nobler feeling, and led at last to the loss both of his life and of his reputation.

Crassus was married to Cecilia Metella, the daughter of Metellus Creticus. To her is erected that beautiful sepulchral tower still to be seen on the Via Appia, near

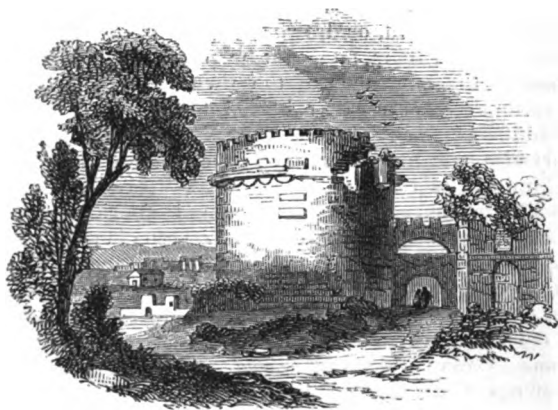


Rome, called the tomb of Cecilia Metella, or the Capo di Bove ("Tower of the Bull's Head"), because there is a frieze of bulls' heads round the upper part of it. Cecilia's sarcophagus was removed from it many years since, and now stands in the court of the Farnese Palace in Rome.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## WARS IN BRITAIN AND GAUL.

B.C. 58 TO 51. Y.R. 695 TO 702.\*



TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA.

**CÆSAR**, after the conference at Lucca, hastened back into Gaul, and there pursued a career of conquest for four successive summers; but he always returned to pass his winters in Cisalpine Gaul (now Lombardy), and thence ruled by bribery the elections at Rome.

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit. civ.*-cviii.; Plut. *in loco*; Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. iv.; Univ. Hist. xiii.; Nieb. Lect. ii.; Michelet, *Rom.*, iii.; Penny Cyclop., art. *Britannia*.

The Usipetes and Tenchteri (Tribes from Cleves and Munster), being harassed by the Suevi, crossed the Rhine and entered Belgium. Cæsar commanded them to retire, and they prepared to obey, but during the truce which succeeded, an unfortunate skirmish occurred between their cavalry and the Roman, in which the latter were worsted. The chiefs sent apologies for this untoward accident, upon which Cæsar summoned them to wait upon him and enter into further explanations. When these men, who were perfectly innocent, had placed themselves in his power, he made them all prisoners. He then fell upon and surprised their Tribes, which, being without leaders, could make no resistance, and were literally butchered. This disgraceful treachery was almost on a par with Scipio's attack on the Numidian camp of Syphax. The Tribes of the Usipetes and Tenechteri numbered 430,000 souls, of whom the greater part were either slain by the sword, or drowned in the Rhine. Cato was so incensed at their fate, that he proposed to deliver up Cæsar to the vengeance of those who remained, but the victorious General easily baffled his accuser's zeal, for his influence was as great in the Senate as in the army, otherwise he could never have executed his many grand and unjust designs.

The remnant of the Usipetes and Tenchteri sought an asylum with the Sigambri in Westphalia; and Cæsar being anxious to cross the Rhine, because he knew with what wonder such an exploit would be regarded in Italy, sent Envoys to desire that these unhappy fugitives might be delivered up to him. The Sigambri refusing compliance, Cæsar threw a bridge across the broad and rapid river near Cologne,\* the first which had ever spanned it, completed the stupendous work in ten days, and conducted his army over unopposed. Well might the Germans, who had never traversed its waters, except by boats and rafts, believe that the gods fought for the Romans. Yet like brave men, they manfully defended that land which the gods had apportioned them. They retired into the impenetrable thickets of the Black Forest, which extended from the Rhine to the centre of Poland; and Cæsar, having stayed eighteen days in Germany,

\* Some scholars say at Coblentz.

without daring to dislodge them, returned into Gaul, broke down his bridge, and resumed his cherished plan of invading Britain.

The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were then called *Britannia* and *Hibernia*, and had long been known to the commercial world. The Phœnicians traded to Cornwall for tin in the days of Solomon, and the Carthaginians and Spaniards for many ages annually visited the southern coasts. There was at the period of which we are writing, as there had been long prior, constant communication between Britain, Gaul, and Belgium; and Cæsar was provoked, both at the shelter this island afforded to his Gallic enemies, and at the numbers of Britons who had fought against him in the armies of the Gauls. His confidential friend Divitiacus, the *Æduan*, attended the British religious meetings, being a Druid arch-priest; but when Cæsar strove to extract from him such information as would enable him to conquer the island, Divitiacus informed him, that the ground was holy to the Druids, and therefore he could reveal nothing. Cæsar then consulted the Gallic merchants, and sent one of his own captains to explore the coast. He also persuaded Comius, chief of the *Atrebatæ*, to visit Britain, and under the guise of an Ambassador to act as a spy. Comius probably hoped to reach the *Atrebatæ* of Britain, who were settled in Buckinghamshire and Wiltshire, and who were the kindred of his own people, but he was immediately seized and put in chains. Cæsar collected eighty vessels for his infantry and eighteen for his cavalry, and shortly before the autumnal equinox crossed the *Portus Itius*,\* near Boulogne, to Deal and Walmer Castle. After finding that his ships were too heavy to reach the shore, and after several other checks, which obliged him to move further down the coast, he enjoyed the delight of seeing the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion leap into the water with the Roman eagle in his hand. "Soldiers," exclaimed this gallant officer, "if you will not follow your ensign, I at least will do my duty." The whole Legion, without hesitation, imitated his example, and Cæsar, with exulting heart, beheld this favourite band

\* Now Witsands.

standing on English ground, at Richborough, near Deal, on the 26th of August, Y.R. 698.

Cæsar himself landed with another Legion, and by hard fighting made good his position, though the Britons resisted him with their cavalry and formidable chariots, armed with scythes. After the Britons were routed, they sent the captive Prince, Comius, and some of their chiefs, to treat of peace. Cæsar insisted that the adverse States should give hostages, and place themselves under his protection. He entrenched himself in a small camp, to wait for the arrival of his cavalry; but on the fourth day he found that the vessels in which they were embarked had been driven by a storm back to Gaul, whilst twelve of those which had transported his Legions were lost upon the Kentish coast. The British Princes now thought of preventing his escape, being assured that if they could annihilate the Romans already landed, no more would ever venture to disturb them. They deferred sending their hostages, and secretly collected troops. It was the time of harvest, and a body of Britons surprised the Roman foragers, as they were reaping and bearing away the corn. They defeated the Seventh Legion, and Cæsar only came up in time to save them from destruction. For several days, violent storms prevented any decisive action, and did much damage to the Roman fleet. When the weather improved, the Britons attacked Cæsar; but after a desperate struggle they were once more overcome, and obliged to send deputies to sue for peace. The victor doubled the number of hostages he had formerly demanded, and stipulated that they should be delivered to him in Gaul. Too happy to escape further dangers, he set sail that very night, and safely landed on the opposite coast. His Legions wintered in Gaul; and twenty days of thanksgiving were ordered in Rome for his invasion of the hitherto unexplored and sacred Isle of Britain.

As only two of the British States fulfilled their engagements, Cæsar had additional vessels built, and being solicited by Mandrubatius, the dethroned King of the Trinobantes, who took refuge in his camp, he invaded the island again the following summer, under pretence of restoring this Prince to his throne. He landed on nearly the same spot as before, and advanced into Kantium

(Kent), as far as the river Stour. Here he was met by a large army of the natives, under the command of Caswallon, or Cassivelaunus, a petty sovereign of the Catleuchlani, who was elected for the occasion, chief of the Britons. Cæsar defeated and pursued him, crossed the Thames at Cowey Stakes, near Chertsey, and burnt Verulam, the capital of the Trinobantes, where Cassivelaunus resided. By this time, however, the Roman fleet was again seriously injured. Forty ships were lost from the violence of the gales, and the rest had to be entrenched upon the shore. Cæsar was alarmed at his situation, and gladly accepted the submission tendered him by the various chiefs who ruled the country from Norfolk to Wiltshire. He demanded hostages and tribute, reinstated Mandrubatius, provided for the independence, and secured the friendship of the Trinobantes (men of Essex and Middlesex), and then returned into Gaul, where a fresh insurrection was perilling his conquests. The length of his second visit to Britain is uncertain, but probably lasted about sixty days.

The British chiefs did not fulfil their engagements; and it is remarkable, both that Cæsar never again attempted Britain, and that this sea-girt isle was left for the space of 100 years free from the interference and intrusion of strangers, though the coins of that period bear undeniable evidence of an intimate and friendly commerce with Rome.

Cæsar found, on his return to Gaul, that the Eburones had risen in revolt. This tribe of Germans would not submit to have Romans quartered upon them, though the Legions seem to have been guilty of no oppression so long as the natives remained quiet. But the Eburones, impatient of a foreign yoke, rose under their chief, Ambiorix, attacked the camp of Q. Cicero the Legate, and cut to pieces the Eighth Legion. Cæsar subdued Ambiorix, and re-established tranquillity; but foreseeing an impending struggle, he raised fresh Legions, and induced Pompey to lend him two more from the army under his command in Italy. Next year Cæsar again crossed the Rhine, to increase his own fame and to keep his troops employed. He nearly extirpated the Eburones, and most unjustly executed an independent Gallic Prince as

a rebel. This severity only increased the discontent at his assumed supremacy, and at the unnatural predominance above the other tribes which his alliance gave to the *Ædui* and *Sequani*. During Cæsar's absence for the winter, *Vercingetorix*, a young hero of the *Arverni*, united almost all Gaul against the Romans, and persuaded his countrymen rather to burn their towns than suffer them to become places of shelter for their enemies. Many cities nobly sacrificed themselves, but *Arvaricum* (*Bourges*), a place of singular beauty and strength, was, at the earnest request of the inhabitants, spared, and strongly garrisoned, in the hope that it would be able to offer an effectual resistance. When Cæsar heard of this formidable insurrection, he, without delay, quitted Italy, its interests and its fascinations, to fly to the scene of danger, and crossed the *Cevennes* mountains with as little hesitation as if it had been summer, though the snow lay upon them six feet deep. He ravaged the lands of the *Arverni*, and being informed that *Vercingetorix* was marching towards *Arvaricum*, he hurried forward and mastered it before that chief's arrival, after a gallant defence. He abandoned it to plunder, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword. It appeared as if no city and no force could resist the might of the Romans, commanded by Cæsar. The spirit of the Gauls was, however, revived by a brilliant action which they gained on the borders of the *Sequani*. Cæsar was for a moment a prisoner in their hands; and though he bribed his captor to release him, his sword remained with his enemies, and was long after shown as a trophy, suspended in one of their temples. He was afterwards urged to claim it, but he answered, laughingly, "Let it remain, the Gauls have made it sacred."

The Roman leader being reinforced, quickly recovered his ascendancy, and *Vercingetorix*, as a last resource, threw himself into *Alesia* (*Alise*, near *Flavigny*), and sustained a siege. This strong city, situated on an eminence, surrounded by high walls, and washed by two rivers, was believed to be impregnable. Cæsar inclosed it with a double circumvallation, consisting of three wide, and eight smaller ditches, the whole encircled by a rampart twelve feet high, and extending

fifteen miles in circumference. Here he waited the irresistible progress of famine. One hundred and sixty thousand Gauls marched to its relief, and he was placed between this enormous army and the desperate troops of Vercingetorix. He fought and conquered them both, and obliged the relieving army to disperse. Vercingetorix, then perceiving that further resistance was only wasting the lives of the people, nobly sacrificed himself to save them. He arrayed himself in a magnificent new suit of armour, mounted his battle-steed, and issuing from the gate alone, made straight for Cæsar's tent. He thrice circled round the General's tribunal, declared himself sole author and cause of the war, and threw his sword at Cæsar's feet. After this act he dismounted and surrendered himself a prisoner. It is strange that one so capable of appreciating lofty feelings as the Roman General, should not have honoured so magnanimous a foe. Cæsar long carried his captive about with him in chains, and six years afterwards exhibited him at his triumph, and caused him to be beheaded. The rest of the Arvernian prisoners were all pardoned along with the Æduans, but the other Gauls were sold as slaves.

Though the conquest of Vercingetorix was of such importance that twenty days of thanksgiving were appointed for it in Rome, Cæsar had yet another year of fighting in Gaul. The state of his affairs in Italy meanwhile was so lowering, that he became anxious to finish the war upon any terms, and to make friends of the people, that he might leave the country pacified, and return home with confidence. The north of Gaul was still disturbed. The army of Labienus was insufficient to overawe the natives, and Cæsar was once more obliged to fight for superiority in Belgium, and to besiege Uxellodunum (supposed Usseldun, near Limousin), in which the remnant of the Gallic forces had assembled. After a brave and resolute resistance, they were vanquished by thirst, Cæsar finding means to cut off their springs, upon which the citadel submitted. As an example to the whole nation, he then assembled the warriors. He neither slew them nor reduced them to slavery, but he amputated their right hands, and dismissed them, saying, that such should be the fate of all who refused or abused the friendship of



the Romans. From this time, his conduct to the Gauls underwent a complete change, for he spared no pains to gain the affections of the people, whom he regarded as his own peculiar conquest, and whom he wished to convert into his clients, blending their interests with his own.

Cæsar spent the whole winter in Belgium, and governed it with admirable mildness and judgment. He received into his army all the Gauls who would volunteer, incorporated 10,000 *Ædui* with his own troops, showed peculiar confidence in the Gallic horse, and gave them everywhere a post of honour. Besides all this, he bestowed the freedom of Rome upon many of their states and cities, so that in all Senatorial acts they were included as Roman citizens; and he raised one entire legion among the Gauls, which he named the *Alauda* (or Lark), as an emblem of the vigilance and cheerfulness of the nation. He boasted that he would make the Gallic lark as invincible as the Roman eagle. The Gallic tribute he called by the honourable name of "*Stipendium*," or military pay.

Cæsar, in less than nine years, had subdued from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and from the Rhine to the sea. During that time he had conquered three hundred Tribes, eight hundred cities, and three millions of men, of whom one million was slain, and one million made prisoners. All this cruel and useless destruction of life and property was caused by his restless thirst for fame and military glory. Peace was only at last restored because the storm rising against him in Rome threatened the obscuration of his fame, and did not permit him any longer to brave the indignation of the northern nations. He then zealously strove to compensate the Gauls by the benefits he heaped upon them, and having secured them to himself as faithful allies, he once more took up his quarters, accompanied only by one Roman Legion, in his old Province of *Gallia Cisalpina*. It was said that he subdued the Gauls with Roman steel, and the Romans with Gallic gold.

Contemporary with the wars of Cæsar and Crassus, several events occurred in Egypt, of which we must now give a slight sketch, in order to the understanding of the subsequent history. Ptolemy Alexander, whom Sylla had placed upon the throne, and who married and mur-

dered his cousin, the reigning Cleopatra, daughter of Lathyrus, ruled after her death nominally for fifteen years. He was so tyrannical that his subjects drove him away, and elected in his stead Ptolemy Auletes, a natural son of Lathyrus. Alexander fled to Tyre, and invoked the assistance of Pompey, who was then engaged in the Mithridatic war. Pompey had not time to bestow upon him, and Alexander soon after died in exile, and left Egypt by will to the Roman people, as if it had been his own private estate. His sole object was to dispossess Auletes, and to revenge himself upon the Egyptians.

Auletes, however, remained unmolested, Cicero, who was then dominant in the Senate, not permitting the Conscript Fathers to accept of the fraudulent gift. The odious misgovernment of the Egyptian Prince soon occasioned an insurrection, and he visited Cato at Rhodes, to solicit the interference of the Romans in his behalf. He chose a strange moment for entreating such a favour, as Cato was then on his expedition to Cyprus to dethrone Auletes's brother, simply because such was the pleasure of the Roman people, urged on by their infamous Tribune Clodius.

Auletes gained the friendship of Clodius by bribery, and during the Consulship of Cæsar succeeded in being acknowledged as the friend and ally of Rome, by the payment of 6000 talents, to be divided between Cæsar and Pompey. As his oppressions increased, the Egyptians again rebelled, and placed his daughter Berenice on the throne in his stead. She was married to her cousin, Seleucus Cybiosactes, the last of the Princes of Syria, and brother to Antiochus Asiaticus, whom Verres had so cruelly robbed. Seleucus seems to have been little better than Verres, for the object of his life was to accumulate gold; and in order to increase his store, he disinterred the golden coffin of Alexander the Great, at Alexandria, and had it melted down for his treasury. Berenice, in disgust, strangled him, and married Archelaus, the son of Mithridates's General, an excellent and able ruler, capable, had he lived, of elevating Egypt again to her pristine rank.

Auletes fled to Pompey, in Rome, where his servile

obsequiousness and unlimited bribes procured for him restoration to his kingdom. The Egyptians sent Ambassadors to remonstrate against his reinstatement, but Pompey suffered them to be murdered. Auletes being known as the assassin, was obliged to retire to Ephesus, but Pompey permitted him to negotiate with the Roman Generals in that vicinity, and authorised Gabinius, though contrary to the commands of the Senate, to employ his troops in the service of that Prince, and to name his own price for the assistance rendered. Gabinius agreed to fight for Auletes, upon the payment of 2000 talents. He and his Legate, Mark Antony, afterwards the celebrated Triumvir, took Pelusium, defeated Archelaus, and restored the wicked King. Auletes ground his subjects more than ever, in order to discharge his debt to Gabinius; and after a detestable tyranny of four years, died, leaving his children, two sons and two daughters, under the protection of the Romans. He willed that his daughter Cleopatra, aged seventeen, should marry her brother Ptolemy Dionysus, aged thirteen, and that they should reign together. Young Ptolemy was placed under the charge of three governors, and Pompey was appointed by the Senate guardian of the Egyptian Sovereigns.

The history of Rabirius Posthumius, implicated in these transactions, is curious. Auletes not being able, whilst in exile, to raise the sum required by Gabinius, Rabirius, who was a Publican Knight, offered to lend it at high interest. His offer was accepted; but Auletes, even when restored to the throne, not being able to repay him, appointed Rabirius collector of the revenues in Egypt, and engaged to justify all the extortions he might commit, to recover his money. Rabirius was so intolerably cruel, that, notwithstanding this promise, Auletes was obliged to throw him into prison. He escaped and sailed to Rome. There, Pompey, in order to conceal his own share in these illegal acts, prosecuted the Knight, first, for lending money to be spent in bribery, and secondly, for entering into the service of a foreign Prince! Cicero, unmindful of justice, pleaded for Rabirius, and procured his acquittal. This was effected without difficulty, by previous bribery. It was the custom, when causes were brought before the Judges, for

the Prætor to deliver to each Judge three tablets, covered over with wax; on one was inscribed "A," for acquittal, absolved; on another, "C," for condemned; and on the third, "N. L.," *Non liquet* (not proved). The Judges threw into the urn which tablet they pleased, and the majority of tablets decided. Cicero forced Rabirius to bribe the Judges so enormously high, that it consumed all his ill-gotten wealth. As a poor and disgraced man, he afterwards entered the service of Cæsar, and died in the civil wars.

Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, all made war according to their own pleasure, and totally independent of the wishes or decrees of the Senate. The supremacy of law had long ceased to exist in the government of Rome. Military power and bribery had taken its place, and liberty was a word of which no man knew the meaning, because integrity was a virtue of which no man knew the worth.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXXVII.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, the great military chief, is an object of peculiar interest to us, because he was the first historian of Britain. He was cast by nature in a widely different mould from Marcus Crassus, though equally sensible of the importance of riches, even to the extent of maintaining an army, and almost equally reckless as to the means of acquiring them; but he disposed of them with a generosity and greatness which almost reconciled men to the violence by which they were grasped. Besides his plunders, he taxed Gaul alone at forty millions of sesterces annually.

When Cæsar was Ædile, many years previous to his Consulship, he repaired the Via Appia at his own expense, built bridges, erected porticoes for the temples, and placed seats around the Forum, to accommodate the people at their games. He also exhibited a number of lions, which the populace were particularly fond of, and 320 pairs of Gladiators. These victims he would not suffer to be killed, but when the multitude refused to

spare them, he had them carried away, and enlisted them in his army. In all his battles, he had Gladiators amongst his followers, men whose lives he had saved, and who naturally became his boldest and most attached troops.

Cæsar was in the island of Britain so very short a time, and explored it to so limited a distance, that he could know little personally, and his authorities were probably, the Gallic merchants; his friend Divitiacus, the Arch-Druid; Comius, Prince of the Atrebatæ; and Mandrubatius, Prince of the Trinobantes. This last took refuge from Cassivelaunus in the Roman camp, and was reinstated on his throne, and left in the island as the friend and ally of the Romans. Cæsar describes Great Britain as peopled by Celts, Gauls, and Belgæ, and many of the Tribes in it bore the same name as their kindred on the Continent.\* His account contains many errors, such as, that tin abounded in the centre of the island, and iron on the coast; that the forests contained no firs or beech, and that there were islands in the Irish Sea where the nights were a month long. It is, in the main, however, so correct, that we are astonished at the success which attended his researches.

The Britons, though under the government of military chiefs and princes, were virtually ruled by the Druids, a body of aristocratic priests and priestesses, who were exempted from war, taxation, and all public burdens, and who passed their time in study, the education of the noble youths, and the administration of law and religion. They were the accredited Priests, Judges, Philosophers, Public Instructors, Poets, and Physicians. They decided all disputes, blest and guided all undertakings, and from their authority there was no appeal. They wore short hair and long beards, in opposition to the rest of the nation, who wore long hair and shaved their beards. Their garments were very long, and they always sacri-

\* For instance, the Atrebatæ in Buckinghamshire and North Wiltshire; the Belgæ in Somersetshire, Hampshire, and South Wiltshire; and the Parisii in Yorkshire. The conquering tribe of the Catleuchlani, to which Cassivelaunus belonged, was probably the same as the Catalauni of Chalons, pronounced with a Celtic aspirate.

ficed in white, and worshipped their chief divinity under the semblance of an oak. The name Druid is derived from *Drus*, "an oak;" and their chief place of meeting in France is still called "Dreux." The Druids carried wands in their hands, adorned themselves with wreaths of oak, and wore quantities of golden ornaments and chains upon their arms, necks, and breasts. Upon the latter they carried a sort of golden bulla, called the Druid's egg. They considered the mistletoe as a panacea against every evil, and celebrated the discovery of it upon an oak with feasts and sacrifices. Sad to tell, they offered up human sacrifices, strangers, slaves, and prisoners of war, both to atone for crimes, and to propitiate the aid, or avert the vengeance of heaven. They frequently enclosed these unhappy victims in wicker cages formed like men, which they set on fire. Excepting this revolting superstition, the Druids seem to have been in the main just and benevolent, carefully educated, and possessed of extraordinary knowledge. They had neither images nor temples of mason-work, but taught the omnipresence of the gods and the immortality of the soul.

Britain was the fountain-head of the Druid faith, and it flowed thence into Gaul and Italy. For this reason, our island was holy ground to the Gauls, who believed that their souls flew to it after death, and therefore wished to preserve it inviolate. Strangers of their faith came in numbers to be educated by the British Druids; and the Druids of all countries frequented Britain to be perfected.\*

Cæsar tells us that the island was very populous, and abounded in cattle. The people used Greek (or Phœnician) letters for their writings and calculations, and gold and silver for their coins. Money of small value was represented by rings of brass or iron, adjusted to certain weights, and specimens of all these may be seen in the British Museum. It is amusing to trace back their unmeaning twirls and ludicrous strokes to some Gallic

\* The Phœnicians traded with Britain B.C. 500. They exchanged pottery, bronze, trinkets, and glass, for lead, tin, and hides. Hecataeus the Greek tells us of their great circular temple to the Sun (Bel) at that date, which, he says, was full of riches. It is disputed whether he means Abury or Stonehenge. See Diod. Sic., lib. ii. p. 90, on Hyperborean Apollo.

imperfect copy of a Greek coin, belonging to Delphi or Marseilles, and bearing upon it Apollo's head. Cæsar's



ANCIENT BRITISH COIN.

models of sesterces greatly improved for a time the coinage of the eastern coast.

All the Britons tattooed themselves, and painted their bodies blue with woad, and the poor were chiefly clothed in skins. Those whom Cæsar encountered were very tall, strong, and fair. The Welsh were less tall, and almost as dark as the Spaniards. The British arms were spears, lances, swords, and bucklers; and they wore rings and numerous iron ornaments about their persons. They were bold horsemen, and excelled all other nations in the management of their *Bigæ*, or two-horse chariots, armed with scythes. They drove them furiously up and down hill, stopped them in full career, jumped out, fought, and then jumped in again, and rushed impetuously into the midst of the enemy. Cassivelaunus brought 4000 chariots against Cæsar. The place where Cæsar crossed the Thames received its name of Cowey Stakes,\* from piles of oak which were driven into the river to make it impassable, and which remain there, black and hard to this day. Cæsar forced in an elephant, with a tower upon its back, which portent so terrified the British cavalry that they fled. Cæsar tells us that the Kentish people were the most civilised of those with whom he came in contact, and bore the strongest resemblance to the Gauls in their buildings, dress, and manners. We may presume that the Trinobantes had no buildings to boast of, since Verulam, their chief town, consisted merely of wooden houses, defended by a strong stockade.

Cæsar gathered some inferior pearls upon the coast,

\* Univ. Hist.

which he set in a breastplate, and hung up in the Temple of Venus Genitrix, at Rome. His desire to enrich himself with British pearls, of which he had doubtless heard from ignorant and designing persons, was one strong motive for his invasion. Very good pearls are now found in Scotland in the fresh-water mussel, but few have been found in England, and Cæsar's were not admired by his countrymen. The largest and best English pearl ever known was drawn out of the river Conway, and belongs to the British Crown. It was presented to Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Charles the Second. A British pearl was once sold for 80*l.*, but we are not acquainted with its further history. A Scotch pearl from the Clyde was valued in August, 1846, by the jewellers, at 40*l.*

The names which Cæsar and other Latin authors bestow upon the British and Gallic tribes and persons, are seldom more than approximations to those which they really bore, and are sometimes altogether different. The British gods, Taran, Esus, and Bel, they called Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury. Caswallon was converted into Cas-sivelaunus; Heer Furst, or General, into Ariovistus; and Brehon, or King, into Brennus. At the same time, it is remarkable how many of the ancient localities retain the same, or very similar names, to this day. In England, we would instance Conway, Verulam, Kent, and the great river Thames, then Tamesis. In France, we have Vannes of the Veneti, Rheims of the Remi, Bourges of the Bituriges, Chartres of the Carnutes, and so forth.

Lucretius, one of the greatest of the Latin poets, killed himself at this period (699), aged forty. His chief work is entitled, "*De Rerum Natura*," On the Nature of Things, and is full of noble thoughts, expressed in bold and nervous language. He is deficient in elegance, and too philosophic, paradoxical, and sardonic to please generally; but for depth and energy, some critics esteem him superior to Virgil. He never took part in public life, and probably suffered intense mental anxiety whilst he kept silence, through the troublous times of Marius, Sylla, and Catiline, when violence and anarchy divided Italy. Lucretius's highly poetic and sensitive mind at last became disordered. He doubted the existence of a God, laughed at every great and elevated feeling, denied the immortality of the



soul, and finally put a period to his own existence. He saw and exposed the absurd inconsistencies of heathenism, but knew no better sources of truth or consolation. He is, in his deep sufferings and irremediable ignorance, to be pitied and forgiven.

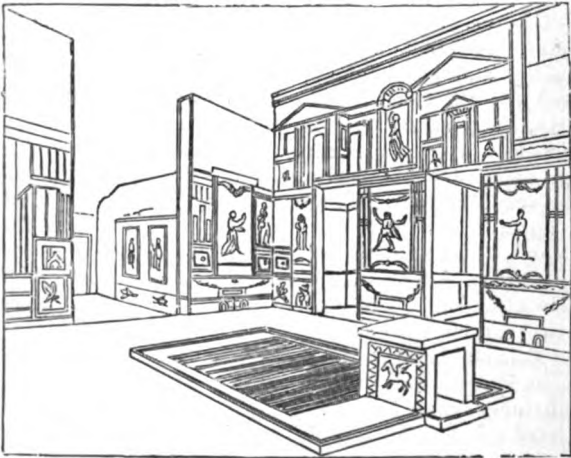


DRUIDS.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CIVIL WAR. DEATH OF POMPEY.

B.C. 51 TO 48. Y.R. 702 TO 705.\*



A ROMAN HOUSE.

IN order not to interrupt the narrative of Cæsar's conquests in Gaul, we have deferred until now to notice the violent contentions which, after the death of Crassus, distracted Rome. Pompey was then left supreme in

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* cvi.-cxvi.; Plut. in *Vit. Pomp.*; Suet. de *J. Cæsare*; Cæsar de *Bell. Civil.*; Univ. History, xiii.-ix.; Nieb. *Lect.* ii.; Michelet, *Rome*, iii.; Biog. Univ.; Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*; Nardini *Rom.*

influence, and might be considered as absolute monarch of all the Roman dominions, excepting the province and conquests of Cæsar. In 699, Julia, the wife of Pompey and daughter of Cæsar, died, an amiable and beautiful woman, who formed the bond of union between these two mighty potentates. Cæsar's regret for her in the midst of his triumphs was so keen, that to soothe him she was buried in the Campus Martius, an honour never before granted to a woman. Unfortunately from this time divided interests rendered Cæsar and Pompey jealous of each other. Pompey ere long married Cornelia, the fascinating widow of young Publius Crassus; and his affection for her led him to heap honours upon Metellus Scipio, her father, and to elevate him to magistracies for which he was wholly unqualified.

Clodius, the seditious Tribune, and the friend of Cæsar, stood candidate for the Prætorship. Milo, his wealthy and powerful opponent, the friend of Pompey, stood for the Consulship. Each was supported by his party, each strove to compass his point by open and shameless bribery, and each with a large military following, opposed the other. In this state of affairs, Milo, who was Dictator of Lanuvium, was journeying thither to appoint a new priest for the patron goddess Juno Sospita, and Clodius at the same time was returning to Rome from a political meeting at Aricia. Both had their attendants, and met at Bovillæ. A fight ensued between their retinues, in which they willingly joined; and Milo stabbed Clodius, and killed him. Milo hastened on to Rome, and tried to carry his election; but the multitude drove him away by force, and Pompey was created sole Consul with Dictatorial power, to calm the disorders of the state. Powerful as Milo was, Pompey had him brought to trial, and banished. Cicero was to have pleaded for him, and was gifted with such magic eloquence that it is possible he might have saved him; but being a nervous man, without either physical or moral courage, he was so alarmed at the military force with which Pompey surrounded the Forum, that when it came to the point he could not speak a word.

Pompey being now supreme in Rome, raised to office men who were jealous of Cæsar, and who wished to diminish his influence. Of these, the chief were the un-

principled and able Curio, elected Tribune of the people; Æmilius Paulus, who was Consul for the current year; and Marcellus, a bitter adversary of the great General, who was elected for the next. They debated about shortening the period of Cæsar's command; and when he should return to Rome, calling him to account for his proceedings, and prosecuting him for his disposal of the public money. Pompey, on his part, required him to send back the two Legions which he had lent him, to maintain the war against Vercingetorix. Cæsar complied without comment; but being as acute in diplomacy as he was in war, he artfully gained over Paulus and Curio, by paying their enormous debts, and then stood candidate for the Consulship himself. This was the only magistracy which could save him from sinking into the rank of a private citizen, and from becoming either the subject or the rival of Pompey.

Cæsar petitioned that the Consulship might be granted to him, as it had frequently been to Marius, without his personal appearance in Rome, because if he came he must disband his army, and thus renounce his right to a triumph. He had been in the same predicament when he stood for his first Consulship, after a successful campaign in Spain, and he then without hesitation abandoned the petty triumph he might have celebrated, to gain the higher and more important position. Now, however, a commemoration of his victories over the vast and unknown regions of Gaul, Britain, and Germany, was a very different affair, and Cæsar would not renounce it. This was the dilemma to which Pompey desired to reduce him, for his vanity could not endure being eclipsed by conquests in which he had no share. The Roman world henceforth divided itself between those two men of eminent military renown, one of which could brook no equal, and the other no superior.

Instead of conciliating the dangerous Cæsar, at the head of his warlike Legions, who were devoted to him, Pompey took every means to irritate and provoke him. He insisted upon his resigning his *imperium*, or command, though the term of it was not expired; and he even nominated Domitius to be his successor. Cæsar, with arms in his hands, could only laugh at such impotent arrogance. Two of the Tribunes in his interest, Mark

Antony and Cassius, proposed that Pompey should resign his province of Spain, and disband his troops, and they engaged that Cæsar should then either abandon his triumph, or his claims upon the Consulship. This was not only perfectly equitable, but even necessary for Cæsar's safety. Pompey's party, enraged at the proposition, drove away the Tribunes with violence, and threatened them with such imminent danger, that they escaped from the city in the disguise of slaves, and took refuge in Cæsar's camp. Nothing could be a more flagrant breach of the laws of Rome, than an assault upon the inviolable Tribunes in the execution of their office. Cæsar and the people equally saw that arms must now decide the question, and that the strongest would be the victor.

Pompey persuaded himself that Cæsar's troops were weary of their long wars, and would be glad to forsake him and enjoy peace. He also believed that his own influence was unbounded, and when Cicero asked him with what forces he could oppose Cæsar, should their dispute come to a contest, he proudly answered, "If I do but stamp with my foot, all Italy will rise." He overlooked the opposition he must encounter from the Gallic Legion "*Alauda*," raised by Cæsar's sole authority; from the Gladiators, who owed to that General their lives and honourable position; and from the numerous towns and states which were indebted to him for Roman citizenship, and which would certainly embrace the cause of their benefactor.

The Consul Marcellus had the brutality to flog a Senator of Novocomum (Como), telling him that he was no citizen, merely to insult Cæsar, to whom this city was indebted for its recent privileges. Pompey had the folly to assume authority over Cæsar, and to despatch Domitius Ahenobarbus, the Consul lately nominated, to supersede him. He thus treated him as already reduced to the rank of a private citizen, and he sent him at the same time a decree of the Senate, proclaiming him a public enemy, should he resist. Cæsar was at Ravenna with only one Legion, but he summoned his army to cross the Alps and join him. At the time this preposterous decree was presented to him, he was amusing himself at a Gladiators' show, where, with unflinching presence of mind, he instantly decided upon the course he should adopt. He begged

his guests to wait whilst he quitted them for a short time, and leaving them at the show, he threw himself into his chariot, and drove out of the town. As soon as he was secure from observation, he turned into a different road, sent orders to his troops to meet him, and pursued his way to the Rubicon, a small stream which divided his province from Pompey's, and from Italy Proper. Here he mounted his charger and joined his men, who wondered why they were assembled. He rode for a few minutes up and down the banks of the stream in great agitation. "Pompey," he said, "forces me to be either the hammer or the anvil. If I cross, I shall destroy my country; if I do not cross, I am lost myself." Suddenly he heard a trumpet sound a charge. He exclaimed, "The die is cast," and plunged into the river.\*

Cæsar had now no alternative. He had been driven to make war on his own account by the vain insolence of Pompey, and the folly of a corrupt, inept Senate; and he pursued it with as little cruelty, as much promptitude, ability, and magnanimity, as it was possible for a man to exercise. All his early sins sink into the shade, eclipsed by the brilliancy and greatness of his after career. He was now at open issue with Pompey and the Senate. He marched upon Ariminum that night, surprised and took it before the morning, and was gladly joined by the garrison. He despatched orders to the main body of his army to advance immediately from Gaul; and whilst Mark Antony seized Arretium, and the towns of Picenum, he attacked and mastered Corfinium, into which his rival Domitius had thrown himself. The soldiers of this General submitted without fighting, and Cæsar spared him and the Senators who had accompanied him, dismissing them unhurt. It is a condemnatory feature in the character of his enemies, and marks the depravity of the times, that most of them were insensible to gratitude. Those whom he spared and favoured, were the first to conspire against him. Domitius fled to Marseilles, and immediately raised that city against his generous foe. He afterwards died in battle against Cæsar at Pharsalia.

Great and inexpressible was the amazement of Pompey, and the consternation of the Senators, when they

\* Near Cesenna.

heard of the advance of Cæsar along the Flaminian Way. He was so rapid in his movements, that they already fancied him at the gates of Rome, and themselves in his power. Pompey fled to Capua, and proclaimed every one an enemy, who did not join him. His friend Favonius bid him now stamp with his foot, that his armies might spring up; but alas! Cæsar was more powerful to lay his spells, than he to raise them. Had all the troops of the universe gathered round him, he no longer knew how to guide them. He hastened, like a panic-stricken man, to Brundisium, where Cæsar besieged him, but having the command of the fleet, he crossed the sea and sailed without difficulty to Dyrrachium. In this place he remained for many months, and assembled around him all the armies of the East.

Cæsar in the meanwhile, entered Rome without resistance, but it was empty of all its magistrates, for they had followed Pompey. Cæsar went to visit Cicero at Tusculum, and tried, but in vain, to gain him over. He proceeded to the treasury in the Temple of Saturn, to supply himself with money, and as it was locked, Metellus, a young Tribune, had the hardihood to forbid him to open it. "Young man," replied Cæsar sternly, "you must know that is easier for me to act than to threaten. Laws must yield to arms." He deliberately broke it open, and took from it as much as he required. He then pursued Pompey to Brundisium, and out of bravado besieged him there, but, having no fleet, he was unable to give chase to his enemies after their embarkation, therefore he returned to Rome and levied troops to attack Pompey's province of Spain. He was master of Italy, and justly boasted that he had become so without shedding one drop of human blood.

Pompey's power, had he known how to use it, was still most formidable. Almost every magistracy and every government was in the hands of his creatures or Allies,—and Spain, Sicily, Africa, Numidia, Egypt, Syria, and Asia, were all at his command. Cæsar quickly crossed the Pyrenees, secured the passes, and came up with the Generals of Pompey at Ilerda, now Lerida, in Catalonia. In the first action he was defeated, and his men suffered severely from famine; but by stratagem he crossed the river which divided him from a

fertile country, and relieved his army. He loaded his waggons with the native light osier Coracles, and, by their means, crossed the river higher up the stream. He gradually so won upon his adversaries by his kind treatment of the prisoners, that their soldiers deserted to him, and the leaders being left alone, were obliged to submit. He spared all their lives, upon condition of their not serving against him during the war, and then gloriously revisited Rome, where, by the suffrages of the people, he was proclaimed Dictator and Consul. He recalled all the exiles, excepting Milo, who held out against him in Marseilles. After the reduction of that place, Milo joined an insurrection at Thurii, and was there killed by a stone thrown from the walls.

Pompey was now at Thessalonica, with the two Consuls, 200 Senators, and 140,000 men. He had 7000 select Roman cavalry, and a glittering array of Eastern warriors, comprising Ethiopians, Arabians, Syrians, and troops of all nations. Cicero and Cato were amongst his Generals. Labienus (Cæsar's brave comrade in Gaul) joined his standard with a large force; and the gloomy, taciturn, but upright Marcus Brutus forgave him his father's murder at Mutina, and volunteered to serve under his command. Cæsar was strongly attached to Brutus, and looked upon him as his son, but Brutus sided with his adversaries, because he mistook the cause of Pompey for the cause of Rome.

To oppose so formidable a host, Cæsar could only raise altogether twelve Legions, and but five of these could be transported with himself into Epirus. He sailed past his old inefficient colleague Bibulus, who kept the sea for Pompey, and who never perceived Cæsar's ships until they were returning empty. Bibulus was so ashamed of having allowed them to escape, that he died of a broken heart. Cicero was told of various omens which predicted success to Pompey, and amongst others of seven eagles which were taken in his camp. He dryly answered, "That would be very lucky indeed, if we were at war with magpies." On a deserter from Cæsar joining, and saying that he had left his horse behind him in his hurry, Cicero answered, "Your horse is very much obliged to you."

Cæsar waited with impatience for Mark Antony to



bring over the remainder of his troops. At last, no longer able to endure the suspense, he disguised himself, and went on board a small fishing vessel, which was to sail from Greece to Brundisium. After putting out to sea, the winds were contrary, and the vessel was driven back again. Cæsar in despair discovered himself, and said to the master, "*Quid times? Cæsarem vehis.*" "What fearest thou? Thou bearest Cæsar." The astonished master strove to gratify him, but it required a greater than Cæsar to rule the winds and waves, and he was obliged to return baffled to his camp. Antony, however, soon after arriving with his forces in safety, Cæsar prepared for action, and endeavoured to provoke his adversaries to fight. He had previously offered peace, but Labienus answered, "There should be no peace without Cæsar's head."

Pompey was well supplied by his fleet, and knew that it was his policy to wear out his foe, who had no provisions excepting what he could procure by forage. Cæsar was reduced to such extremities, that at last his troops had nothing to subsist on but bark and wild vegetables, of which they made bread. Loaves of this they threw into the enemies' camp, telling them that Cæsar's soldiers would live upon grass, sooner than abandon their purpose.

In order to force Pompey into action, Cæsar enclosed him with prodigious lines of circumvallation. Pompey began to feel himself in a very ludicrous position, when some chiefs of the Allobroges being affronted by Cæsar, deserted to him, and showed him the weak parts of his adversary's enclosure. Pompey immediately broke through the lines, and marched out upon Cæsar, whilst part of his forces sailed round, and took him in the rear. Cæsar, surprised and surrounded, was in the utmost peril. His men fled, and could not be arrested, thirty-two of his standards were taken, and, in shattered condition and with diminished numbers, he sought refuge in his former camp. Pompey, satisfied with the victory, allowed him to recover strength, and Cæsar remarked, "Had Pompey followed, he would have crushed me. He knows how to gain a victory, but not how to improve one."

After this severe repulse, Cæsar wisely retreated into Thessaly, and took up his quarters near Pharsalia.

Pompey followed, determined to adhere to his prudent resolution of not fighting, but of starving his antagonist in an unfriendly country. Pompey's officers, however, were keen for battle, and so many of them were men of rank, renown, and authority, that he could not resist them. They presumed upon their strength, because Cæsar's army was not half so numerous as his, and their ill-timed ridicule at length forced Pompey into action. One commander called him "Agamemnon, the King of Kings, in no hurry to resign dominion, and to be on a footing with his fellow-citizens." Another said, that Pompey's ambition alone prevented the Senators that year from eating figs at Tusculum. All agreed that he protracted the war for his own interest. They finally imagined Cæsar to be so completely in their power, that the Legates began to dispute among themselves who should possess the lands and offices now held by his partisans, and three of the Consulars quarrelled as to which should succeed him as Pontifex Maximus. One of them chose for himself Cæsar's beautiful villa at Baïæ, and most of the great officers sent to Rome, hiring houses proper for the various dignities they had appropriated. Had Pompey been victor, it is certain that the proscriptions and cruelties of Sylla would have been renewed.

Cæsar, though not of a temper to be cast down by adversity, was suffering so much from famine that he found it necessary to break up his camp. When preparing to march away from Pharsalia, he was, to his infinite joy and relief, attacked by a body of Pompey's troops, and he beheld the adverse army drawn out for battle. He hoisted the red flag above his tent, with more than usual alacrity, and said, "Now my men may fight for their lives, and not die of hunger."

The commanders, on one side, were Pompey, with his 7000 horse, Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, and Afranius. On the other, Cæsar, with the Tenth Legion and 1000 horse, Domitius Calvinus, and Mark Antony. Cæsar opposed himself to Pompey, and mingled infantry between his cavalry, ordering them to strike only at the faces of the riders, who were the young aristocrats of Rome, and so effeminate that he thought they would fear to spoil their beauty. He wished, besides, to spare slaughter, and would not strike

Battle of  
Pharsalia.  
Y.R. 705.

the flying. There was a considerable superiority on the side of Pompey. The infantry of Cæsar did not amount to more than 22,000, while Pompey, independent of auxiliaries, numbered 45,000. The cavalry of Pompey was also more numerous, but as they were young and inexperienced troops, they made a poor stand against Cæsar's veterans, among whom were Gauls and Germans, who were delighted to be let loose to take vengeance upon the Romans. Scipio desired his infantry to stand, and receive the charge of the Gauls under Domitius. The latter, consequently, came on so full of excitement, that nothing could withstand them, and the cautious commander was quickly driven off the field. Afranius, with the centre, was discomfited by Antony, and Pompey now placed all his reliance upon the overwhelming numbers of his horse. They charged in gallant style, but with a contemptuous confidence in their own superiority. To their confusion, they found themselves at once attacked by both cavalry and infantry, and their faces only aimed at. They became suddenly panic-stricken, turned and fled. Pompey could not believe the sight, and thinking that Cæsar would not dare to pursue them beyond his lines, he retired to his tent sick with disappointment.

Cæsar, however, knew how to improve his victories as well as how to gain them. He entered the camp along with the fugitives ; and Pompey, roused from the stupefaction into which grief and shame had thrown him, mounted his horse, and hastened to escape through the Decuman gate, with the amazed and crest-fallen remnants of his late brilliant army. His camp was bravely defended for a short time ; but as all those who surrendered found mercy, as those who fled were not pursued, and as those only who resisted suffered, the Romans were easily reconciled to change their General, and submitted themselves to the heroic and generous Cæsar. Of all his prisoners, only three were executed, and he eagerly sought for Marcus Brutus, to have the pleasure of pardoning him. The next day he rode over the field to view the dead. "Alas !" he said, "they would have it so. Without this victory, they would have destroyed me." How different this spirit from the temper shown by his enemies ! He found Pompey's camp gaily laid out for a

feast, to celebrate the destruction of himself and his army. The tents were adorned with flowers, and the tables prepared for a splendid entertainment, to which Cæsar's men sat down. Cæsar burnt all the letters and papers found in Pompey's tent, without reading one of them.

Cato having been left with a body of reserve at Dyrrachium, most of the leaders fled thither after the battle. Cicero retired into Italy, whilst Cato, Cneius Pompey, and Metellus Scipio, went to join themselves to King Juba in Africa. Pompey, utterly dispirited, first fled to Larissa, and thence sailed to Lesbos for his wife Cornelia, and his youngest son Sextus Pompey. He hesitated whether to seek an asylum in Parthia, or with his ward Ptolemy Dionysus, King of Egypt, and finally decided on the latter, because of the great obligations which the late king, Auletes, and his now reigning children, owed to him. Unfortunately, the young Ptolemy was under the management of three Greek Regents, who wished to keep him in subjection, and who feared that if he espoused the cause of Pompey their government would be at an end. Pompey appeared off Pelusium, and sent to implore Ptolemy's protection. Theodotus, his governor, said to Achilles the Commander-in-Chief and to Photinus the Viceroy, "If we receive Pompey, Cæsar will make war upon us, and Pompey will be our master. If we let him escape, Cæsar will be angry and chastise us. Remember that dead men cannot bite." This wicked and untrue speech decided Pompey's doom. Dead men often bite worse than living ones, in so far as after-consequences are concerned.

Achillas went to welcome Pompey along with Septimius, a Roman Centurion, who had once served under him. Cornelia, with tears, saw him depart, and watched him to the shore. As they sailed from the ship in a small boat, Pompey recognised Septimius, and said, "I think you and I have been comrades." Septimius sulkily nodded, and was silent. When they reached the shore, Pompey rose to quit the boat, when Septimius, watching his opportunity, stabbed him from behind. As he fell, Achilles attacked him, upon which he covered his face with his robe, and expired. T.B. 705. Cornelia witnessed the scene, and sailed away. Achilles cut off

his head, and withdrew his signet-ring, keeping them both for Cæsar.

Thus Pompey, after thirty-four years of victory and power, sustained one defeat, which he had not spirit to recover, and he died betrayed and alone on the coast of Egypt. The only person with him was his freedman, Philip, who took up his naked and dishonoured body, washed it, and wrapped it in his own garment. He then made a funeral pile of an old boat which he broke to pieces, and burnt the corpse upon it to ashes. What could be recovered of his remains was afterwards sent by Cæsar to Cornelia, and buried in her sepulchre at Alba. Some say that Codrus, Pompey's military Quæstor, erected a stone over the spot where he was burnt in Egypt, and inscribed upon it, "Here lies Pompey the Great."

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXXVIII.

IN the same year with Pompey died Lucullus, once warlike, learned, and magnificent, the richest and most luxurious of the Romans. He retired from public life before the Triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus; and seems, by intemperance and effeminacy, to have reduced himself to a state of imbecility. After Pompey so unjustly snatched from him the glory of concluding the Mithridatic war, he sought consolation in feasting and dressing, with an extravagance and lavishness worthy only of those who are incapable of higher pleasures. He was the brother-in-law of Cato, whose exaggerated roughness may partly have been caused by disgust at the fantastic delicacy and excessive pomp of Lucullus. He had palaces in Rome, Naples, and Tusculum, the last adorned with spacious halls, long galleries, and covered walks for summer. His gardens, near the Aqua Trevi, towards the church of San Giuseppe in Rome, were of extraordinary size and beauty. His palace at Naples had the sea conducted round it to supply him with fish, and the mountains excavated to furnish him with reservoirs and ponds. These were great works, but they conferred no honour upon him, because performed for so trivial an

end. His rooms were furnished with paintings, statues, and other works of art, which he had collected in Asia, purple carpets, inlaid tables, and sideboards of plate set with precious stones. His different dining-rooms had names appropriated to them, according to their magnificence, and each had its separate equipage and bill of fare. When he supped in the Apollo, he was served on gold plate, and spent 50,000 drachmas (about 2000*l.*) upon the entertainment, without any regard to the size of his company, for he considered it sufficient if "Lucullus supped with Lucullus."

Pompey and Cicero having heard of this, and wishing to ascertain if it were true, the latter one day accosted him in the Forum, and said that they would sup with him in the evening, provided he would ask no company, and make no alteration in his usual style. Lucullus answered, that he should take no other trouble than to name the room, and calling to one of his slaves, he told him that he supped that evening in the Apollo. Great was the amazement of the two statesmen when they found the regal banquet there prepared. But it does not seem that they admired it, for when Pompey was ill, and his physician prescribed thrushes, which were only to be obtained from the aviary of Lucullus, he would not suffer one to be procured, and scornfully asked, "Must Pompey then have died had Lucullus not been an epicure?" Cato is said to have started up in the Senate-house when a young and luxurious member applauded temperance, and to have exclaimed sternly, "How darest thou, who livest like Lucullus, speak like Cato?" Lucullus had the same dramatic entertainments and music at his ordinary repasts, which others had at their state banquets; and he had such a store of raiment, and of rich purple robes, that he offered one of the Prætors to lend him 200\* for the chorus of his play at the public games.

One expense of Lucullus was equally magnificent and meritorious. He built a noble library, filled with a prodigious quantity of volumes, chiefly plundered from Asia, and these he had copied in clear hands, and placed at the service of all scholars. Men of every nation were

\* Horace, Epist. i. 6, says 5000, and that when the Prætor made his request Lucullus had no idea of the number in his house.

welcome to spend the day in his porticoes and galleries, amid his statues and precious books. He loved the Greeks, and was himself so great a proficient in their language, that he wrote in Greek verse the history of the Social war, in which he first distinguished himself. When Lucullus died, the people desired to bury him in the Campus Martius, but his brother preferred quieter obsequies, and he was laid in his own vault at Tusculum.

The statue of Juno, which was worshipped by Milo and the people of Lanuvium, now stands in the Vatican at Rome, and is one of the very few of those statues of Divinities which have actually received worship, and which time has spared.

Pompey lived in the Carinæ, and his house being confiscated, was, out of malice, bought by Mark Antony, his bitter foe. Pompey built a Curia or Public Hall, and a Theatre, which stood near the present Palazzo Orsini and the Church of St. Andrea della Valle. At the opening of these 500 lives were sacrificed in cruel games. He exhibited also eighteen elephants, which fought with armed men, but their lives were saved by the people.

Cato highly disapproved of the enormous sums of money wasted on the public games; and when he was *Ædile*, he substituted garlands of olive for crowns of gold as prizes for the actors and musicians, and gave the audience useful presents of wine, pork, figs, and wood, instead of expensive trifles. The people were better pleased with his good sense than with the usual glitter and extravagance.

Pompey's widow, Cornelia, was a very accomplished woman, and excelled in music and geometry. Pompey's statues were all thrown down in Rome, after his death; but Cæsar re-erected them along with Sylla's, and in so doing, as Cicero observed, fixed his own. His signet-ring, which was presented to Cæsar, instead of having his name engraved upon it, had the device of a lion with a sword in his paw.

The Consul, *Æmilius Paulus*, whom Cæsar gained over by paying his debts, built a beautiful Basilica, or Exchange, surrounded with columns of Phrygian marble. It cost 1500 talents, which Cæsar paid, and these columns were subsequently removed to the grand Christian church of San Paolo Fuori le Murà, which was burnt in A.D. 1824,

and has been restored by gifts from all the sovereigns of Europe. Cæsar built the Basilica Julia, opposite to the Basilica Paula, and the money for both was plundered from the Gauls.

One of the eminent men who quitted the world about this time was Roscius Quintus, the actor, so celebrated and admired that his name has become proverbial to express dramatic talent. The excitement he produced was such that warriors were ready to fight, like the champions of the middle ages, to maintain his peerless superiority. He was a native of Lanuvium, and, what is remarkable in one who required so much expression of countenance, he squinted. He gave lessons in elocution and acting, from early life to very advanced years, and Cicero and Cæsar were amongst his scholars. He was the friend of Sylla, who conferred Equestrian rank upon him, by presenting him with a gold ring, and who rewarded his acting with 1000 sesterces a-day. He retired from the stage about the time of the Triumvirate, and died old and honoured.

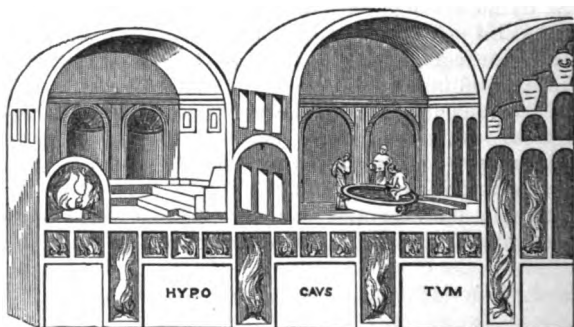
The common people at this period paid for their baths a *Quadrans* per head (less than our penny). People of rank had private baths, with dressing-rooms attached to them in their own houses. The art of heating baths or apartments by flues conducted under them was invented or introduced into Italy at this period.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

CIVIL WAR IN AFRICA AND SPAIN. MURDER OF CÆSAR.

B.C. 48 TO 44. Y.R. 705 TO 709.\*



ROMAN BATH.

POMPEY having fled from Pharsalia unattended, and not having joined his army of reserve at Dyrrachium, Cæsar could obtain no intelligence of his movements; but conjecturing that he might have bent his course towards Egypt, the victorious chief steered thither. Such was his ardour, not to say rashness, in pursuit, that he sailed unaccompanied by a single vessel, and on his voyage fell in with Cassius and the

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* cxii.—cxvi.; Plut. *de J. Cæs.*, *Pomp. Catone*, &c.; Suet. *de J. Cæs.*; Univ. *Hist.* xiii., *Egypt*, ix.; Nieb. *Lect.* ii.; Michelet, *Rom.* iii.; Biog. Univ.

enemy's fleet. He might easily have been captured ; but with singular audacity, instead of avoiding his adversaries, he summoned them to surrender ; and Cassius, without hesitation, obeyed and joined him.

Arrived at Alexandria, Cæsar learned the events which had recently occurred, and Achillas welcomed him by presenting to him the signet of Pompey, and his bloody head covered with a veil. Cæsar turned away in disgust, and burst into tears. Pompey had once been his intimate friend and son-in-law, and he felt, with the natural feelings of a human heart, for his changed and fallen fortunes. He buried the head in the suburbs of Alexandria, and erected near it a temple to Nemesis, or Vengeance.

Cæsar, not being able to leave Egypt for Italy, on account of the Etesian, or periodical winds, which had set in, and which always lasted sixty days, claimed from Ptolemy the money (6000 talents) which had been promised him by Auletes for confirming him on the throne. The Viceroy, Photinus, in order to render the Romans hateful, taxed all the land, under pretext of raising this money, stripped the temples, and even sent the plate from the King's table. This irritated the Egyptians ; and they were still more provoked when Cæsar commanded Ptolemy and Cleopatra, who were at war, to disband their separate armies and to make peace. The Egyptians indignantly asked if the Roman General was master of their Kings and Queens ; and raised a tumult, which placed Cæsar in such danger, that he was obliged to apologise, saying, that he acted in the name of the Roman people, whose wards the Sovereigns were. He added, that he desired their reconciliation for their own benefit and the welfare of their country ; and that the Romans intended to bestow Cyprus on the two other children of Auletes, the Princess Arsinoë and her younger brother.

Cleopatra was at war with the elder brother, her husband, Ptolemy Dionysus, because she had been prevented from ruling along with him, according to her father's will ; and as she was of great capacity, and very imperious, the three Greek Regents had studiously endeavoured to exclude her. She escaped into Syria, and raised an army, which she conducted to Pelusium. Here the brother and sister met, with hostile forces, though they did not fight. When Cleopatra heard Cæsar's order

that both sides should disband, she left her camp, and had herself concealed in a mattress, and conveyed upon a man's back into the palace where Cæsar resided. Here she pleaded her cause with him, face to face, and being beautiful and eloquent, so completely gained him, that he was ever after under her influence. When she appeared the next day at the windows, standing by his side, Ptolemy passionately exclaimed, that he was betrayed, and that Cæsar had espoused the cause of his enemy. He was so excited against his sister that he dashed the diadem from his head. Achilles marched to his support with 20,000 men, and besieged Cæsar in Alexandria. The Roman chief fortified himself in the citadel, and was supported by the partisans of Cleopatra. Achilles attacked the port, and endeavoured to surround his enemy, but Cæsar extricated himself by burning the Egyptian fleet. Unfortunately the fire extended from the ships to the city, and consumed the magnificent library of 400,000 volumes, founded by Ptolemy the First.

Cæsar had ere long the good fortune to obtain possession of the young King and of the Princess Arsinoë. Photinus, their governor, who was captured with them, thus became acquainted with all the Roman plans, which he revealed to Achilles. One of his letters at last fell into Cæsar's hands, and he was put to death. Arsinoë escaped, and was placed at the head of the army. She and her brother soon after sustained an irreparable loss in the murder of Achilles. In a battle that ensued, she was again taken prisoner, and King Ptolemy, whom Cæsar had released, was drowned in the Nile. His body was recognised by its golden cuirass.

Cæsar was now triumphant. He had left Pharsalia unaccompanied by a single cohort, but before his arrival in Egypt he commanded the fleet of Cassius, and amongst his Allies counted the Rhodians with their admirable navy, and Cleopatra with all her partisans. An army of Asiatics assisted him under Mithridates, and another of Jews under Antipater, the father of King Herod, in whose reign our blessed Saviour was born. Cæsar was very fond of the Jews, and showed them distinguished favour.

The war being terminated, Cæsar caused Cleopatra,

aged nineteen, to be crowned Queen of Egypt, and married her to her remaining brother, Ptolemy Neoterus, the twelfth of that line, and the last of the Egyptian Kings. He was ten years old, and at fourteen was associated in the government; but Cleopatra not choosing to divide her power with another, caused him to be poisoned, and reigned for twenty-eight years alone.

Cæsar remained with Cleopatra after her coronation for three months, as if he had nothing else to do but to amuse himself. He was roused at last by hearing that Pharnaces, the King of Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates the Great, had been encouraged, by the dispersion of Pompey's army at Pharsalia, to attempt the recovery of all his father's dominions, and that he had been extensively and unexpectedly successful. He defeated Cæsar's legate, Domitius Calvinus; recovered Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia; and was now endeavouring to master Armenia Minor, which Dejotarus, the faithful ally of the Romans, defended against him. Cæsar saw the importance of giving him a speedy check, and without delay marched against him, refusing to listen by the way to his insidious overtures for peace. Though distrustful of Dejotarus, as the sworn friend of Pompey, Cæsar yet accepted of his succours; and the united armies met Pharnaces on the ground where Mithridates had erected a monument to commemorate the great victory which he had gained over the Romans some years before.

The battle was obstinate for about four hours. The troops of Pharnaces then gave way, and fled in all directions; his camp was taken, and he himself sought refuge in his own kingdom of Bosphorus; but the Governor, whom he had left as Regent there, revolted and killed him. Cæsar's victory was so rapid, that he wrote an account of it in three words, "*Veni, vidi, vici*;" "I came, I saw, I conquered." He erected a trophy to mark his triumph close to the pillar of Mithridates. This having been dedicated to some god, he would not destroy; but he remarked that Pompey was a fortunate General to have met in the East with so cowardly a foe. He left Domitius Calvinus to settle his conquests, and proceeded to Italy, where he was greeted in fear and trembling, by Cicero; but his cordial kindness and free pardon not only

conciliated the great orator, but along with him many other distinguished Romans.

When Cæsar reached Rome, the Senate knew not how to express their gratitude to him sufficiently for abstaining from a revival of the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla. He had to repress a tumult between Mark Antony and Dolabella, about the abolition of debts; but, personally, he forgave every one, and seemed to have forgotten that any man had ever tried to injure him. The Senate proclaimed him Consul for five years, with power to make peace and war, and to levy what troops he chose. Besides this, he was head of the Tribunes (therefore inviolable), and Dictator for twelve months. Thus was Cæsar legally invested with supreme authority over all the dominions of Rome, and consequently those who opposed him in the exercise of that authority were rebels to the State.

The Roman State, however, was so corrupt, that it was no longer capable of self-government, and Cato, Metellus Scipio, and the sons of Pompey, with many gallant and skilful leaders, refused to submit to its decrees. Civil war raged in Spain and Africa, and Cæsar found that he must depart speedily to the latter, in order to prevent all his past exploits from being useless. He was much distressed at the revolt of his favourite Tenth Legion, quartered at Capua. The soldiers, being impatient for the lands and rewards often promised them, thought that this was the best opportunity to make good their claims, because the war in Egypt could not be prosecuted without their aid. Cæsar sent his friend Sallust to quell the mutiny, but the troops would not listen to him, and drove him away with violence and abuse. They marched to Rome, and Cæsar ordered that they should lay aside their arms, and meet him in the Campus Martius. There, he mounted his well-known tribunal, and demanded their grievances. They were overawed by the presence of their General, and kept silence. On his repeating the question, they said that they wished to be dismissed, after so many years of service, and to enjoy the fruits of their labours. To their consternation, he coolly replied, "Certainly, your demand is just, you are dismissed. Quirites, return to your homes."

The word "*Quirites*," citizens, instead of "*Commilitones*," fellow-soldiers, which he always used, fell like a knell upon their ears. They refused to be dismissed, entreated his pardon, and vowed that they would never forsake his standard. Cæsar answered, "You shall not follow me. You shall see that I can conquer without you, and when I have finished the African war, I will distribute to you the money and lands I have promised you." Again, the men supplicated forgiveness, embraced his knees, called themselves his children, and, finally, offered to abandon all claim to their rewards, if they might only be permitted to attend him. Cæsar at last relented, and having thoroughly humbled them, took them with him to Africa.

Though he had only ships for a portion of his forces, he boldly landed at Adrumetum, and thence advanced to Leptis. His allies were Bocchus, King of Mauritania, and Setius, the Campanian, a bold, military adventurer, who, having collected bands of wild Spaniards and Africans under his command, sold his services to the highest bidder. Opposed to Cæsar, were Juba, King of Numidia, with a large army and admirable cavalry; Cato, who was made Governor of Utica, which he had saved from destruction; Labienus, who had distinguished himself in Gaul; Metellus Scipio, the Consul; and the two brave sons of Pompey. Cato, with false delicacy, refused to defend Utica by arming the slaves, because he said it was not lawful for slaves to bear arms. With a punctilio approaching to weakness, he insisted upon Scipio taking the chief command, because he was the man of highest rank present; though he was perfectly aware that others were more capable, and that the fate of his country depended on the issue. He had, however, one good reason in favour of Scipio, that all the army believed they should conquer if commanded by a scion of that illustrious house. Cæsar was so persuaded of the influence of the presentiment, that he placed over his troops a very ordinary, undistinguished person, named Scipio, keeping the real command with himself and his tried officers, but choosing to gratify the superstition of the people by opposing one Scipio to another.

Cæsar was almost enclosed in Leptis, by the numerous forces of his enemies, and reduced to such distress before

the arrival of his fleet, that his men were again obliged to feed upon herbs; and he wrote to Italy, saying he should be undone, if not speedily succoured. His only chance of success lay in a battle, which might disperse his enemies, and enable him to change his quarters. He therefore never declined skirmishes, even though often worsted. In one of these, he perceived a standard-bearer flying along with the men. He rushed up to him, seized him, and turning him violently round, exclaimed, "Look that way, the enemy are there." Another time, being opposed by Labienus, he was surrounded, and must have lost his life, had not one of his former officers been more grateful than the General, and spared him. A soldier of the tenth Legion at the same moment kept back Labienus by killing his horse, and Cæsar escaped in the confusion, and the same night effected his retreat to Ruspina.

Cato wrote to Scipio, entreating him to use delay, and not suffer his men to engage; but Scipio, confiding in his gallant army and superior advantages, was blind enough to hold Cæsar in contempt, and to wish for action. Scipio, Labienus, and Juba, made three separate camps, communicating with each other, close to Thapsus; and Cæsar, having no other resource but the sword, fell upon Scipio's men whilst they were leisurely Battle of Thapsus. entrenching themselves, and put them to flight by terrifying the elephants, which instantly turned against them. Without delay, he assaulted and took Labienus's camp by surprise, and afterwards that of Juba, killing 50,000 of his enemies, and himself losing only fifty men. The victory was as rapid and easy as the one he had so lately gained over Pharnaces, and demonstrated that it was the General in whom the superiority rested, and not the race; for at Thapsus Romans were opposed to Romans, and Labienus was as brave as Cæsar.

Metellus Scipio, overwhelmed with grief and shame, killed himself; and Juba (whose son was made prisoner), and the Legate Petreius, slew each other. Labienus escaped to join the sons of Pompey in Spain, where he again, in hate and scorn, tried his fortune against his former friend.

The road was now open between Cæsar and Utica,

where Cato commanded, and where alone any further opposition could be made. Cato, well knowing that he was unable to resist the victorious and elated army which Cæsar was bringing against him, assembled those Romans from whom he had composed a Senate in the city, and asked them how they chose to act. If they resolved to resist, he promised to lead them; and, if necessary, to perish with them; but if they preferred submission, he thought they were justified in their decision. He said that *he* would never bow his neck to the yoke of Cæsar; for he had lived his equal, and so would die; but he considered it folly in younger men to throw away their lives, rather than yield to an inevitable destiny. His Senate at Utica, regarding, on the one hand, the generous clemency of Cæsar, and, on the other, the hopelessness of delivering themselves out of his power, determined that their wisest course was, either to make peace with him as soon as possible, or else to join the party of his adversaries in Spain. Upon this resolution being conveyed to Cato, he had the gates closed, and induced some cavalry to protect the embarkation of his friends from the port. After they were safely under sail, he desired the gates to be reopened, in order that Cæsar, who was hourly expected, might enter unopposed. Cato bathed and supped as usual, and conversed enthusiastically with some Greek sages upon the charms of freedom and the desirableness of sudden death. This disquieted his son, who would not quit him, and who, fearing that he did not mean to survive the night, had his sword removed from his bedroom.

On entering his chamber and retiring to rest, Cato looked for his sword, and ordered one of his slaves to bring it to him. The slave presently returned without it, which so irritated Cato that he, the champion of liberty and justice, struck the poor man savagely, and injured his own hand and arm by the reaction of the blow. His son now appeared, and Cato bitterly reproached him for intending to betray his father, unarmed and defenceless, into the hands of his enemies. The young man, much hurt by his suspicions, sent him back his sword, and Cato quietly put it under his pillow, and lay until the dawn when the birds began to sing, reading an admirable dialogue of Plato's ("Phædo"),



upon the immortality of the soul. Early in the morning he rose, and ran the weapon through his body. In falling backwards, he overturned an abacus, or table, which stood by the bedside. His son and attendants rushed in upon hearing the noise, and found that his strained arm had been too weak to give a fatal thrust. They, therefore, had the wound sewed up, and thought he might recover. But the moment Cato was left alone, he tore off the bandages, made the wound worse than before, and expired.

Death of  
Cato.

Thus perished, at the age of forty-eight, the renowned Cato of Utica, universally admired and lamented by his countrymen. He was the proudest and most austere of the Romans, but on the whole an upright man, and perhaps the only Senator, excepting Brutus, who fought against Cæsar upon principle, and who espoused the cause of Pompey, without regard to his own interests, believing it to be the cause of liberty and Rome. When Cæsar arrived a few hours afterwards, he deeply regretted his fate, and had him buried with great magnificence, mourning over him and saying, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou wouldst not permit me the honour of saving thy life." A statue was erected over his remains, with a drawn sword in its hand.

The war in Africa being now ended, Cæsar appointed his friend Sallust the historian to the government of the African province, and returned home. The Senate decreed him four triumphs, which he celebrated within a few days of each other. They likewise decreed forty days of thanksgiving for his extraordinary and continued success. Actuated partly by gratitude and partly by fear, the same body accumulated upon him fresh honours. They ordained that he should be Dictator for ten years, his person being sacred, his Lictors doubled, and his guards trebled. They created him Prince of the Senate and sole Censor for life, allowed him to sit in a Curule chair of gold at the public shows, and decreed him a statue to be placed close to that of Jupiter in the temple on the Capitol, and upon which they inscribed, "To Cæsar, a Demi-god."

Cæsar had still to subdue a powerful army in Spain, in order to retain the Roman dominions undivided. Cneius Pompey, who commanded there, the eldest son

of Pompey the Great, was an accomplished General; his brother Sextus was valiant and able; and Labienus, who had joined them with his veterans, was the most formidable of the three. They were quartered in Bœtica or Andalusia, near Corduba. When Cæsar arrived, he was at first unfortunate; but he gained over the Spaniards by his clemency, and ere long pitched his camp close to Munda, and pretended to fortify himself there. Cneius Pompey attacked him with so much judgment, that Bocchus, King of Mauritania, retired to a height that he might watch to which side victory would incline. The battle was desperately contested, and Cæsar, at one time being left alone, drew his sword to kill himself. Suddenly he reflected that it was more glorious to die fighting against his foes, than in unmanly despair by his own hand. He roused himself, snatched up a buckler, and advancing towards the Spaniards, shouted to his own men, "Are you not ashamed to deliver up your leader into the hands of boys?" The Tenth Legion rallied round him, and the contest revived. Again the issue was doubtful; when, suddenly, the Mauritanian cavalry rushed down to plunder Labienus's camp, which was unguarded, and that General perceiving their intention, hastened back with a Legion to prevent them. Cæsar, with admirable presence of mind, exclaimed, "He flies! the day is ours!" thus infusing fresh courage into his men, and actually causing the victory which he so boldly claimed. Labienus found himself pursued by those very men whom he had lately vanquished, and being unable to recover his ground, was slain, with 3000 Knights and 30,000 men.

Munda.  
Y.R. 707.

Cneius Pompey fled, and his head was soon after brought to Cæsar. Sextus escaped to the Celtiberi, and dwelt with them as long as Cæsar lived. Munda soon after surrendered. It was a large and important city, though now a small village, about twenty miles from Malaga, retaining its ancient name. Cæsar said of this battle (the last in which he was ever engaged), that he had often before contended for victory, but that here he fought for life. The dead bodies of the slain were so numerous, that they were piled up in heaps around the city of Munda. The great General, who was usually so conciliating, shocked the feelings of the Spaniards by

plundering the famous temple of Hercules at Gades, and taking thence prodigious spoil.

Spain immediately submitted, and Cæsar returned to Rome and celebrated a melancholy triumph, in which he had no prisoners to exhibit excepting his fellow-citizens. He would have acted with more policy had he refused the honour, though from him alone of all the Romans living, could such forbearance or magnanimity have been expected. By his desire, his two Legates triumphed along with him, but the models of the cities which he had subdued were carried before him in ivory, whilst the models of those conquered by his coadjutors were made of wood. Upon this it was remarked, that "the models of the Legates were the cases of those displayed by Cæsar."

The Roman Senate, the fountain of authority, a third time, sought to magnify Cæsar. But they had left themselves no means of accomplishing this, excepting by investing him with despotic power, and creating him Dictator for life, which would place half the magistrates of Rome at his disposal. They conferred upon him this dangerous honour, together with the perpetual pre-nomen of "Imperator," and the title of "Pater Patriæ" (Father of his country); and they also assigned him the perilous distinction of a statue amongst the Kings.

Cæsar was now studiously courteous and humane; dismissing his guards, and walking about the streets unattended. He made many excellent reforms in the government of Rome, and projected magnificent public improvements worthy of his genius and power. He rebuilt Carthage and Corinth near the former sites of those ancient cities; he designed to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, to drain the Pomptine marshes, to build an immense public library, and to improve the port of Ostia. In order to reward his adherents, he augmented the number of the Prætors to sixteen, the Quæstors to forty, the Ædiles to six, and the Senators to 900. He made Senators of his favourite soldiers, especially the Gauls, and irritated the ancient members, who placed placards in the streets, desiring that no one "would show the new Senators the way to the Senate-house."

After so many years of active warfare, this mighty conqueror could not rest quietly at home. Life without

excitement became insipid, and he planned an expedition against Parthia to revenge the death of Crassus, and to conquer all the Eastern nations with whose names he was acquainted. He intended to proceed to India, and to return by Hyrcania, Scythia, and Germany, making the ocean (which he imagined to flow in that direction) the sole boundary of his dominions.

He had a morbid carving for the title of King, and for permission from the Senate to wear the diadem; and as these were the only honours not yet granted, and not easily attainable, they became at first objects of intense desire, and, finally, requisite to his peace. They were, however, opposed to all the prejudices of his nation. The Romans had been governed by tyrannical Consuls and despotic Tribunes, by military force, and by the caprice of domineering individuals, for nearly 100 years. Their laws had been rendered nugatory, and all their magistracies were openly sold to the highest bidder, but still they fancied themselves free so long as they acknowledged no King.

Cæsar's Dictatorship had been declared hereditary, but with this, unfortunately, he was not satisfied, and both friends and enemies joined to tempt him to aspire higher; the former to gratify his vanity; the latter hoping that it would effect his destruction. About this time, the Senate waited upon him to announce the conferring of some new honour, and he sat like a King, instead of rising to receive them, an insult which they never forgave. Some officious flatterers also placed crowns upon his numerous statues, and two of the Tribunes, angry to see it, hastily despoiled them. Cæsar was so much offended, that he foolishly banished the Tribunes.

About the same period, Marcus Brutus, and his brother-in-law Caius Cassius, were both candidates for the city Prætorship, and Cæsar conferred the office upon Brutus, which made Cassius his implacable foe. Cassius resolved from that moment, that Cæsar should never live to be King, and taunted Brutus as untrue to his name, for serving a man who aspired to such a title. Brutus was not grateful to Cæsar for any of the numerous favours heaped upon him, because he attributed them all to the Dictator's offensive partiality for his mother and sister.

Cassius persuaded him to enter into a conspiracy against Cæsar, in the hopes of immortalizing himself by imitating the first Roman Consul who had abolished the monarchy. Sixty persons, almost all of whom owed their lives, their fortunes, or their dignities, to Cæsar, but whose vanity or prejudices he had wounded, entered into this conspiracy. Their object was to kill the best and mildest of rulers, without having any adequate substitute to fill his place. They cared not to bathe the world in blood, inspired, as they pretended, and as Brutus really believed, by a love of liberty. They knew not the difference between liberty and anarchy, between vindictiveness and patriotism.

Cæsar clearly perceived that the Senate would not, in their present temper, elect him King of Italy; but there was a Sybilline oracle, that none but a King could subdue the Parthians, and he was in hopes that by representing and dwelling upon this, he should be permitted to assume the title out of Italy. He therefore convened the Senate to meet upon the Ides, or fifteenth day of March, in Pompey's Curia, near the present Palazzo Massimi, to discuss the matter. His friend, the Augur Spurinna, warned him to beware of the Ides of March, and another Augur said that Cæsar would soon be "Aesar," that is, a god in another world. Cæsar, though informed of portents on all hands, would not credit them, and observed, "that the Republic had more need of him than he of it, and that he believed Brutus would wait the few years he had yet to live."

At last he was moved by the fears and remonstrances of his wife Calpurnia, who dreamed that she saw him murdered in her arms, and entreated him on the day appointed not to go down to the Senate-house. Decimus Brutus, who was Consul for the year, by Cæsar's appointment, and one of the conspirators, was greatly alarmed when he heard that the Senate was to be prorogued, and came to Cæsar's palace to inquire the reason. Upon being told, he sneered, and asked if the Senate was to wait until Calpurnia had better dreams? Cæsar, feeling ashamed, took his arm and walked down with him. On the road they passed Spurinna; Cæsar smiled and said, "The Ides of March are come, Augur." "Yes," he replied, "but not passed." A slave strove to present a written account of the conspiracy, but was

prevented from reaching him, and one of his Greek friends actually put a list of the conspirators into his hand, but he never unrolled it.

Just before he entered the assembly, a Senator came up to Casca, one of the guilty, and said, "You have kept your secret well, but Brutus has told me all." Casca started, but was inexpressibly relieved when he found that the secret related to the manner by which he had lately become rich. Another Senator came up, and whispered to Brutus and Cassius, "My wishes are with you, but delay not, for the affair is now no secret." They thought they were discovered, but were still more persuaded of it, when they saw this man salute Cæsar on his entrance, and stand talking with him long and earnestly. Brutus and Cassius grasped their daggers to be ready to stab themselves, but when they saw the Senator, on retiring, kiss Cæsar's hand, they knew that he had been merely urging some petition.

As Cæsar entered the hall, all the Senators rose, and as he took his seat, the conspirators, who were his intimate acquaintances, ranged themselves behind and about him. Mark Antony, his faithful friend, was called out of the hall, that he might not be near to defend him. Metellus Cimber, one of the confederates, then stepped forward, and petitioned Cæsar to recall his brother from exile. The other conspirators joined with him in the petition, and pressed as near as possible. Cæsar refused their prayer, and feeling annoyed, pushed Cimber back. Cimber then grasped Cæsar's toga to hold him down, which was the signal agreed upon, and Casca stabbed him from behind in the neck. Cæsar turned and wrenched the dagger from Casca, but weapons gleamed upon him from all sides, and the malignant Cassius, invoking the statue of Pompey, as if *he* had been more the friend of liberty, struck the wound which proved mortal. Cæsar, though unarmed, endeavoured to defend himself until he saw the hand of Brutus raised against him. Stung to the quick, he faintly exclaimed, "And thou, Brutus, my son!" and then covering his face with his robe he sunk down. He expired at the foot of Pompey's statue, pierced by three-and-twenty wounds, and his blood sprinkled that marble figure which now stands in the Spada Palace in Rome. Several of the assassins, in

their desire to reach him with their daggers, cut and wounded each other.

Thus was murdered, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, one of the greatest men this world has ever produced. As a General, he was second only to Hannibal, and as an orator to Cicero. As a writer and scholar he was among the first of his age; and as a ruler, whether in the camp or in the Senate, he had no superior. With all his vices, his extravagance, licentiousness, and ambition, he was yet the greatest of the Romans; and his assassination was one of the most dastardly acts ever perpetrated by human pride, and one of the most senseless mistakes ever committed by human error.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XXXIX.

ONE of the most amiable traits in the character of Julius Cæsar, was his strong affection for his female relations. When Quæstor, he pronounced the funeral eulogies of Julia his aunt, the wife of Marius; and of Cornelia, his wife, the daughter of Cinna, the youngest matron upon whom such an honour had ever been conferred. He afterwards paid the same tribute of regret to Julia, his daughter, the much-beloved and lamented wife of Pompey the Great. If she had lived, in all probability her influence would have prevented the breach between her father and husband, which generated the civil war. Cæsar was a munificent and hearty patron to all connected with him; his partisans, relatives, soldiers, and clients, could always rely upon his zealous and unflinching support. This made him intensely beloved by the Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards, who were in his service; by the Gladiators, and by his troops in general, so that they counted no sufferings or exertions too great to win his praise. For instance, before the battle of Pharsalia, the soldiers in one battalion of the Eleventh Legion, were all wounded to a man; 130,000 arrows fell within their entrenchments, yet they would not submit to Pompey.\* Cassius Scæva, a Centurion, lost his eye, and was wounded

\* Suet. de J. Cæsare, lxxviii.

in the thigh and shoulders, and his shield was pierced in 120 places, yet he still intrepidly maintained the gate which had been entrusted to him.

Before Cæsar left Gaul, he gave his Legions double pay, and promised every soldier, after his triumph, lands, houses, and slaves. When the civil war began, these troops offered to serve him without pay. The rich volunteered to maintain the poor, and each Centurion equipped a horseman at his own charge. Cæsar was honoured with five triumphs for his victories over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, Africa, and Spain. In the first, the names of 300 tribes and 800 cities which he had subdued, were paraded before him. He was followed by his prisoners with the noble Vercingetorix, who, according to the barbarous custom of triumphs, was executed the same night, but whom his victor ought to have honoured with a better fate. As Cæsar was ascending to the Capitol, the axle-tree of his chariot broke, and he was very nearly killed by falling under the wheels, so that the procession had to be stopped. Instead of being discomposed, he merely observed, that the preparations were not magnificent enough for the occasion, and at night caused the procession to recommence, having added forty elephants, bearing men with flambeaux upon their backs. These he ranged on each side of his chariot, which greatly augmented the splendour of the scene. At his triumph over Egypt, the pictures of Ptolemy Dionysus, the Viceroy Photinus, and the General Achilles, were displayed, together with models of Pelusium and Alexandria, the palace of the Egyptian kings, and the tower of Pharos. The young Princess Arsinoë walked in chains of gold, and was afterwards sent to Asia, where she was slain by the contrivance of her cruel sister Cleopatra. At the triumph over Pontus, a placard was exhibited in the midst of the rich Asiatic spoils, upon which was inscribed in glaring characters, "VENI, VIDI, VICI." At the triumph over Africa, Cæsar exposed to view 1822 crowns of gold, which had been presented to him by different Princes and cities, besides his spoils of precious metals, which amounted to 65,000 talents.

Young Juba walked in chains, but Cæsar afterwards restored him to liberty, and gave him an excellent



education. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, made him King of Getulia, and married him to Selene Cleopatra, the daughter of Queen Cleopatra. He was one of the most accomplished Princes of his day, and wrote the History of Rome and Assyria in Greek, but they have perished. He also translated many Carthaginian works, the loss of which we have much cause to regret. A portion of his father's kingdom was bestowed upon Cæsar's ally, Setius, the Campanian, a factious subject, but a brave and able leader, who having fled from Rome to escape condemnation as one of the accomplices of Catiline, subsequently became a military chief in Africa.

Cæsar had the statues of his vanquished opponents, Metellus Scipio, Petreius, and Cato, carried before him, but this gave serious offence, especially the latter, as his unbending spirit and his suicide were much admired. The image was horrible, for it represented him in agony, tearing open his wounds.

After this, the Triumpher entertained the people with games for several days, and strove to outshine in magnificence all his predecessors. He gave money to every soldier, besides corn and oil to every poor citizen, and he entertained the whole Roman population at 23,000 tables. The boards were spread with every sort of dainty, and furnished with abundance of luscious wines. The populace were amused with plays, pantomimes, races, in which the nobles contended, and Gladiatorial shows, in which men of rank fought. There was also a naval combat called "Naumachia," the first exhibited on any large scale in Rome. To provide for it, part of the Campus Martius was turned into a lake, but the water becoming stagnant, it was so unwholesome, that it was afterwards filled up. The mock battle represented an engagement between the fleets of Tyre and Egypt. The multitude of strangers attracted by these diversions was so great, that they had to sleep in tents erected in the streets and roads near the city. A *Velarium*, or awning, was stretched across the Circus at the shows, to defend the spectators from the sun. At its recent introduction into Rome, it had been made of cotton. It was now for the first time stretched out in silk. The Etruscans used it much earlier than the Romans, and are supposed to

have made it of woollen or linen. The audience only was protected; the unfortunate prisoners and gladiators were exposed to all the fury of the light and heat.

Amongst the dramatists at these games, the two most celebrated were Publius and Labienus, who acted their own plays. The former was a Syrian slave, whose talents procured him his freedom; the latter a Roman Knight, who forfeited his rank by appearing on the stage. They both contended before Cæsar for the prize of dramatic eminence, and Publius gained it, but to console Labienus, Cæsar restored him his golden ring, and thus reinstated him in his Equestrian dignity. As he passed the orchestra where the Senators sat, to resume his seat among the Knights, Cicero, who was very angry at the number of Gauls lately introduced into the Senate, assured him, that he should be delighted to make room for him, but that he was already so squeezed, as to render it impossible. "No wonder," answered the grateful Labienus, alluding to Cicero's vacillating character, "that you, a double man, usually occupying two places, should feel squeezed, when compelled to confine yourself to one."

Cæsar's fifth triumph was over Spain, of which we have already spoken. It was a dull exhibition, and wounded the pride and self-love of the Romans, who with commendable feeling, shrank from exulting over the brave and unfortunate sons of Pompey.

At the time when Cæsar was besieged in Alexandria, he was in danger of perishing by thirst, for Achilles introduced the sea into the vaults which supplied the royal quarter and poisoned all the fresh-water sources. The Roman chief averted this catastrophe by causing his men to dig deep wells, whence fountains of the purest quality gushed upwards, and saved them. The city of Alexandria was built upon hollow arches, into which the waters of the Nile were annually conducted by sluices, at the period of the inundation. The vaults contained water sufficient to supply the inhabitants for a year, and they were called by the Romans "*Castella aquæ*" (reservoirs of water). The ruins of Roman cities and villas in Italy now are full of similar vaults, named *Conservatorj*.

Cæsar made many excellent laws to repress luxury both in food and dress, to relieve debt, prevent long

absences from Italy, and increase the number of free labourers upon the soil. He only allowed people of high rank or advanced age to use sofas, or to wear mantles of purple, or embroidered with pearls. He collected an extensive library, which he intended to open to the public; and had he lived long enough, he would have made a digest of the Roman laws, which had become too voluminous, and were often contradictory. He was the first who granted to Italian artists and physicians a right to the Roman franchise in virtue of their professions.

Cæsar's most renowned civil achievement was the reformation of the Kalendar or Almanac. The regulation of this important measure of time belonged to the Pontifex Maximus, and the Kalendar-board itself was hung upon the walls of a room in his house. Many of the Pontifices to whom it had been intrusted, had intercalated the years with more or fewer days, as suited their own convenience or the interest of their friends at the elections. This had been done so frequently, that in Cæsar's day the seasons were two months in advance, so that the Feriæ, or holidays, designed for the harvest and vintage, came quite out of place. This was rectified by inserting sixty-seven days between the November and December of that year, and ordaining that for the future the year should always consist of 365 days, reckoning from the 1st of January, and that an extra day should be added every fourth or leap year. This was called the Julian Kalendar, and prevailed throughout the Roman dominions from the time of its institution until the days of Pope Gregory XIII., A.D. 1582. The dread of Popery prevented the Gregorian Kalendar from being adopted in England until A.D. 1752.

The Roman months were divided into Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The Kalends signified the first day of the month, the Nones fell either on the fifth or seventh day, and the Ides marked the middle of the month, exactly eight days after the Nones. In counting these days, the Romans reckoned backwards, so that the day after the Kalends was the fourth or sixth before the Nones, and the day following the Ides was the nineteenth or seventeenth before the Kalends of the following month. This mode of reckoning continued to be used in many Latin documents, acts of Parliament, charters, funeral

inscriptions, &c., until very recently, amongst ourselves. The Romans had also another division of time called *Nundinæ*, or weeks, which recommenced every ninth day, and which were designated by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. Every *Nundine* was market-day, when the Plebeian courts met in the Forum. Each new law had to be proposed by the Tribunes three *Nundinæ* before it could be carried, and if not passed before sunset of the fourth *Nundine*, the proposal of it commenced afresh. The priests in early times often postponed the *Nundinæ*, which caused endless confusion, and the Flamen of Jupiter sacrificed a ram upon their recurrence. Upon Cæsar's reformation of the Kalendar, Cicero observed, "The Dictator having subdued the earth, must now regulate the heavens. If the star *Lyra* rises to-morrow, it will be by his permission."

Cæsar, like most great men, was indifferent about his diet. He shared the famine as well as the fatigues of his troops; used oil that none of the company would taste, and once punished his baker for providing his table with finer bread than that of the other officers. He was an admirable horseman, a perfect swordsman, and usually marched on foot at the head of his troops in all weathers, and bareheaded. He would travel in a *Rheda*\* one hundred miles a-day, and pass the rivers in his path by swimming, or supported by leathern bags filled with air, such as are sold now at the Polytechnic Institution in London for life-preservers at sea. Cæsar was never dismayed by omens, because a ready wit and clear understanding enabled him to turn them to his advantage. Upon landing in Africa, he fell, and immediately exclaimed, "Now I have thee fast, Africa." He had an extraordinary horse which he bred himself, and never suffered any body else to ride, for the Augurs had predicted, that whoever mastered him should master the world. Its hoofs were divided into something like toes. Cæsar erected a statue of it before the temple of Venus Genitrix, from whom he was pleased to say his Gens (the Julii) were descended. He affirmed that his ancestor was Iulus, the son of Æneas, and that Æneas was

\* A travelling carriage on four wheels. This makes the rapidity of his movements more remarkable than if it had been a car on two wheels—smaller and lighter.

the son of Venus. Though indulgent and generous to his soldiers, he required implicit obedience from them, and never suffered his orders to be called in question or discussed. Before the battle of Thapsus, understanding that his men were disheartened at being so inferior in numbers to the enemy, he assembled them, and made them this address: "Know that in a few days King Juba will be here with ten Legions, 30,000 horse, 100,000 light infantry, and 300 elephants. Let no man inquire farther, nor offer any opinion upon the subject, otherwise I shall order him on board some crazy vessel, and let him be abandoned to the winds and waves."

This great General liked to see his soldiers richly armed and gaily dressed, and was so particular about his own person, as to be esteemed foppish. None of the honours conferred upon him by the Senate pleased him so much, as permission always to wear the laurel crown, because that covered his head, which was bald. Of his works only two have reached us. The histories of the Gallic and the Civil wars, which are called "Commentaries," and are so admirably written, that though only intended as notes, no subsequent historian has been able to improve them. He had them in his hand during one of his rash engagements with the Egyptian fleet, at Alexandria, and being forced to leap into the water, because the ship in which he fought was sinking, he swam to a boat, holding them above the surge that they might not be destroyed. His *paludamentum*, or general's mantle, he dragged along in his teeth. There is an excellent bust of Cæsar in the British Museum. He was tall, with a fair complexion, and black eyes. His air was animated, his voice shrill, and his action lively and graceful. He was remarkably healthy till towards the close of his life, excepting that twice he had epileptic fits as he was going into battle. He never lost his presence of mind, and he had such power over his own thoughts that he could dictate four letters at a time.

Cæsar was the first Roman to whom the despicable servility of the Senators awarded such adulation as had formerly been confined to the powerful monarchs of the East. They decreed him shrines, altars, and statues, to be placed next to those of the gods. A pallet was spread

for his image in the temples, a Flamen was appointed to guard it, and a college of priests was instituted to offer incense in his honour. The Senate also changed the name of the month "Quintilis," to that of "Julius" (July), in commemoration of his amendment of the Kalendar. Cæsar delighted in the company of learned and able men, and many of his legates and officers were authors. Asinius Pollio, an elegant writer of history and tragedy, whose name and praise continually occur in the poems of Virgil and Horace, was his intimate friend, and the founder of the first splendid public library in Rome. Cæsar admired Cicero, and treated him with the utmost forbearance and kindness, and he elevated Sallust, the historian, to many lucrative posts of honour. His friends Hirtius and Oppius, were both distinguished authors. Hirtius finished the Gallic Commentaries for him in a classical and elegant style. Oppius wrote the African War in an inferior, but plain and sensible manner. Once, when he and Oppius were travelling together, and the latter was taken ill, Cæsar insisted upon ceding to him the only bed in the inn at night, and watched for him at the door. He forgave M. Varro, the author of numerous antiquarian works, having borne arms against him, and nominated him superintendent of his projected library.

Cato was in most respects the reverse of Cæsar. Far from being polite in manner, fastidious in dress, temperate at meals, affable and amiable; he was rough, proud, haughty, imperious, incapable of appreciating greatness in any but his own countrymen, and without a wish to please or win mankind. He was respected, because he was truthful, firm, and disinterested; and he had that sort of patriotism pardonable in a heathen, which sought by any means to increase the glory of his own country. He was careless of praise, but not of power; and though he gladly acknowledged the Senators to be his equals, he could brook no superior. He despised effeminacy and luxury of every description, and had a purity about him proper to that temper of mind. He once entered the games of Flora when the dancers were exhibiting *naked* such attitudes as are figured in the paintings of Pompeii; the superintendents immediately stopped the games, and substituted more modest scenes until he had retired.

Cato was slovenly and mean in his dress, often going into the Forum bare-headed and bare-footed like a slave. He did this even when he was Prætor, not perceiving the insult he thus offered to the habits and feelings of his countrymen. He was very intemperate in his repasts, and rude and overbearing, though eloquent in his conversation. The champion of Roman freedom, he was a tyrant to his slaves; and one cannot read of his insolence to the Kings of Egypt and Numidia, without a feeling of indignation.

When Cato touched at Rhodes on his unjust expedition to Cyprus, and Ptolemy Auletes went thither to consult him, Cato would not condescend to pay the first visit; and when Auletes waited upon him, the haughty Senator, instead of rising at his approach, sat still upon his tribunal, and ordered the King to sit down beside him. Before the battle of Thapsus, he went thither from Utica to effect a necessary reconciliation between the Roman leaders and Juba. The King of Numidia was seated with Metellus Scipio on one side of him, and a vacant chair for Cato on the other. The latter moved the chair so as to place Scipio in the midst, and thus exalted an inefficient Roman Proconsul above a powerful African King.

Cato stood for the Consulship against Cæsar, and when he lost it, he anointed himself and played at ball, as if it were an indifferent trifle; afterwards, sauntering about with his friends as usual, without his toga and shoes. He partly originated the civil war, by forbidding that any man should solicit the Consulship except in person; and he supported in Pompey the very evil which he so strenuously deprecated in Cæsar, namely, absolute power rather than anarchy. He voted for conferring the sole Consulship on Pompey, and said that it was a necessary evil, ameliorated by the consciousness of that power being committed to the most illustrious of the Romans. After Cæsar had crossed the Rubicon, Cato again solicited the Senate to vest all authority in Pompey; but he so clearly saw that the commonwealth was ruined, that from this time to his death he never ceased to mourn whichever side was triumphant. He never again cut his hair, or shaved his beard, or wore a garland, or altered the fashion of his apparel; and after Pharsalia he never

lay down except to sleep. The Romans used to recline at meals unless they were in affliction; Cato from this period always sat.

Pompey knew so well his insurmountable aversion to that absolutism, which would become the necessary inheritance of the victor, that he dared not trust Cato with his fleet of 500 vessels, lest this stern Senator should form with it a third party, or attempt to hold the balance of power.

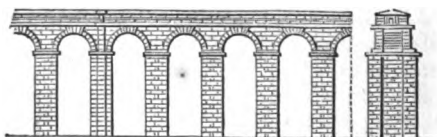
Had Cato, with his rectitude, inflexibility, and patriotism, been either a more amiable or a wiser man, he might have become the Saviour of Rome. As it was, his headstrong and blind severity only hastened her downfall.



## CHAPTER XL.

FROM THE MURDER OF CÆSAR TO THE CONSULSHIP OF  
OCTAVIANUS.

B.C. 44 TO 42. Y.R. 709 TO 711.\*



ROMAN AQUEDUCT.

CÆSAR had no sooner expired than Brutus endeavoured to harangue the Senators, that he might explain and justify to them the scene they had just witnessed. The Conscript Fathers, however, were much too horrified to listen. No one knew how many sacrifices Brutus's idol of liberty might not require, nor who was destined to be the next victim. They all fled in consternation. Mark Antony, the Consul, knowing himself to be a marked man, and ignorant that Brutus had refused to sanction his destruction, escaped with all speed in the disguise of a slave.

Lepidus retreated with the troops under his command across the Tiber. Brutus, Cassius, and the other conspirators, finding themselves deserted, took refuge in the Capitol. Cæsar's own slaves then came, and bore away his corpse, to embalm and place it in safety until his

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* cxvi.—cxxxiv.; Plut. *in loco*; Suet. *de J. Cæsare*; Univ. Hist. xiii.; Nieb. *Lect.* ii.; Michelet, *Rome*, iii.; Biog. Univ.; Smith's Dictionary of Antiquity.

funeral. One of the conspirators had proposed to drag it through the streets, and throw it into the Tiber as the body of a traitor, though he himself had composed one of that tribunal which declared Cæsar's person inviolable ! Such is the power of party to blind the minds and harden the hearts of men.

Mark Antony convened the Senate without the walls, in the Temple of Tellus, and proposed that an amnesty (or pardon) should be granted to all the conspirators, in order to stay the effusion of blood, and prevent further distractions in the state ; this was carried unanimously, though none could estimate better than Antony the blackness of the crime, and none knew better than he that Cæsar was the relation of most of his murderers, and the benefactor of them all ; that he had been slain in defiance of every law, human and divine, at the time he was first magistrate of the state, unarmed, unaccused, and untried.

Antony proposed that the Senators should approve of Cæsar's acts, and substantiate his appointments ; and this they willingly confirmed. Cicero, though he applauded the measure, said afterwards, "Cassius hated the tyrant, and Brutus the tyranny ; but the Senate condemned the man, and ratified all his ordinances." Not one whom Cæsar had named for any government or superior magistracy chose to relinquish his claims. The servile, trembling Senate wound up their inconsistent acts by thanking Brutus for serving the commonwealth, and Antony for preventing a civil war.

To the amazement of every one, the night passed quietly, and next day Antony ascended the Capitol, and invited the conspirators to leave its walls, assuring them of safety. They ventured as far as the Forum, which was thronged with people ; and Brutus was respectfully listened to whilst he sought to vindicate his crime. When, however, L. Cornelius Cinna, the Prætor, brother-in-law to the illustrious victim, followed, and began to justify the deed by reviling and calumniating Cæsar, the voice of nature spoke out amongst the Romans, and they nearly tore him to death.

An actor having pronounced a line of Pacuvius,

"Men' men' servasse,  
Ut essent qui me perderent."

"I have preserved them, that they might destroy me."

the audience applied it to Cæsar, and burst into a storm of groans and tears. The excitement was so violent as to alarm Brutus, and he returned for safety to the Capitol. The Consul elect, C. Dolabella, offered to support him; but Antony repeated his assurances that there was no danger, and offered hostages if he would quit the fortress. Brutus accepted the hostages, and came down into the city, where peace appeared to be restored. In proof of it, Brutus supped that night with Lepidus, and Cassius with Antony. Decimus Brutus, who had enticed Cæsar into the Senate-house, departed in haste to secure himself in his important province of Cisalpine Gaul.

Calpurnius, Cæsar's father-in-law, had possession of his will, and Antony desired that it should be publicly read. The conspirators were anxious to avoid this, and if possible to prevent his name from ever more being mentioned, but the populace loved and lamented their late able ruler, and clamoured for the will. Antony, as Consul, read it in full assembly, and upon him the execution of it devolved in the absence of the heir. Calpurnia resigned to him Cæsar's money and papers, and when the testament was opened, it was found that the Dictator had bequeathed his fine gardens beyond the Tiber to the public, and that he had left a donation of 300 Sesterces to every pauper citizen; bequests which at once stamped him as a benefactor whose memory was to be universally held in honour.

But the kindly feelings of the people were still further agitated when they found that he had left to almost all the conspirators tokens of his regard, and that Decimus Brutus, who had lured him to his destruction, was appointed for adoption into his family and succession to his property, in the event of C. Octavius, his nephew and heir, dying without children. A public funeral was decreed to the great Dictator, and celebrated on the fourth day with the utmost pomp. The commotion is produced, and the universal sympathy of the populace was a blow quite unexpected to the conspirators, who quitted Rome in haste and took refuge at Antium, until the unforeseen excitement should have passed away.

Caius Octavius, the grandson of Julia, Cæsar's sister, whom he had adopted and made his heir, had served under him in Spain, and won his tenderest affections.

Octavius was now in his eighteenth year, pursuing his studies at Apollonia in Greece, and waiting there until his uncle should summon him to join the expedition to Parthia. When the news of Cæsar's murder reached Apollonia, the Veterans immediately offered their services to Octavius, who was at all times a peculiar favourite with the army. He declined to be the author of any disturbances, and would probably have allowed affairs to take their course, had not his friends and fellow-students, Mæcenas and Agrippa, urged him without delay to go to Rome. They accompanied him, and were his faithful and trusted counsellors in every emergency from this time until their deaths. Octavius landed near Brundisium, and was hailed by Cæsar's Veterans there, who went in a body to acknowledge him, and conducted him forward in triumph. They formed an escort of volunteers, and as long as he required it, supplied him with money and provisions. At Gaeta his mother took him to visit Cicero, who had borne no hand in Cæsar's death, and who was living quietly in the country, occupied in writing those Epistles and other works which have rendered his name immortal. He was an object of implacable hatred to Mark Antony, both for having executed his step-father Cornelius Lentulus during Catiline's conspiracy, and for having written some bitter and sarcastic orations called "Philippics," which he launched forth and published against that General. Octavius was aware that Antony did not intend to restore him the rich inheritance of Cæsar, and that he would not willingly allow him that place in Roman esteem which naturally appertained to Cæsar's heir. He therefore courted the eloquent, vain, and facile Cicero, assuring him that he would defend him against Antony, in return for that orator's support in the Senate and country.

Mark Antony's power was very great, not only as Consul, and as a skilful General greatly beloved by the soldiers, but because his two brothers, Caius and Lucius, both held high magistracies, and supported him in all his acts. The former was Prætor of the city, and the latter chief of the Plebeian Tribunes.

When Octavius arrived in Rome, his first care was to prove himself Cæsar's heir before Caius Antony, the Prætor, and to have himself enrolled in the citizen list,

as "Caius Julius Cæsar *Octavianus*," which name he bore until the time when he was proclaimed by the Senate, "Augustus Emperor of Rome." We shall call him "*Octavianus*," to distinguish him meanwhile from his adopted father, whilst the termination "*nus*" will show that he had renounced his own family and name to assume that of another.

Octavianus waited upon Mark Antony to inform him of the step he had taken, and to demand the inheritance and papers of Cæsar. Antony treated his youth, Equestrian rank, and high pretensions, with withering contempt. At length he gave him the papers, but informed him that the money had been already spent in the public service, and therefore could not be paid over again. Antony was extravagant and dishonest, like the mass of those everywhere, who, in the midst of a luxurious people, possess irresponsible power. He had appropriated Cæsar's money to himself, amounting to 100 millions of sesterces, besides 700 millions of public treasure, laid up in the Temple of Ops. With this he had discharged forty millions of his own debts, and gained over Dolabella and the army. He had, moreover, procured a decree of the Senate, transferring the execution of Cæsar's will to the Consuls, but he had discharged none of its provisions, and had neither given to the poor their donation, nor to the multitude their games. Octavius nobly sold his own estate to fulfil these bequests, and his relations as nobly impoverished themselves to aid him. The people appreciated the sacrifice, and from that moment the boy Octavianus became a rival to the Veteran Antony.

During these games a comet rose about eleven o'clock each day, and blazed in the sky for a week. The Augurs interpreted this to signify the soul of Cæsar taking its place in the heavens, and they fixed a star over his statue. The Senate never met upon the Ides of March afterwards.

Octavianus was admitted into the Senate, and made Prætor. As he was attiring himself in the Senator's *toga prætexta*, it slipped and fell at his feet. His enemies remarked this as a sign that he would one day trample under foot the rights and privileges of the Senators.

Antony at this time paraded Rome with a guard of 6000 Veterans, pretending to be afraid of his life. He

reinstated Dejotarus of Galatia in his dominions, upon the payment of ten millions of sesterces to his domineering and avaricious wife, Fulvia; and he recalled a number of the exiles, especially Sextus Pompey, whose chivalrous character won his admiration, and whose fate excited his pity. Sextus reappeared in Spain after Cæsar's death, as a chief of the Celtiberi. Upon his return to Italy, he was received as one of the Princes of the Republic, had property restored to him to the amount of seven millions of sesterces, besides plate and jewels, and was honoured with the same extensive and despotic command at sea, which had been enjoyed by his father.\*

Antony acted in this affair with real magnanimity, but he could not prevail upon himself to yield up Pompey's house in the Carinæ, in which he lived, and which he retained with a malicious tenacity.

Cæsar, in his distribution of Governments, had assigned Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus Brutus, his betrayer; and Macedon and Syria to Marcus Brutus and Cassius, his assassins. The Senate having confirmed these appointments, the nominees left for their respective Provinces. But Mark Antony persuaded the people, when his Consulship was expired, to reverse all these arrangements; to confer upon him Cisalpine Gaul; upon his brother Caius, Macedon; and upon his friend Dolabella, Syria. Antony endeavoured to sap the influence of Octavianus and Cicero, by gaining the veteran Legions, whom he rewarded with a gratuity of 100 sesterces per man. Octavianus, assembling his soldiers, presented them with 500 sesterces per man; and Antony's troops, on hearing of it, abandoned his tribunal. He was so enraged that he had a Cohort decimated, and the men executed in the presence of himself and Fulvia. His next step was to procure edicts against Cicero and Octavianus, and he laboured to have the latter proclaimed a public enemy. But the severe and brilliant Philippics of Cicero were undermining all his influence, and in proportion as he fell, his young rival rose in the public esteem.

As soon as his preparations were completed, Mark Antony led his troops into Cisalpine Gaul to expel

\* Imperium Oræ Maritimæ.

Decimus Brutus, who had thrown himself into Mutina. Antony formed the siege, and the Senate, indignant at his defiance of their authority, sent Casca with the two Consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and the young Prætor Octavianus, to relieve the place. If they had so early conceived any fears of the new Cæsar, they must have been completely quieted by the false position in which he was now placed. He was obliged to act in concert with the odious Casca, who had stabbed his adopted father in the back, and he was ordered to rescue Decimus who had lured this father to his destruction. Octavianus felt the strange necessity of his position, and abided his time.

The commanders advanced in separate divisions, an error which was not lost upon Antony. He lay in ambush for the first body, under Pansa, routed them completely, and drove them back. Pansa was mortally wounded, and carried into Bononia, where he afterwards died. In his last hours he sent for Octavianus, and counselled him to make common cause with Antony, if he desired to avoid that ruin which a wily and adverse Senate was preparing for them both. This counsel produced a deep impression, and was ere long followed.

When Antony, flushed with success, returned to his quarters, he was attacked and worsted by the united forces of Hirtius and Octavianus. The former was killed on the point of victoriously entering the hostile camp. The latter then assumed the command, and after a brave struggle, recovered the body of Hirtius from the enemy. During the action, Octavianus saw his standard-bearer fall. He lifted up the eagle himself, and carried it the remainder of the day fighting like a private soldier, in the front line. Decimus contributed to the decisive success of the action by making a sortie; but the whole merit of the engagement was attributed to the gallantry and judgment of the youthful Prætor.

Octavianus, after he became the Emperor Augustus, had many enemies, who sought by every means to defame him, and who, amongst other crimes and infirmities, accused him of cowardice. But armies which have lost their Generals, do not gain victories under cowards; nor do the troops love and trust those cowards, as the Legion loved and followed their young leader, saluting him enthusiastically on the field with the title of "Imperator."

Antony was compelled to raise the siege of Mutina, and as a crest-fallen fugitive, to escape across the Alps with a very small band of determined and attached followers.

Lepidus, whose son was married to Antonia, the daughter of Antony, and who had lately himself been created by Antony Pontifex Maximus, now commanded in Transalpine Gaul. To him, therefore, the hapless chief bent his steps, trusting to his grateful aid, or at least forbearance. He also believed the Legates in Narbonne Gaul, and Spain, M. Plancus and Asinius Pollio, to be his friends.

Antony underwent incredible hardships before he could reach Lepidus, and rejoice in the welcome of his troops, but these once overcome by energy, cheerfulness, and moral courage, he was amply rewarded. He not only was invested with the supreme command, but the several Legates, M. Plancus, Asinius Pollio, and the brave Ventidius, placed themselves under him; and he, so lately a wandering outcast, suddenly found himself at the head of three mighty Roman armies, more powerful than any of the enemies with whom he had to cope.

The Senate nominally had at their disposal Brutus and Cassius in the East, Sextus Pompey in Sicily, and Octavianus in Italy; but they were perfectly aware that they only governed any of these men in so far as it pleased them to obey. Excepting with Marcus Brutus, interest and fancy alone prevented each from following the example of Antony, and declaring himself independent. Under these circumstances the Senators had the monstrous folly to despise Cicero, and insult Octavianus. They and Decimus being equally jealous of the latter, were eager to mortify him, and to depreciate his claims upon the public gratitude. Decimus ordered him out of his Province, where his assistance was no longer required, and had the effrontery to claim a triumph over Antony, though he had been a mere puppet in the hands of the combatants, whilst Octavianus had gained the victory. The Senate, with contemptible malignity, granted the coveted triumph to Decimus, and made no mention of his obnoxious rival.

The Conscript Fathers were exulting in this disgraceful injustice, when, to their amazement, messengers arrived from the slighted Prætor, claiming permission



to stand for the Consulate. His claim was supported by Cicero, who intended to be his colleague, and who never doubted that he should wield the whole authority. But such pretensions were rejected with ridicule by the Senate, as the senseless ambition of a boy not yet twenty. The old Legionary to whom the refusal was committed clasped his sword, and said, "If you will not give him the Consulship, this shall."

Octavianus no sooner heard how his request had been slighted, than he wrote to Antony, making overtures of accommodation, and inviting him into Italy, that they might confer and combine together. His soldiers, who sympathised in his insulted feelings, urged him to lead them to Rome, and at their head to stand candidate for the Consulship. He gladly acceded, crossed the Rubicon, like his nominal father, Julius, and filled the city of the Seven Hills with such alarm that many of the Senators fled. He encamped upon the Quirinal, and with admirable judgment proclaimed peace and liberty to all, saying he was come not to *force*, but to *solicit* the favour of the people. All ranks speedily flocked to him. The Legions at Rome joined him, and the people joyfully conferred upon him the honour he sought with so much sagacity. In further proof of their approbation, they appointed his relative, Quintus Pedius, to be his colleague. The disappointed Cicero, who had never been hearty in his cause, and who, in his letters to Brutus and Cassius, had lauded in unqualified terms the murder of Cæsar, went to wait upon him, and was coldly received.

At the first sacrifice offered by Octavianus, vultures appeared upon his right hand, and the people, intoxicated with joy, regarded him not merely as the son and successor of the illustrious Julius Cæsar, but as a second Romulus, whose bright destiny it was to usher in a new era of greatness and prosperity.

The Consulate of Octavianus was marked by two important events. First, the declaration of the Senate, that all the conspirators against Cæsar were traitors and murderers; and secondly, the formation of a Triumvirate between Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. The effect of the former was to convert the conspirators into outlaws, punishable with death, and to involve the Senate in a war with their late favourites, Decimus Brutus,

Marcus Brutus, and Cassius. The effect of the latter was to cement a confederation more formidable than that which had preceded it, between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. It was more irresistible during its continuance, and more enduring in its results.

Antony came pouring into Italy with his Allies and their mighty hosts, to overwhelm Decimus Brutus, whose troops almost to a man deserted, and joined their Transalpine comrades. Decimus fled towards Gaul, and sought refuge in the house of Camillus, a chieftain who had formerly been his friend. He was accompanied by only ten men ; and Camillus, by Antony's desire, first detained him, and then put him to death.

Antony and Lepidus meanwhile proceeded to the camp of Octavianus, and met him in an island of the Rhenus, close to Bononia. Here they held a conference, which lasted for three days, and which, though not free from violent altercations, terminated in a treaty of amity, and the conclusion of a Triumvirate. As a preliminary, each was to possess equal rank, power, and authority. Octavianus, therefore, abdicated the Consulship in favour of Ventidius, and the Triumvirs then agreed to elect in concert all the magistrates, and to divide amongst themselves all the governments for five years. Antony was to rule the two Gauls ; Lepidus, Spain ; and Octavianus, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. Sextus Pompey, by this act, was deprived of his maritime commands. Italy and the East were to be held in common ; but Lepidus, being the inferior in military genius, was appointed to maintain tranquillity at home, whilst Antony and Octavianus were to contend with the armies of Brutus and Cassius. The soldiers who were faithful to the Triumvirs were promised rich rewards, and had eighteen cities, with their territories, allotted to them in future possession.

Besides this flagrant act of injustice, which threatened to deprive peaceable and defenceless citizens, in order to recompense the avaricious Veterans, the Triumvirs agreed to secure their usurped authority, and to fill their exhausted coffers, by proscribing all their enemies ; and the list of the Proscribed is an indelible blot on the memory of each, and stamps their compact as one of blood and plunder. Lepidus resigned his brother Paulus ; Antony, his uncle Lucius Cæsar ; and Octavi-

anus, his newly-made, but celebrated and highly-esteemed friend, Marcus Cicero. Though by far the least unnatural of the sacrifices, it is the one most blamed, because it removed from the world a man of unequalled and enchanting fluency, whose works will delight all posterity, and whose abuses of talent affected only his contemporaries. Every one who reads the works of Cicero, and hears of his tragical end, feels it an injury done to himself, and a violation of that sacred homage which the best spirits of mankind have ever paid to exalted genius. But he was no relation to Octavianus; he was a recent acquaintance, and excepting for vain and selfish ends, a questionable and cowardly friend. He was the only one of the Proscribed really dangerous to the Triumvirs, because his Philippica, which were undermining Antony, would have been as willingly launched against the others, for either money or office. It is somewhat singular that he was the only one of the three so unwillingly sacrificed to the union of the Triumvirs, who actually suffered.

On the publication of the proscription list, M. Cicero and his brother Quintus were at Tusculum. Quintus removed to Rome, and was slain there. Cicero, always undecided and wavering, sometimes thought of flying to Octavianus, who had abandoned him with the greatest reluctance; at others, of joining Brutus in Macedon; sometimes of hiding himself in one or other of his numerous villas; or, again, of taking refuge with Pompey, which would have been by far his wisest course. At length he retired to his beautiful property at Gaeta, close to the sea, and when told that a troop of cavalry was come to seize him, he directed his slaves to bear him through a grove to his vessel in the bay. The officers in search of him stationed themselves at each end of the grove, so that he could not escape. He was betrayed by a freedman, who was a parricide, and whom Cicero's prostituted oratory had once saved from condemnation. He was killed by Herennius, a centurion, who rode up to his litter with a drawn sword. Cicero extended his head, and it was severed at one blow.

Cicero died aged sixty-four, and was, next to the Athenian Demosthenes, the greatest orator the world has ever produced.

## AFTER CHAPTER XL.

THE obsequies of the great Dictator, Julius Cæsar, were arranged and conducted with the most artful attention to effect, and produced a stronger demonstration of public feeling in his favour than even M. Antony had calculated upon. When the corpse was transported to the Forum on the fourth day after the murder, it was borne by the magistrates of the past and present year, laid upon an ivory couch, and deposited in a small gilt temple, modelled after the one he had himself erected to Venus Genitrix. The pile upon which he was to be burnt was prepared in the Campus Martius, and the magistrates were to carry him from the one resting-place to the other. Before the procession moved onwards, Mark Antony stood behind the corpse to pronounce the eulogy of the deceased. He acquitted himself with fervour, both because it suited his political views, and because he loved and mourned the man. He enumerated Cæsar's brilliant conquests, and dwelt upon his singular humanity, and admirable reforms. He then touched upon the magnanimity with which he had spared and trusted his enemies, and, lifting up his bloody robe, pierced over with three-and-twenty wounds, exhibited his reward. The fury of the people burst all bounds. They lauded the murdered Dictator, wept for him, execrated his assassins, and tearing up the benches and platforms, which had been placed for their accommodation, they burnt his body upon the spot. Cæsar was bewailed with that sorrow which springs from the heart of a nation. The women threw in their ornaments and perfumes, and the old Veterans, whom he could lead to victory no more, dashed into the fire the prized rewards he had so often given them. Some of the multitude seized the blazing brands, and ran with them to set fire to the houses of the conspirators; and an unfortunate poet, named Cinna, being mistaken for Cæsar's unnatural brother-in-law, who had sought popular praise by reviling him, was literally torn to pieces. All the foreigners in Rome observed a solemn mourning, especially the Jews, who watched many nights on the spot where the body had been consumed. A

temple to Cæsar was afterwards erected there, and a pillar of jasper on which was inscribed, "To the father of his country."

When Mark Antony fled from Mutina, to take refuge as a vanquished and ruined man in the camp of Lepidus, he underwent hardships and difficulties under which the hearts of ordinary men would have sunk. He was forced to wander through a barren and savage country, amongst a bold, half-civilized race, without either money, baggage, or provisions; and he daily witnessed his little band diminish by cold, famine, and fatigue. But in this extremity, the luxurious, imperious, pleasure-loving General rose superior to his misfortunes, and showed himself greater, and far more estimable, than at any time during his prosperity. He shared with his troops every hardship, and endured every privation. He lightened their cares by his never-failing cheerfulness, and encouraged their hopes by his inexhaustible resources. Antony, at length, wearied, jaded, and nearly starved, beheld the camp of Lepidus before him on the other side of the river Argentius near Frejus. Not receiving a satisfactory answer to a letter which he had despatched, he boldly and alone entered the camp of the Proconsul, his beard unshaved, his hair uncombed, and his person clothed in mourning. Perceiving that the soldiers were deeply moved at his appearance he began to address them. But Lepidus, though he refrained from violence, ordered the trumpets to sound that he might not be heard, and the suppliant withdrew in deep depression. Two of the Tribunes followed him, disguised as women, and assured him that if he would, the next morning, make a feigned attack upon their camp, all the Legions would join him. Antony took the advice, and no sooner showed himself than he was received with acclamations, and conducted through the gates in triumph. He marched straight to the tent of Lepidus, whom he found fast asleep, and whom he awoke to the unpleasant consciousness of being reduced to utter insignificance. The astonished chief prostrated himself at Antony's feet, and resigned his command.

Cicero, the celebrated and enchanting orator, with whose melancholy end we closed the last chapter, was a native of Arpinium, and his family was distantly con-

nected with that of Marius. His surpassing genius, cultivated intellect, and graceful eloquence, united to his brilliant wit, his pervading love for his country, and his usual sympathy with his fellow-creatures, have numbered him amongst the great and honoured of the human race, and they incline us to forgive and forget the faults by which those qualities were shaded. He was ambitious, covetous, deficient in fixed principles and moral courage, and domineered over by an undisguised, ever-present, overweening vanity. He could not exist without shining; and provided he shone, he cared not at whose expense, nor at what cost. The most meritorious act of his life was the preservation of Rome from the conspiracy of Catiline. His conduct as Governor of Cilicia was also praiseworthy for its justice and ability.

Cicero's right hand, with which he wrote the *Philippics*, was cut off along with his head, and presented to Antony. The Triumvir gazed upon them with savage delight, and then ordered the head to be carried to Fulvia, who drew out the tongue she once so much had dreaded, and pierced it through with the golden pin which confined her hair. The fac-simile of Fulvia's hair-pin\* is still worn by the Italian peasants.

Octavianus once found his grandchild reading a work of Cicero's. The child, afraid of giving offence, tried to hide it, but Octavianus took it from him, and stood perusing it. He then returned it, saying, "My child, this was a great and wise man, and one who loved his country."

Cicero, in very early life, had the spirit to defend a freedman of Roscius against the persecutions of Sylla, and dreading that despot's anger for his successful resistance he retired to Rhodes, and formed his style there, under the famous rhetorician Apollonius Molon, a native of Caria. Apollonius received young men as pupils, to teach them the art of public speaking, and he would not suffer any one to remain with him who was not likely to do him credit. Not being well versed in Latin, he desired Cicero to declaim before him in Greek, and after one of that young man's most brilliant and heart-stirring declamations, he, to the astonishment of every one, and

\* As seen on her busts.

the excessive mortification of his pupil, sat pensive, and apparently displeased. At length, looking up, and seeing the dispirited surprise of Cicero, he said, "Take courage, young man, I applaud and admire you, but I mourn for Greece. Two jewels were hers, learning and eloquence, in which she surpassed all nations, but these her only excellencies are now passing to the Romans." Julius Cæsar studied under the same master as Cicero, and would have been his rival in oratory had he not turned his mind to other pursuits.

Cicero's greatest defect, next to his excessive vanity and morbid sensibility, was his vacillation and tendency to be governed by the opinions of others. When he passed through Athens, on his return to Rome, he consulted the Pythia as to what he must do to succeed in life. Her answer was, "Think for yourself, and do not be led by the opinions of the multitude."

Cicero's love and veneration for the boy Octavianus is said to have arisen from a dream he had, not very long before Pompey's death. He thought that the two rivals, Pompey and Cæsar, had summoned all the sons of the Senators into the Temple on the Capitol, that Jupiter might choose one of them to be King of Rome. All the youths entered clothed in purple, and seated themselves. On a signal, they rose and passed before the god, who to their great displeasure, dismissed them one by one, until he came to Octavianus. Him he arrested, and with a loud voice, proclaimed, "This, O Romans! is the youth I select, to heal all your dissensions, and to be master of Rome." Cicero did not know the youth, but the next day, he met all the young nobles returning from their military exercises in the Campus Martius, and amongst them the hero of his dream. With great interest he inquired his name, and was told that it was Octavius, the grand-nephew of the Dictator. Cicero, ever after his vision, retained for him a superstitious respect, and regarded him as the peculiar favourite of heaven, born to a destiny which no human efforts could avert.

Cicero's family name was Tullius; the cognomen, "Cicero," originated in one of his ancestors having a wart like a *Cicer*, or vetch (a wild pea), upon his nose. Upon becoming a candidate for honours at Rome, the young Tully was advised to drop, or change his appella-

tion. He answered, "I will not change, I will make Cicero as illustrious a name as Catulus." When Quæstor in Sicily, he dedicated a silver vase in one of the temples, and inscribed it with his names "Marcus Tullius," adding a vetch for Cicero. Like every other celebrated Roman of this period, he was immensely wealthy, and possessed besides his house on the Palatine (purchased from Crassus), and his magnificent palaces at Tusculum and Gaeta, villas of equal beauty at Pompeii and Arpinum.

Those whom we often talk of as without rank, were in fact Princes, and were so called, "*Principes Senatus*," Princes of the Senate, or of the Roman empire. The Romans were very tenacious of rank, and a man who had once been Consul or Censor, never afterwards dropped the title, but inserted it in all his inscriptions. All the Consulars regarded themselves as Princes, and as equal, if not superior, to all foreign Sovereigns.



## CHAPTER XLI.

SECOND TRIUMVIRATE, TO THE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI.

B.C. 44 TO 42. Y.R. 709 TO 711.\*



ROMAN LIQUID MEASURES.

WHEN it was known in Rome that a Triumvirate had been formed between Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus, and that a proscription-list had been drawn out, the alarm of the people was indescribable. Upon the names in that fatal list being published, they were proportionately relieved to find that only seventeen persons were designated; but 130 more were soon added, and before the Triumvirs and their minions were satiated, 300 Senators and 2000 Equites were condemned to die. Those who were so fortunate as to escape either fled to Sextus Pompey, and swelled the numbers of his adherents in Sicily, or joined the armies of Brutus and Cassius in Asia. Amongst the former were Marcus

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* cxxi.-cxxiv.; Plut. *in loco*; Univ. Hist. xiii.; Nieb. *Lectures*, ii.; Michelet, *Rome*, iii.

Tullius, the son of Cicero, and the aged author, M. Terentius Varro; amongst the latter were the sons of Labienus, Cato, and Lucullus.

The crime of the Proscribed, with few exceptions, was their possession of riches; and even their wives and female relations were taxed to glut the avarice of those in power. Hortensia, a noble matron, appeared in the Senate at the head of the aggrieved ladies, and pleaded so eloquently in their behalf that the odious levy upon them was remitted; and 100,000 men were fined at a lower rate to supply the required sum.

Before the struggle had commenced between Decimus Brutus and Mark Antony for Cisalpine Gaul, Marcus Brutus and Cassius had left Antium, and sailed for Macedonia and Syria, the provinces originally assigned to them by Cæsar. Marcus Brutus was feebly opposed by Caius Antony, the brother of the Triumvir. Brutus soon vanquished and captured him; and upon hearing of the death of Cicero, ordered him to be executed. Trebonius, the Governor of Asia Proper, one of the conspirators, who had owed his Prætorship and Consulship to the unsuspecting friendship of Cæsar, welcomed Cassius with his army, and supported him vigorously. But Dolabella, whom Cæsar had left Consul elect, obtained the Asiatic province from the people; and, coming out unexpectedly, superseded Trebonius, beguiled him into his toils, and cruelly slew him at Smyrna. Cassius, to revenge his friend, made war upon Dolabella, arrogating to himself the title and authority of Proconsul. He made an alliance with Herod, king of Judæa, mastered Syria and Phœnicia, and drove Dolabella into Laodicea, where he besieged him so straitly, that after suffering the utmost miseries of famine that General killed himself, and his army joined Cassius. In this civil war men had no principles to fight for, and they readily joined whoever promised them pay, plunder, or protection.

Tarsus, a large and mighty city, afterwards the birth-place of St. Paul, had espoused the cause of Dolabella on his landing. Cassius now fined it unmercifully, so that the inhabitants had nothing left but their persons, and these they sold into slavery to escape starvation. Many of the young men destroyed themselves in despair; and when Cassius found that nothing more was to be

obtained, he remitted the taxes, and left the place desolate. He protected the unjust and extortionate tax-gatherers, until the people groaned in wretchedness, and appealed from him to Brutus. This chief caused one monster, who had ground and pillaged them, to be punished, although he had been a Censor and was the friend of Cassius. A hot altercation ensued between the chiefs in consequence, but Brutus would not revoke his judgment; and after pointing out to Cassius the strength which his oppressions added to the cause of his adversaries, he said to him, "Remember the Ides of March. We then killed a man who himself did no wrong, but he protected those who did."

With the exception of Sallust, Governor of Numidia, history has not preserved to us the names of any unjust rulers protected by Cæsar; unless, indeed, it included the whole body of the conspirators, not excepting Brutus himself. About the time of the Congress at Lucca, this lordly Roman, so highly esteemed for his general probity, had sanctioned the death of five Senators of Salamis by starvation, because they failed to pay him an interest on his money of forty-eight per cent, though all above twelve was unlawful.

Cassius intended to invade Egypt, in order to punish Cleopatra for preparing a fleet to join the Triumvirs, whom she regarded as the avengers of her beloved admirer, Julius Cæsar; but he was prevented by a letter from Brutus, desiring him not to leave Asia Minor, as the Triumvirs were assembling forces to come over into Asia, and give them battle. He and Cassius met at Smyrna to settle their plan of future operations. It was agreed that the former should reduce Lycia, and the latter Rhodes, as both of these states favoured their enemies. Cassius defeated the Rhodian fleet, took the capital city, which he plundered of 8000 talents, fined the island in 500 more, and condemned fifty of the nobles to death. He returned to Asia Minor, and there imposed upon the flourishing cities the amount of ten years' taxes, to be paid at the moment, as so much booty for his avaricious troops. The unfortunate cities pleaded and remonstrated in vain, and learned anew that there is no tyrant so pitiless and grinding as the one which stalks in the name of Republican liberty.

Brutus, in the meanwhile, besieged Xanthus,\* the strongly-fortified capital of Lycia. Its walls were high and thick, defended by a deep ditch, and the country was cleared around, that it might afford no assistance or resources to the besiegers. It was often fiercely attacked, and as often bravely defended; but at length a party of the besiegers entered it along with the besieged, and the iron portcullis of the gate being let down, they could not retreat. They fortified themselves in the Temple of Sarpedon, an ancient hero of Xanthus, and maintained themselves there until a party of their comrades, having scaled the wall at night by means of rope-ladders, they were relieved, and the city appeared to be already taken, having numbers of rescued foes swarming in the midst of it. The same night the Xanthians fired all the Roman artillery, and some sparks being blown by the wind, communicated to the wooden roofs of the houses and set them on fire. The conflagration quickly spread all over the city. The Xanthians, thinking themselves lost, and having no confidence in Roman mercy, heaped combustibles together to increase the flames, and took pleasure in perishing with their wives and children, in the midst of their ruined property. Brutus zealously strove to restrain their frenzy, but all his exertions could only save a few women and some slaves.

He next attacked the city of Patara, and was threatened with a similar result, for the heroic resistance of the Xanthians excited admiration throughout their nation. It happened that a cohort of Romans took prisoners a company of the noble matrons of this city, travelling to safer quarters. Brutus treated them with respect, promised them that he would grant their city honourable terms upon its submission, dismissed them without ransom, and gave them an escort to their own homes. Patara upon this surrendered; and Brutus, by mildness and justice, secured Lycia. His next advance was to Sardis to meet Cassius a second time, and the two Generals thence moved forward in concert against Antony and Octavianus, who had already marched as far as Macedon.

Previous to quitting Sardis, Brutus was one night very late sitting in his tent reading. He suddenly lifted

\* The interesting Lycian marbles, recently deposited in the British Museum, are from this city.

up his eyes and beheld a colossal figure standing at the door. It was clothed in white, and glared upon him. Brutus addressed it: "What art thou, and what wilt thou?" It answered in a solemn and hollow tone, "I am thine evil genius, Brutus—We meet again at Philippi." Brutus answered, "We will meet, then;" and the figure vanished. This was probably a vivid dream, produced in his brain by anxious thought and deep depression; for Brutus was sincere in his wish to restore the ancient constitution of Rome, and every step he took only showed him more distinctly that such a hope was futile. Besides this, he may have reflected that every life now sacrificed might have been saved had he only waited for the death of Cæsar. The vision made so deep an impression upon him, that he mentioned it to his servants and officers, and reasoned upon it with Cassius, who vainly suggested doubts of its reality. There can be no question that belief in it influenced both Brutus and his troops, when they found themselves in the face of their enemies encamped at Philippi, where the Spirit had threatened again to appear.

With the exception of this incident, all promised fair for the conspirators. Brutus and Cassius marched together from Asia Minor, crossed the Hellespont, and took up their quarters in the plains of Philippi, where they mustered 80,000 foot and 20,000 horse.

Battle of Philippi. When they mounted the Tribunal to review their forces, they looked upon a goodly array of Roman Senators and Magistrates, allied Kings and tributary Princes, each with his complement of men. Amongst their allies were the Kings of Thrace, Galatia, and Pontus. The sea guarded their rear and defended them on two sides, whilst their fleet supplied them abundantly with provisions. Their cavalry scoured the plains, and whilst their foes were distressed by famine, they revelled in abundance, recruited themselves from their fatigues, and could not be forced to fight. But their many advantages proved their ruin. The troops, rendered insolent by their security, began to judge for themselves instead of obeying their leaders; and thinking it impossible that Antony and Octavianus, with inferior numbers and half-starved men, could cope with their valour and formidable strength, they insisted upon being

led to battle. Cassius, who had so ably distinguished himself in the Parthian war, remonstrated without effect. His men attacked Antony, who, scarcely able to credit his good fortune, embraced it with alacrity. Soon the plain was covered by the adverse armies, each eager for the combat. Cassius was opposed to Antony, and Brutus to Agrippa, who commanded the troops instead of Octavianus, then dangerously ill.

Brutus drove his enemies before him, and took their camp. Octavianus narrowly escaped captivity, and was reported to be amongst the slain. Cassius, on the other hand, being completely routed, lost spirit, and retired to a rising ground to discover if possible the state of the field. Not perceiving the standards of his colleague, he presumed that Brutus also had been defeated; and seeing beneath him a body of cavalry, he sent his Legate Titinius to ascertain on which side they were, and what news they brought. They were a cohort despatched by Brutus with tidings of his success; but as Cassius's mind was haunted by evil forebodings, the moment he perceived Titinius fall into their ranks, he concluded that his Legate was captured by enemies, and made his freedman run a sword through his body, which caused his instant death.

When Brutus abandoned the camp of Antony, and returned to his own quarters, his feelings of triumph were neutralised by hearing of this tragical event. He loudly lamented his brother-in-law, and called him "the last of the Romans;" totally forgetting, in his insane passion for the old and long-extinct Roman constitution, Cassius's ingratitude and vindictiveness towards the generous-hearted Cæsar, from whom he never to the last scrupled to solicit and accept of favours. Amongst all the sixty conspirators, not one had disputed Cæsar's right to confer governments and magistracies upon themselves; nor had any of them the nobleness to refuse power bestowed by his hands.

Brutus sent the corpse of Cassius to be buried in the neighbouring Isle of Thasos, and did not permit his troops to attend the interment. The military robe and sword of the deceased fell into the hands of Antony. On the same day with the action at Philippi, a battle was fought between the hostile fleets; in which Domitius Ahenobarbus completely dispersed the ships of the Tri-

umvirs, and prevented them from receiving their much-needed supplies. Notwithstanding his victory, therefore, Antony continued in distress; and Octavianus, not recovering from his sickness, was a burden to him rather than an assistance.

Brutus was in an excellent position, although he had lost 8000 men; but being far inferior to Cassius in military genius, he could not command his augmented forces, and seems to have had no officer of decided talent to act as his coadjutor. Labienus, his only distinguished Legate, a brave and enterprising soldier, son to the General killed in Spain, had been despatched to Ctesiphon, to solicit succour from the King of Parthia. Thus Brutus's immense army, having no efficient head, was soon converted into a disorderly host. The Thracians deserted him, and he was forced by the clamours of his men to risk a battle. Eminent Captains, such as Hannibal and Julius Cæsar, though at times threatened with mutiny, have never been driven to engage against their judgment, nor have they submitted to obey those whom they undertook to command.

Brutus led out his forces a second time at Philippi, impelled by the unruly murmurs of his men, though all the while deprecating the act. He seems to have been conducted by his evil genius, of whom he again dreamed; for he thus at once relieved his fainting enemies from their perilous position and from their dread of famine. They had no other chance of deliverance, being fully aware that their fleet had been defeated, although Brutus continued in ignorance of it, because he refused admittance to the man who came to inform him of Domitius's success. To excite the ardour of his troops, he was reduced to the expedient of promising them the plunder of Thessalonica and Lacedæmon, two unoffending cities. In the beginning of the combat, Brutus drove back Agrippa with the left wing; but Antony, overcoming the opposite wing, composed of the presumptuous and disorderly forces of Cassius, surrounded the troops of Brutus. Young Cato, and Marcus, the son of Lucullus, were both slain in this battle. When Brutus saw that the fortunes of the day had turned against him, he broke through his enemies with desperate courage, galloped away without attempting to rally, and took refuge at a distance from

the field of battle under a rock beside a running stream. A few friends joined him; and one of his officers, Lucilius, stopped his pursuers by declaring that *he* was Brutus, and delivering himself up as a prisoner. The fraud was not discovered until he was brought before Antony; and the experienced General admired so much his spirit and constancy, that he pardoned him, and ever after retained him near his person as an esteemed and generous-hearted friend. Antony was afterwards more worthily recompensed than Cæsar had been for similar conduct when he spared the life of Brutus at the battle of Pharsalia. Brutus remained under the rock all night in a state of harrowing anxiety. If his camp were not taken, he thought he could reoccupy it, but the difficulty was how to ascertain the fact. He sent an officer to reconnoitre, who was shot; and Brutus, having waited in vain for his return, supposed that no alternative remained for him but surrender or death. He gave vent to the agony of his feelings by exclaiming, "O Virtue! I once believed thee to be a reality, I now perceive that thou art but a name." He then cheerfully entreated his companions to make the best terms they could with their conquerors; and retiring with his friend Strato, fell upon the blade of his sword and expired. He died at the age of forty-three; he was honoured and lamented, because upright and single-minded, though self-deceived; and deeply blameable in the part he acted against Cæsar.

Antony wept when informed of Brutus's fate. He visited the body, threw his own purple mantle over it, and gave it an honourable burial. Octavianus had the head cut off, and sent it to be laid at the foot of Pompey's statue where Cæsar fell, but it was thrown overboard during a storm at sea. The ashes of the burnt corpse were placed in an urn, and given to his mother Servilia. Octavianus, after he became the Emperor Augustus, always spoke of Brutus with respect, patronised Strato for his sake, and allowed his friend Messala to converse unreprieved about his "beloved Brutus."



## AFTER CHAPTER XLI.

MANY interesting anecdotes are told of the proscription in which some suffered uncondemned, being mistaken for others ; and many, whilst endeavouring to save themselves in desert places, perished from starvation. Oppius carried his decrepit father on his shoulders to the coast, and escaped, with him to Sicily. After a treaty made with Sextus Pompey, he returned to Rome, and the people showed their approbation of his filial piety by electing him *Ædile*. Oppius's estate having been confiscated, he had no money to provide the usual games, upon understanding which, the people worked for him without wages, taxed themselves to supply the sum for his necessary expenses, and presented him with property double in value to that which he had lost.

Another Roman, named Hosidius, saved his father by asserting that he had destroyed himself, and spending the remains of his dilapidated fortune upon a mock funeral.

Lucius, the uncle of Antony, fled to his sister Julia, the Triumvir's mother, a high-spirited, determined woman, in whom he could confide. When the soldiers came to seize him, she had the door closed, and exclaimed, "You shall never kill Lucius, until you have first murdered me, the mother of your General." As the soldiers hesitated how to proceed, she went down to the Forum, where Antony sat on his tribunal, and thus addressed him, "I protect my brother Lucius. He is in my house, and you may slay both of us or neither." Antony, in some surprise, replied, "You are a good sister, but a bad mother." Lucius was no more inquired after.

One Senator, after skulking about for some time in great misery, returned to Rome disguised as a school-master. He opened a little school, and kept it during the time the proscription lasted, none suspecting that a man of such humble appearance could be in reality a person of rank and consequence. Another pretending to be one of the emissaries of the Triumvirs, scoured the country hunting after the Proscribed. Pomponius as-

sumed the robes of a Prætor, and directly left Rome, attended by his slaves as lictors. He travelled everywhere at the public expense, announcing that he was commissioned by the Triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with Sextus; and thus he safely reached Sicily, being in every town honourably entertained according to his supposed rank, and supplied with horses and provisions. Several bands of soldiers met him on the road, but all saluted him, and none dreamed of impeding or examining the supposed Ambassador of the Triumvirs.

Several of the condemned armed their households, drove off those who were sent to murder them, and escaped to Sextus, sword in hand. Many wives risked their lives, and parted with their ornaments, to save their husbands. One matron, not knowing how otherwise to preserve her lord, enclosed him in a large chest, and, by the connivance of Octavia, had him carried to the theatre, where Octavianus was present. The lady then opened it, and on her knees supplicated pardon. The populace were touched with her affection and ingenuity, and she left the theatre with her husband saved. Many slaves devoted themselves for their masters, dressed themselves in their attire, and were slain in their stead. Many sisters heroically concealed or rescued their brothers; but with the exception of the two above-named, and the young Q. Cicero, no sons tried to save their fathers, and this defect of filial reverence is one of the worst marks of the awful degeneracy of the old Roman character. One of the Prætors was actually denounced, and another delivered into the hands of his murderers, by his own child. Such people were incapable of freedom! They would not fulfil its duties, and were therefore unworthy of its privileges.

C. Licinius Calvus, who gave promise of rivalling Cicero in his glowing and impassioned oratory, died a few months before him, aged thirty. He was the hope of the Roman Forum, and his poetic satires and elegies were works of the highest merit. The latter were considered equal to those of Catullus, who was by some authors regarded as the most inventive genius of the Latins. The father of Licinius Calvus was Licinius Macer, an excellent annalist and historian. He died of a broken heart, because, through the eloquence of Cicero,

the Senate was excited to condemn him for a crime of which he declared himself innocent. He had clothed himself in white, certain of his acquittal, and when he found that sentence was given against him, he stabbed himself in despair.

The rich and flourishing city of Lyons was founded by M. Plancus, just before the appearance of Antony in the Gallic camp of Lepidus. Plancus called his colony Lugdunum, and planted it at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, close to a small Gallic town named *Lugudunum*. Ere long, these two places were united, and they now form Lyons.

Marcus Brutus was son-in-law to Cato of Utica, having married his daughter Portia, the widow of Bibulus. She was a beautiful, virtuous, and affectionate woman, and a great favourite with Roman writers; though our own dramatist Shakspeare makes her a much finer and more energetic character than any of the Greek and Latin authors. Portia discovered the conspiracy against Cæsar, from Brutus's restless manners and uneasy dreams. As he did not make her his confidante, she proved to him that she could conceal her feelings better than he could his, by giving herself a deep wound in the thigh with a dagger, and supporting the pain without exciting any suspicion, until confined to her couch, by a dangerous fever which the agony she endured had caused. She then revealed to Brutus what she had done, and reproached him for distrusting her firmness, and not sharing with her his inquietudes. He was astonished, and immediately disclosed to her the plans and perils of the conspirators. She sympathised with him, but she was not sufficiently dispassionate, either to perceive his folly, or to dissuade him from his crime. On the day of Cæsar's murder, she is said to have fainted, and to have been so full of agitation, that she inevitably must have betrayed the secret to her household, had they not known it already. The accounts of Portia's conduct in the hour of trial are utterly incredible, because they are only consistent with great weakness of mind, and are quite beneath the standard of a Volumnia, a Cornelia, or any other heroic woman.

When Brutus crossed over into Asia, he carried with him Bibulus, his step-son, then grown up, and sent

Portia back to Rome. The room in which he parted with her was adorned by a picture of the separation of Hector and Andromache. Hector was represented bidding Andromache adieu, and delivering his only son into her arms. Portia looked at this picture, and burst into tears. A friend present repeated Homer's lines: (Il. vi. 429, &c.)

"Yet while my Hector still survives, I see  
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee!"

Brutus smiled, and replied, "But I must not answer my wife in Hector's words:

"Go! hasten to thy tasks at home;  
There guide the spindle and direct the loom;"

for Portia, though she has not physical strength to endure the toils of a soldier, has fortitude enough to bear any trials in the cause of her country." It does not, however, appear that Portia, after her return, did anything either more remarkable or more meritorious than quietly fulfilling her "tasks at home." Instead of animating Brutus's courage, or attempting to excite his friends, she gave way to a profound melancholy, which in a few months terminated her existence. She expired before Brutus saw the spectre, and this was, perhaps, one of the sorrows that weighed upon his heart. It seems probable that Portia died of suffocation, from sleeping in a room with a charcoal fire, for the Romans were fond of a tradition that she killed herself with burning-hot coals, after the battle of Philippi; but this is not true. Brutus was the author of several abridged Roman histories, and some treatises, which have all perished. St. Paul addressed one of his Epistles to the inhabitants of Philippi. This city was named after Philip, the father of Alexander the Great.

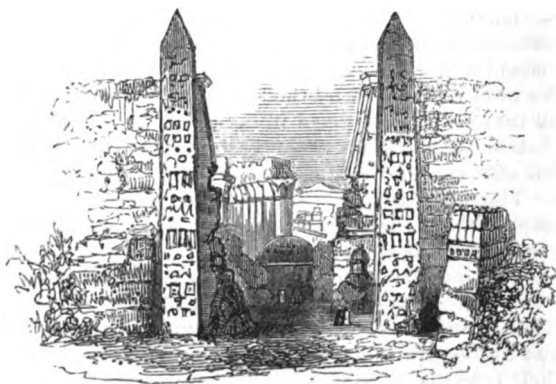
The celebrated poet, Horace, was one of Brutus's Tribunes at the battle of Philippi. Mæcenæ interceded for him, and obtained his pardon from the Triumvirs, after which he settled in Rome, devoted himself to the Muses, and cultivated the friendship of Virgil, Agrippa, and other eminent men. Horace was a man of warm feelings and kindly sentiments, but he had the great defect of pretending not to appreciate, nay even to despise, that independence and liberty which Italy had lost.

He was always grateful to his father for having bestowed upon him an excellent education, and for having removed him from the provincial school at Venusia to Rome. He was also associated with the noblest of the Romans under the best masters at Athens. Horace was grateful to his Patron for his preservation and prosperity. Mæcenas not only caused his father's small property at Venusia to be restored to him, but presented him with a beautiful villa on the mountains of Tibur (Tivoli), where he lived in comfort, and the ruins of which are still to be seen. In this retreat, he wrote his Odes, Satires, and Epistles. They are full of keen observation, and express the natural affections and desires, sufferings and yearnings, of the human heart, in the most harmonious words, and in the tersest, most epigrammatic style. He is one of those writers who clothe universal feelings in that language which springs fresh and warm from the heart, and who, therefore, in every age will be a favourite with mankind.

## CHAPTER XLII.

CAREER OF ANTONY FROM THE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI TO  
THE END OF THE TRIUMVIRATE.

B.C. 42 TO 36. Y.R. 711 TO 717.\*



PORTAL AT LUXOR.

AFTER the battle of Philippi, the Triumvirs ruled supreme, and Sextus Pompey alone remained to prevent the world from being prostrate at their feet. The republican Admiral, Domitius Ahenobarbus, joined Sextus with his fleet, and they became the refuge, hope, and stay of

\* Authorities : Livy, Epit. cxxv.—cxxx.; Plut. Antonius; Suet. de Octav. Aug.; Univ. Hist. xiii.; Nieb. Lect. ii.; Michelet, Rome, iii.; Biog. Univ.; Smith's Dictionary of Antiquity.

all who still maintained the independence of the Roman Senators. Antony and Octavianus employed themselves for a time in punishing their enemies. The former gained many hearts by his magnanimous forgiveness, but the latter is said to have been the most cruel, inexorable, and insulting of the victors. The vanquished troops of Brutus and Cassius gladly ranged themselves under the banners of their conquerors, and all the remaining conspirators either killed themselves or were executed.

Antony and Octavianus agreed together that the one should rule the Eastern, and the other the Western dominions of the Romans, including Italy; and that neither should interfere with the arrangements of the other. Lepidus, who, compared with them, was a mere cypher, remained undisturbed in Africa. Octavianus returned to Rome, where he was expected to keep the Peninsula tranquil, and to divide fairly between the Veterans those lands in the eighteen colonies, which had been apportioned to them at the coalition of the Triumvirs in the island of the Rhenus, and which they conceived themselves to have merited by their valour. Octavianus was so ill that he was expected to die; but on his recovery he distributed the lands to the best of his ability, assisted by his able and unfailing counsellors, Agrippa and Mæcenas. The old proprietors, in most cases, were allowed to remain on their estates, and cultivated them as tenants to the soldiers, from whom they afterwards rebought them. No complaint was made of any unnecessary harshness, but still the ejected proprietors felt themselves cruelly aggrieved, and were filled with unavoidable animosity; whilst the Veterans were not satisfied with the amount of their rewards, and the soldiers of Antony were excited by Fulvia to believe that they were less favoured than those of Octavianus.

Fulvia, though a bold, violent, and unprincipled woman, was passionately attached to Antony. She gladly endured her separation from him, whilst she believed it necessary for his ultimate success; but now that the struggle was over, and he was lord of a wider territory than had been ruled by half the Syrian Kings, she desired to join him, and to share in his glory. This wish, however, she would have abandoned, had she perceived any chance of Antony returning to her; but she heard

such an account of his proceedings after the victory of Philippi, as made her heart sink and her spirit fail, and she was resolved, by raising commotions in his name, to force him back to Italy in his own defence.

After the separation of himself and his colleague, Antony visited Athens, where he amused himself by assisting at the public games, and by attending plays and philosophical meetings. He then passed over into Asia Minor, at the head of eight legions and 10,000 horse, where his vanity was fed by Kings, Queens, and Princesses, who waited upon him, to offer their congratulations, and humbly submit to his commands.

Antony's head was turned by this adulation. He had no misfortunes to remind him of his humanity, and his strong and soldierlike nature underwent a change. He was welcomed with every sign of joy by all the Asiatic cities, but he was best pleased with his reception at Ephesus. Here his absurd conceit of being descended from Hercules, and resembling Bacchus, was humoured, and he was hailed as the jolly god himself, and met by a Bacchanalian procession, singing his praises, and dancing in his honour. The human Bacchus did not, however, reward his servile worshippers as they expected. His need of money was yet greater than his vanity, and he graciously but firmly informed them that he required at their hands 200,000 talents, and that he considered it a light fine for the assistance (forced though he knew it to be) that they had rendered to Brutus and Cassius. "To them," he added, "you paid it in two years. To me you must pay it in one." One of the deputies answered him, "We are already reduced to poverty, we shall soon be utterly ruined. If you will double our imposts you must also double our seasons." From this exaction Antony excepted the already pillaged cities of Xanthus, Tarsus, Laodicea, and Rhodes.

He next proceeded to Tarsus, and summoned the Queen of Egypt to wait upon him, to explain why she had not afforded him more effectual assistance during the civil war. Cleopatra felt that she was innocent, for her fleet had been dispersed by storms. She, therefore, joyfully embraced the opportunity of meeting Antony, persuaded that could she only effect a personal interview, she should exert a lasting influence over him. Having



seen him in Syria when she was there with her father, at the age of fifteen, she was not unacquainted with his nature, manners, and disposition. She knew that he was easily snared by wit and beauty ; that he was gallant and generous under a rough exterior ; indolent and luxurious, fond of refinement, and delighted by show.

Having signified her obedience to his commands, Cleopatra purposely lingered over her preparations, in order to tantalize him. She departed from Egypt with a pomp never assumed by any former sovereign, and entered the river Cydnus, on which Tarsus is situated, in the character of Venus, attended by the Loves and Graces. She announced that Venus was on her way to visit Bacchus, and appeared, to the unspeakable astonishment of the Asiatics, in a stately galley, with a poop of gold, sails of purple silk, and oars of silver. The vessel moved to the sound of music, perfumes were wafted from her deck, whilst, like the vision of some fairy dream, Cleopatra was seen reclining under a canopy of cloth of gold. She was splendidly adorned, fanned by boys dressed as Cupids, and surrounded by lovely women attired as Sea-nymphs and Graces. The country poured down, and the city rushed out to meet her. The populace had never before beheld so glorious a spectacle, and Antony was left on his tribunal, sitting alone. Somewhat displeased, he sent the Queen an invitation to supper. Her answer was that gallantry required him first to wait on her, and she begged that he would honour her poor banquet that evening. Antony presented himself, and found that he had entered a region of enchantment such as he had never before imagined. The lovely Queen, then in her five-and-twentieth year, whose fascinations were so irresistible, that in the language of our great bard, Shakspeare,

“Age could not wither,  
Nor custom stale her infinite variety,”

was endowed with wit, refinement, and grace, far surpassing her luxurious beauty. The gorgeous tent in which she was seated, the elegance of her attendants, the exquisite taste that marked all her arrangements, the delicacy of her repast, and, above all, the splendour, picturesqueness, and novelty of her groups of shining lights, held by living figures, and changing their po-

sitions always to something still more brilliant and fanciful, completely bewitched him. Antony was from this moment Cleopatra's slave. She opened up to him a new world of enjoyment, and he could not live apart from her. The next day he returned her hospitality, and was the first to laugh at the grossness of his own banquet, and feel disgusted at its vulgarity. How truly sad, that the lord of the East, and the renowned Queen of Egypt, should thus have trifled away their time, and corrupted those about them with pleasures in which not one great or noble quality found exercise !

Cleopatra had no desire to leave Antony, who was miserable out of her society. She accommodated herself to all his tastes, even to his coarse jokes and raillery. She rode with him, reviewed his troops, wrote, read, and feasted with him ; and what she began from policy, she continued from affection. Her worst act was persuading him to put her sister Arsinoë to death, that she might be without a rival on the throne.

Antony was divided in his plans, whether to visit Italy and settle the disturbed spirits there, or to make war upon the Parthians, whom Labienus, the Legate of Brutus, had roused to threaten Syria. But as neither of these projects was agreeable to Cleopatra, after she had accompanied him to Tyre, he agreed to winter with her at Alexandria. Meanwhile, Antony's wife, Fulvia, stung with jealousy, resolved to force him to return home, and with that view persuaded his brother Lucius, now Consul, to join her in opposing and vexing Octavianus. The young Triumvir at last, in a fit of irritation, divorced her daughter Clodia, who was his wife, and sent her back to her mother. Fulvia considered this as a declaration of war. She and Lucius concluded a league with Sextus Pompey, who thereupon prevented all vessels laden with corn from reaching Rome, and thus occasioned great distress from the scarcity of food.

Fulvia received and armed all the discontented whom the Veterans had dispossessed. She pitched her camp at Præneste, clothed herself in mail, and commanded and led on the troops in person. She was soon at the head of several Legions, and was joined by the three great Generals, Asinius Pollio, M. Plancus, and Ventidius. She marched forward in conjunction with Lucius to

occupy Cisalpine Gaul, and their forces came to an engagement with the armies of Octavianus and Agrippa at Sutrium. After many hours of doubtful fortune, victory declared itself for the latter, and Fulvia with her division retreated. Lucius threw himself into Perugia, where he was instantly besieged, and enclosed by strong double walls of circumvallation. Fulvia despatched Plancus to his assistance, but this General, not thinking relief possible, declined a battle and retired, at the same time persuading Pollio and Ventidius to follow his example.

Lucius, though deserted, would not tamely yield. He defended Perugia until his men, a large proportion of whom were Gladiators inured to every species of suffering, were on the verge of perishing by famine. He then tried the issue of one of the bravest sallies recorded in history, but finding every attempt vain, he finally ventured alone into the presence of Octavianus, and surrendered himself into his hands, only entreating mercy for his followers. Octavianus received him courteously, and accepted his submission. He pardoned and incorporated the troops of Antony with his own, but he refused to forgive any of Cæsar's murderers, or of those who had constantly and openly approved of his assassination. He is said to have put 300 Perugian nobles to death, which, if true, can only be accounted for by the violent opposition of the Perugians to the recent colony of Veterans. The city itself was accidentally burnt, and all the forces and Allies of Fulvia were dispersed. She and Plancus took refuge in Macedon, whence she afterwards proceeded to Athens to meet Antony, and she was inexpressibly mortified when he blamed her conduct with words of unkindness and contempt. He consummated his neglect by allowing her to depart alone for Sicily, where she fell sick, and died. Pollio, Ventidius, and the other Generals of her party, joined Sextus in Sicily.

Antony had quitted Alexandria with 200 ships, intending to drive back the Parthians, who had taken Jerusalem. But changing his mind, and esteeming the commotions in Italy of more consequence, he first sailed to Athens, where he met his wife, and thence shaped his course to Brundisium. In this harbour, succours were sent him from Sextus Pompey, and he was joined by

Pollio and Domitius Ahenobarbus. He met Octavianus and disowned the late war, which, he said, had been carried on without his knowledge or consent. His excuses were accepted, and the combined efforts of Mæcenas and Pollio succeeded in effecting a complete reconciliation between the Triumvirs. The rejoicings in the army were great, and the troops insisted upon cementing this union by a marriage between Antony, now a widower, and Octavia, the wise, virtuous, and beautiful sister of Octavianus.

It was reported in Rome that Antony had wedded the Queen of Egypt, and that he intended proclaiming himself King of the East, and erecting Alexandria into his Capital, thus dismembering the Roman dominions, and raising up a rival to Rome. There is no doubt that Antony at times contemplated such an act, and the suspicion of it always adhered to him, and gave the most violent shock to Roman pride, and to those false notions of freedom entertained by the Romans, who admitted of no equals beyond their own race. The purpose of his marriage with Octavia was to render such a catastrophe impossible, and to dissipate every fear connected with it.

In all essential qualities, and even in personal beauty, the dignified Octavia far exceeded Cleopatra; but she had not her fascinations, her playful wit, sparkling repartee, and untiring versatility. Octavia was beloved and revered by her brother, and the soldiery rejoiced in her union with Antony as a tie which would for ever bind together the two rivals. After this marriage Antony was connected with both the Triumvirs as brother-in-law. For a time he appeared pleased with his new wife, whom he conducted to Athens, and upon whom he allowed the citizens to lavish feasts and processions. But one so excellent was no fit mate for him; he felt himself in thralldom, and longed once more for the softness, the irregularity, and the brilliancy of Cleopatra.

Before his excursion to Greece, Antony had summoned Sextus Pompey to his aid, and this great Captain continued to threaten Italy with starvation, by preventing the transit of the corn-fleets from Sicily and Africa. He was now the only hostile power in the field, and he required to be propitiated by a separate treaty, before the Roman world could rest in peace. As a defence

against him, Agrippa constructed and strongly fortified the Porta Julia at Baiæ, where he assembled Octavianus's fleet ; but before resorting to extreme measures, Antony and Octavianus agreed to hold a conference with Sextus at Misenum, and if possible, to come to an amicable settlement of his demands. At their first interview, Antony, who occupied the house of Sextus's father in the Carinæ at Rome, asked, "Where shall we meet to sign and celebrate our treaty?" Carinæ is also the name of part of a ship. Sextus, struck by the coincidence, quickly answered, "Meet at my table in the Carinæ, and there feast with me." The Triumvirs could not refuse his invitation ; and when they stepped on board his ship, were completely in his power. Menas, the Ally and companion of Sextus, a renowned Cilician Pirate, suggested to him to seize his guests, and by one bold stroke to render himself master of the world. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "why did you speak instead of acting? Such a deed might be glorious in Menas, but becomes not the son of Pompey."

Sextus claimed to be chosen Triumvir in lieu of the weak, inactive Lepidus, but this could not be conceded, and would have been extremely injurious to Antony and Octavianus. They agreed, however, that he should be permitted to stand for the Consulate, though absent ; that all the Proscribed who had sought refuge with him should be pardoned ; and that Sicily, Sardinia, and the Peloponnesus, should be assigned to him as an independent sovereignty. Upon these conditions Sextus again permitted the corn fleets to sail unmolested, and Italy was rescued from famine. The peace was ratified by the marriage of Sextus's daughter with Marcellus, the son of Octavia by a former husband, and the presumptive heir of his uncle Octavianus.

Antony, previous to his arrival in Italy, had excited an insurrection in Syria, by imposing fresh taxes to support his disgraceful profusion. Palmyra, and other oppressed cities, applied to the Parthians for aid ; and Pacorus, Prince of Parthia, entered Syria at the head of a large army, in which Labienus, the Legate of Brutus, commanded one division. The Parthians were everywhere successful, and Antony despatched Ventidius to keep them in check, until he should be able to appear against them himself. Ventidius distinguished himself

by consummate ability and valour, drove back the Parthians into their own territories, recovered Syria, Cilicia, and Asia Minor, and forced Labienus to flee to Cyprus, where he was discovered by the Governor, and slain as a rebel.

The following year, whilst Antony wasted his time at Athens with Octavia, Ventidius enticed Pacorus across the Euphrates, fell upon him at a disadvantage, and forced him to a battle, in which he was slain, and his whole army overthrown. This dreadful loss compensated for the defeat of Crassus at Carrhæ fourteen years before, and almost drove the King of Parthia mad with grief. Ventidius, pursuing his victory, advanced against the Ally of the Parthians, Antiochus, King of Commagene, besieged him in Samosata, and reduced him to such distress, that the King offered 1000 talents as his ransom. Ventidius did not dare to accept these terms without Antony's permission, and the Triumvir, jealous of his General's success, desired him to return to Rome, and enjoy his well-earned triumph, whilst he in person finished the war. Antony rejected the offer of Antiochus, believing that he could extract a higher sum; but that monarch being thoroughly roused, defended himself so stoutly, that Antony was at last obliged to content himself with 300 talents instead of 1000, to avoid the disgrace of raising the siege.

Ventidius triumphed over the Parthians at the Capitol, and is the only Roman General who ever enjoyed that honour. The first time he traversed the Via Sacra, he was an infant captive in his mother's arms, after the Social War. Though his father had been a Chief of Asculum, Ventidius was forced to earn his bread as a poor muleteer, until his gallantry in a skirmish introduced him to the notice and sympathies of Julius Cæsar. This great Commander advanced him from one post to another, until he rose, first to be numbered among the Senators, next among the Consuls, and finally amongst the heroes of Rome. When he died, he was universally honoured and regretted, and the Roman matrons wore mourning for him during ten months, as formerly for Camillus and Scipio.

Whilst Antony was entangled with the siege of

Samosata, Octavianus, who had never approved of the treaty with Sextus, infringed it by demanding the old tribute from the Peloponnesus. Sextus indignantly resisted this encroachment upon his rights, and again blockaded the Italian ports. Octavianus declared war against him, and summoned Antony and Lepidus to his aid. He sustained many sharp encounters with Sextus, during which he was defeated, and shipwrecked twice. Once he was on the point of being stabbed, another time of being captured, but he escaped these and other dangers; and when Antony, who had inconvenienced himself to join him in haste, appeared in the harbour of Tarentum, he was informed that he might return, for the urgency was passed. Antony was so violently irritated, that the virtuous Octavia had an arduous task to keep peace between him and her brother. At last they seemed reconciled, and consented to a ceremonious interview at Tarentum, in which they agreed to prolong their Triumvirate for another five years, and to make an exchange of forces. Antony parted with 120 ships to be employed against Sextus, and received in return 20,000 troops for the Parthian war. Julia, the only child of Octavianus, was betrothed to Antyllus, the son of Antony, and Octavia was consigned to the tender and respectful care of her brother, whilst Antony returned to Syria.

Agrippa commanded the augmented fleet, and invaded Sicily, where Lepidus had already landed with a large army from Africa. Agrippa acted with his usual skill and valour, but was defeated and repulsed in every engagement. After a time, Octavianus combined with him and Lepidus, and invested Messana. Sextus, wearied of the endless contest, imprudently proposed to decide the contest by a fight between 300 vessels on each side.

Battle of  
Mylæ.  
Y. B. 716.

The Triumvirs accepted the challenge, and a decisive battle ensued near Mylæ, fought with the most desperate courage. While Agrippa and Sextus were opposed to each other, Octavianus is said to have been asleep on board. The fortune of the day was long doubtful, but at length declared for Agrippa, and the unfortunate Sextus fled. He was followed by only seventeen vessels of all his numerous fleet, and became from that moment a vanquished and undreaded foe. He escaped to Syria, and threw himself

upon the generosity of Antony, but he foolishly embroiled himself with the Legate Titius, by whom he was taken prisoner and executed. As Titius did this treacherously, and contrary to the known wishes of Antony, he was ever after odious to the Romans. When he entered the Circus to witness games provided for the populace at his own expense, they drove him away with hisses, and cursed and reviled him as the murderer of Sextus.

All Sicily submitted after the victory of Mylæ, and Lepidus incorporated the troops of Sextus with his own. Agrippa remonstrated, and represented that half of them at least belonged of right to Octavianus; but the aged Triumvir, elated at the numbers round him, abused his Colleague, and accused him of assuming a superiority to which he was not entitled. Octavianus appeared in the camp the next morning, to vindicate his claims. Lepidus fell upon him with a body of horse, wounded him, and drove him away. When Octavianus recovered himself, he returned alone, seized one of the eagles of the Legions, and summoned the troops of Sextus to rally round him. The whole army, moved with admiration at his youthful daring, and with contempt for the incapacity of their present leader, flocked to him, and left Lepidus standing in his camp, deserted and alone. The hapless Triumvir, perceiving his helplessness, despoiled himself of all his insignia, clothed himself in mourning, and went as a suppliant to Octavianus. The victor granted him his life and property, and allowed him to retain the rank of Pontifex Maximus, but banished him from Rome, and condemned him to a life of perpetual obscurity. Lepidus, after many years, died at Circeii. He was connected both with Brutus and Cassius, having married the sister of the former. All the great Roman families were related to each other, and a knowledge of these connexions often throws light upon the reasons of their enmity or forbearance.

Octavianus justified his violent conduct to Antony, by representing that he had only deprived their colleague of an authority for which he had shown himself unfit. He behaved nobly in burning, unread, all the letters found in Sextus's camp. On the return of Octavianus to Rome, the Senate decreed him an Ovation: they rendered his person inviolable by electing him Tribune of the



people for life ; and they testified their admiration of his conduct by erecting to him a golden statue in the Forum. He and Antony were now Duumvirs, and divided the world between them.

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## AFTER CHAPTER XLII.

AMONGST the Princes who waited upon Antony at Ephesus, to tender their submission after the battle of Philippi, was Herod of Judæa, then a brave, intelligent, frank-hearted young man, of prepossessing manners and appearance. Twenty-four years afterwards, he was the cruel King of Judæa, who massacred the infants at Bethlehem, in hopes of destroying the new-born Saviour. At the period of which we are writing, his father, Antipas the Idumean, was Prime Minister to Hyrcanus, the Ruler and High-Priest of the Jews, and the last of the Maccabees. Antipas had been successively the useful and judicious friend of Pompey, Julius Cæsar, and Antony. For his sake, Antony pardoned the youthful Herod his error in having assisted Cassius, and in having accepted from him the government of Cælo-Syria. Upon Herod's petition now, Antony released all the Jewish prisoners who had been formerly captured by Cassius, and exposed to sale.

Julius Cæsar had entertained an affectionate regard for Antipas, and conferred upon him many public honours. He proclaimed him the friend and ally of the Roman commonwealth, granted him the citizenship of Rome, and permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed during the Mithridatic war. The numerous decrees of Julius Cæsar in favour of the Jews, consequent upon his esteem for their ruler, were hung up in the temples of Tyre, of Jupiter Capitolinus, and of Jerusalem. In them the names of *Shammai* and *Hillel* are mentioned, which are the Hebrew versions of Sameas and Pollio, the Roman Prætors.

Soon after Herod's return to Judæa, Labienus and Pacorus invaded Palestine at the head of the Parthians,

and Antony's friends were obliged to conceal themselves. Herod first escaped to Alexandria, where Cleopatra would gladly have engaged him in her service, but as Antony had left her, having married Octavia, and gone to Rome, Herod knew his own interest sufficiently well to follow. Here he succeeded in captivating Octavianus by his personal beauty, his address, and sagacity. He modestly referred all his concerns to the pleasure of the Triumvirs, and requested to be Governor of Judæa, under Aristobulus, the lawful sovereign. Antony and Octavianus, contrary to Roman custom (which was always to favour the native aristocracy), conferred upon him the kingdom, without reference to Aristobulus, and had their decree registered in the Capitol. It was a singular sight, to see Herod the Idumean, in the robes of royalty, marching up to the Capitol between Octavianus and Antony, the Emperors of the East and West, to be encircled with the diadem of Israel by their hands. The old prophecy of Jacob to Esau was now fulfilled: "When thou shalt have dominion, thou shalt break his yoke (*the yoke of Jacob*) from off thy neck." Upon Herod's return to Palestine, Ventidius, who had driven back the Parthians, assisted him to overcome all opposition, and placed him on the throne of Judæa. His only natural connexion with that throne was his marriage with the beautiful Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus. Had Herod been a lineal descendant of the Jewish Kings, he would probably have acted as a wise and benevolent Ruler, resting in peaceful confidence upon his acknowledged rights. But the Jews always considered him as a usurper; and the uneasy, restless nature of usurped power gradually rendered him suspicious, irritable, and cruel, until the once gay, candid, and open-hearted Herod, died a detested tyrant.

Whilst Antony was at Ephesus, intoxicated with his senseless fancy of representing Bacchus, he committed many revolting acts of injustice, because he was too indolent to give himself trouble, and too vain to admit the common people to his presence. His flatterers and buffoons, from this cause, easily deceived him, and obtained from him the estates and palaces of Asiatics, whom they falsely reported to be dead. He rewarded his cook, a pampered slave, for dressing him a good dinner, with the mansion of a wealthy, unoffending citizen of Magnesia.

Such levity is disgusting in any man, and awful in a responsible being who thus abuses the power delegated to him. Ephesus was styled "a city filled, at once, with the perfumes of sacrifices, the songs of revellers, and the groans of men."

Antony's succeeding scene of expense and folly was at Tarsus, where he received Cleopatra, and daily banqueted with her. Upon one occasion he expressed his amazement at the number of gold cups enriched with jewels which adorned her table. She ordered them all to be conveyed to his palace, adding, "If you value such baubles, I beg you will accept of them." The next day she displayed vessels still more gorgeous, and after the feast was over presented them to the assembled guests. Her dress equalled in magnificence her entertainments, and Antony admired in her ears two of the largest and finest pearls the world ever produced, each valued at an incredible sum. She took them off, melted one in vinegar, or strong acid, and swallowed it. She was proceeding to destroy the other, when the Legate Plancus rescued it by his entreaties. It entered into the spoil afterwards transported to Rome by Octavianus, who cut it in two, and formed out of it a pair of pendants for the Julian Venus. Pearls were valued by the ancients above all precious stones, because their limited commerce with the East made this jewel difficult of attainment. Julius Cæsar presented one to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, which cost him upwards of £50,000.\*

When Antony followed Cleopatra to Alexandria, he abandoned himself to the enjoyment of her society and the fulfilment of her caprices. Both were consequently soon absorbed in selfish pleasures incompatible with lives of respectability and usefulness. They entitled their contemptible and extravagant frivolity, "The inimitable Life," but it was a life abhorrent to virtue and common sense. They feasted with each other on alternate days; and Philotas, the Physician, upon one occasion entering Antony's kitchen, found eight wild boars roasting whole before as many fires. When he expressed his astonishment at the number of guests this implied, the cook laughed, and told him that the company consisted of

\* Plut. vi. 51.

twelve persons only, but that as Antony never knew at what time it would please him to sup, and every dish must be done to a turn, and must be ready when demanded, he was obliged to have a succession of suppers always in preparation.

Philotas was sometimes a guest at the table of Antyllus, the son of Antony and Fulvia. Observing that the young noble was wearied with the prosing of another physician, he silenced the pedantry of the latter by the following false syllogism :

“There are some degrees of fever in which cold water is good for a man.”

“Every man who has a fever has it in some degree.”

“Therefore cold water is good for every man in a fever.”

The prating doctor was struck dumb, and Antyllus was so much pleased that he presented Philotas with all the silver plate in the room. A slave afterwards deposited it in a chest, and brought it to him, to place his seal upon it, but he was afraid to accept a gift of such immense value from a boy. “What do you fear?” said the slave; “the son of Antony could give you all this in gold with equal ease, if it pleased him. I would recommend you, however, to commute his gift for money, lest Antony should miss some of his pieces of curious antique workmanship, and should be displeased.”

Antony and Cleopatra frequently disguised themselves, and wandered about the streets at night, mingling with the common people, and they sometimes met with very unbecoming adventures. The higher ranks were scandalised, but the lower said, “They should not complain if Antony would keep his comedies for them, and reserve his tragedies for Rome.” Amongst other amusements, the Queen and the Duumvir used to fish together. Antony being mortified by continued ill-success, endeavoured to prevent it in future by hiring divers to have fish in readiness to fasten upon his hook. Cleopatra’s quick eye soon detected the artifice, but she affected great surprise at his skill and good fortune, and invited her court to witness it the following day. At the appointed time, Antony’s fishing-vessel was filled with Dignitaries ready to wonder and admire. He let down his hook, and one of the Queen’s divers placed upon it a salt fish. He

drew it up in triumph, gazed in confusion, and was saluted by a universal shout of laughter. "Go! Imperator," said Cleopatra, "leave these employments to the petty Princes of Pharos and Canopus. Your game is cities, provinces, and empires."

Whilst Antony was thus misspending his time, his brother Lucius was starving, besieged in Perugia, and suffering from all the horrors of an unfortunate war. His prime object was to avenge the injured and plundered Italians, whose houses and estates had been ruthlessly seized to satisfy the clamours of Cæsar's Veterans, and to fulfil the reckless promises of lands and money, so frequently renewed to them by the Triumvirs. The free territory about Mantua and Cremona suffered severely from the rapacity of the new colonists; and Virgil, "Prince of the Latin poets," then a young man, was pursued, and with much difficulty escaped from the soldiers, who seized his property on the banks of the Mincius. Asinius Pollio recommended him to the protection of his countryman the Etruscan, Cilnius Mæcenas, then living at Rome, as the intimate friend of Octavianus. Mæcenas introduced him to the Triumvir, who was delighted with his poetical talents, and restored to him his small property. Virgil composed his first Eclogue as a thank-offering, and describes in it the miseries which the exiled proprietors suffered from their fierce and rapacious invaders.

Virgil had not only received an excellent education, but was a learned man, and through the favour of his patron he soon became wealthy. Besides his hereditary farm at Andes, now Petiola, he had property in Campania and Sicily, and a magnificent house on the Esquiline at Rome. From time to time he published his poems called "Bucolics" and "Georgics," which gained him enthusiastic admiration amongst his countrymen, as a man of transcendent genius, unequalled in the beauty of his sentiments and the refinement of his style. His "*Æneid*," upon which his fame rests, because it is the most interesting and most extensively known of his poems, was his latest work, but not his best.

One of the distinguished Generals who escaped during the siege of Perugia, was Tiberius Claudius. He endeavoured to support the cause of the ejected Italians about Naples, but on the appearance of Octavianus, his

troops deserted him, and he, with his lovely wife Livia, and his child Tiberius, afterwards Emperor of Rome, had to fly for their lives. They escaped into Sicily, and after the treaty with Sextus, when all the exiles and Proscribed were pardoned, they returned to Rome. Here, Octavianus meeting Livia, fell violently in love with her, took her from her husband, and married her. She was aged twenty, and was as remarkable as Cleopatra for her wit and conversational powers. She was also nearly as odious to the Romans, and retained to the last hour the same absolute ascendancy over her husband that Cleopatra exercised over Antony. She used it, alas! as little for the benefit of mankind. To marry her, Octavianus divorced his wife Scribonia, the aunt of Sextus; to espouse whom he had previously divorced Clodia, the step-daughter of Antony. His two first marriages were political, and very disagreeable to his feelings, his last was one of violent and guilty passion.

Antony was at this period living in harmony with Octavianus, as his brother-in-law, and they often played at cock-fighting, dice, and other games of chance together. Antony, to his vexation, uniformly lost, though a winner with other men, and he thought it so strange that he consulted an Egyptian astrologer as to the reason. The astrologer answered, "You should live apart from Octavianus, and never come into collision with him. Your Genius (guardian angel) is opposed to his; and whilst glorious alone, or in the presence of others, shrinks into shadow with his, and appears depressed and alarmed."

Antony left Rome and went to Athens with Octavia, on his route into Syria, to take the command in the Parthian war. Amongst a multitude of follies, he once more personated Bacchus in a public procession, and the servile Athenians besought him to marry their tutelary goddess, Pallas. He acceded to the match, and demanded 1000 talents for her portion. The astonished Senators answered, "Great God! your Father Jupiter asked no portion with your mother Semele." "True," answered Antony, "but Jupiter was rich, and I am poor." The Athenians had to pay the money, and were thus punished for their sycophancy. When Antony departed to supersede Ventidius, he plucked a garland from the olive-tree of Minerva, and filled a vessel with water from the Clep-

sydra, a sacred fountain in the midst of the citadel, thinking that their presence would ensure him victory. The Clepsydra fountain was so named, because, though not a clock, it was a measurer of time. It filled with water when the Etesian winds began to blow, and emptied when they ceased.

The struggle for superiority between Sextus and Octavianus lasted for four years; and in the numerous sea-fights which took place, Sextus was ten times victor, but he never improved his victories, nor acted upon any plan. He had no grasp of intellect, no turn for dominion; his feelings evaporated in sacrifices to Neptune, in calling himself his son, and in dressing himself in a robe the colour of the sea. Octavianus, on the other hand, thought himself so ill-used by Neptune, that he removed his statue from the Circus Maximus, and forbade his festival. In one of his many defeats by Sextus, he escaped to the shore in a boat, and thence fled onwards alone. Exhausted with fatigue, he lay down upon the beach to rest. The troops of Messala passing, discovered him fast asleep upon a Gallic buckler, and carried him into the camp. When he awoke, a large fish leapt out of the sea and fell at his feet. From this moment he believed that Neptune had forgiven him, and that henceforward the sea would own his power.

Hopeful men are usually persevering, and persevering men are generally successful. In the very next engagement, Octavianus's Admiral, Agrippa, defeated Sextus by means of iron grappling hooks, like the iron crows formerly used against the Carthaginians. He attached them to his adversary's vessels, and thus deprived them of all the advantages which their superior swiftness in sailing had formerly afforded them.

When Antony came to meet Octavianus at Brundisium, after the destruction of Perugia, the fleet of Domitius Ahenobarbus barred his passage. Asinius Pollio was on board, and resolved to join Antony, who called out to Domitius to submit to him as Triumvir. To the astonishment of both sides, Domitius immediately obeyed, and Antony appeared in Italy reinforced by the bravest and ablest of those who had so lately been fighting with his wife and brother. To commemorate his satisfaction, he had a coin struck, which may be seen in

many museums, bearing his name and that of Domitius conjoined. On one side is his head, and on the other the prow of a ship.

At this period, T.R. 714, died Sallust the historian, who wrote the eloquent account of Catiline's Conspiracy and the Jugurthine War. He was by birth a Sabine, having the Roman citizenship. He rose through all the magistracies to be Consul, but was so licentious and extravagant, that Appius Claudius, the Censor, expelled him from the Senate. Cæsar paid his debts, restored him to his rank, and twice made him Governor of Numidia, but his abominable exactions and oppressions rendered his name detested. He married Terentia, the haughty divorced wife of Cicero. With the wealth he had wrung from the Africans, he built himself a splendid Palace in Rome, between the Quirinal and Monte Pincio, surrounded by gardens which still bear his name. His character was the prevailing one amongst his distinguished contemporaries; his brilliant intellect was highly cultivated, his talents were dazzling, but he was lost in selfishness, and he had no moral worth.

.Catullus of Verona was the contemporary of Sallust, and expired about the same time. He was the first Etruscan bard who successfully imitated the Greeks. He wrote Elegies, Lyrics, and Epigrams, with a spirit which had never been surpassed, and some good judges consider him the first and most sublime of all the Latin poets. He satirised Julius Cæsar, but that magnanimous chief took no other revenge than by inviting him to supper.



## CHAPTER XLIII.

## DUUMVIRATE OF MARK ANTONY AND OCTAVIANUS.

B.C. 36 TO 29. Y.R. 717 TO 724.\*



PANTHEON.

**DURING** the final contest between Octavianus and Sextus Pompey, Antony continued to prosecute the war against the Parthians. He was angry at the slight put upon him by Octavianus at Tarentum; and he was offended at the deposition of Lepidus from the Triumvirate without his concurrence, or any reference to his opinion. Partly for these reasons, and partly to indulge

\* Authorities: Livy, *Epit.* cxxx.-cxxxiv.; Plut. *Antony*; Pliny, *passim*; Suet. *de Octav.*; Univ. History, ix.-xiii.; Nieb. *Lect.* ii.; Michelet, *Rome*, iii.

his violent passion for Cleopatra, he sent for her to meet him in Syria; and after her arrival, he became more infatuated with her than before. Reckless of Roman prejudices, he proclaimed her Queen of the East, and presented her with Phœnicia, Cœlo-Syria, Cyprus, part of Arabia, and the balsam gardens near Jericho. Cleopatra visited Jerusalem, and was magnificently entertained by Herod, though he hated her, and was overjoyed when she departed.

Antony, deceived by the representations of Artavasdes, king of Armenia, crossed the Araxes at the head of 90,000 foot and 10,000 horse. He left his artillery on the frontiers, that he might advance more rapidly to besiege Praaspa, the capital of Media; but when there he learned that Artavasdes, on whose zealous co-operation he had depended, was reconciled to the King of Media, and had deserted his Roman Allies, if he did not absolutely betray them. Antony found himself inextricably surrounded by hostile Medes and Parthians, and was forced to solicit from his enemies permission to retreat, which, on condition of his immediately evacuating the country, was scornfully granted. His movements were masterly, and his choice of route most judicious, through a mountainous country, where the Parthian cavalry could not act. Otherwise he could not have saved a man; for, notwithstanding the permission afforded him, he was attacked eighteen times; and before he could reach Cleopatra at Berytus, he had lost all his machines and 60,000 men, besides 8000, who were destroyed by a violent tempest. He marched 300 miles through a difficult country in twenty-one days; and his ability and courage extorted the admiration even of his enemies. He ought to have wintered in Syria, that he might be ready to renew the war in spring; but, overcome by his passion for the Queen, he abandoned all other objects, and returned with her to Alexandria, spending the winter in pleasure and folly. The following year Antony induced Artavasdes of Armenia, to whose defection he attributed all his late disasters, to meet him for a conference; and as soon as this unfortunate monarch appeared, he seized him, and carried him off in chains. He then concluded an alliance with the King of Media, who having quarrelled with the King of

Y.R. 718.

Parthia about his share of the Roman spoils, was glad of Antony's assistance to revenge himself. The Roman leader exchanged gifts with him, wintered in his dominions, and contracted a marriage between the Princess of Media and Alexander, his own infant son by Cleopatra. This Princess awaited Antony in Syria, with a reinforcement of men, ships, and money. Octavia was at the same time journeying from Rome with clothes, provisions, and a body of 2000 fully armed select troops, to greet and reinforce him. Antony, in terror lest the rival ladies should meet, despatched a messenger to Octavia, forbidding her to advance beyond Athens. She obeyed, but was deeply mortified by the prohibition, and she embarrassed him by asking where she should send her costly gifts to join him. Cleopatra was by his side, and guessed the cause of his uneasiness. She was aware that her influence over him would probably cease, should Octavia succeed in obtaining an interview. She therefore feigned, or felt illness from excessive anxiety; and Antony, finding that he must choose between the two, could not resist either her wiles or her attractions. He forsook Octavia, and along with her, his good fortune and respectability. He abandoned himself to his infatuation for Cleopatra, and followed her a third time, to Alexandria. Here he became an Egyptian for her sake, and acted the most reckless and disgraceful scenes, purposely outraging the feelings of Octavia and Octavianus beyond all possibility of reconciliation. No Roman triumph had ever been celebrated in any other Temple than in that of Jupiter on the Capitol. Antony insulted the privileges and glories of that temple, by triumphing over Artavasdes and his family at Alexandria, and by distinguishing the ceremony with circumstances of ostentatious splendour. He drove in his chariot to return thanks for his victories in an Egyptian temple, to Egyptian gods; and as he passed Cleopatra, seated aloft on a golden throne, he made obeisance to her, and laid all his spoils and captives at her feet. A few days later, he exhibited games to the populace in the Alexandrian Gymnasium, where he and Cleopatra appeared, each seated on a throne of gold, under the same canopy. They were habited as Osiris and Isis, the Patron Divinities of Egypt. On each side were placed stools of

gold for Cleopatra's four children. In this public assembly, Antony proclaimed her the Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Syria; he appointed her son Cæsarion to be her partner in the government, and acknowledged him as the son and lawful heir of Julius Cæsar! This mad act wounded Octavianus in the most tender point, for it disannulled his adoption, and discredited his pretensions. It raised him up a rival, who might at any time be a dangerous tool in the hands of his adversaries, and it made a breach between the Duumvirs wholly irreparable.

The young children of Cleopatra, *i. e.* Alexander, Ptolemy, and Selene Cleopatra, were the children of Antony. The first, with vain-glorious folly, he styled "King of kings in all the lands between the Euphrates and the Indus," as if the Parthians were already in his power. Ptolemy he proclaimed "King of kings from the Euphrates to the Hellespont," and the infant Princess he constituted Queen of Libya and Cyrene. The royal children were all dressed according to the dignities he assigned them. Alexander, in the kingly garb of Media, wearing the turban and tiara, attended by Median guards. Ptolemy, habited in the flowing robes and sandals of the Greeks, and encircled by the Macedonian diadem, was surrounded by Macedonian soldiers. In this absurd scene, Antony publicly assumed to himself the sovereignty over extensive regions, and the power of bestowing them upon whom he pleased, whilst, in fact, he had no authority whatever, excepting as Governor for the Roman people.

On the return of spring, Antony, accompanied by Cleopatra, again departed to prosecute the war in Parthia. He had advanced as far as the Araxes, the boundary of Media, when he was apprised that the Senate, indignant at his late proceedings, had exhibited articles of impeachment against him, and that Octavianus had been commissioned to declare war on the Queen, and to invade Egypt. Antony returned to Ephesus, that he might be prepared to meet his adversaries at any point, and there held a council of war. His friends urged him, as a preliminary, to send back his dangerous companion, and either immediately to attack Octavianus, or to seek a reconciliation, and become the mediator between him

and Cleopatra. Had he followed either of these counsels, his numerous forces and alliances, joined to his military skill, would have secured him success. But Antony's evil Genius prevailed. He was overcome by his love of pleasure and his passion for Cleopatra, whilst she dreaded separation from him, lest he should return to Octavia, and be lost to her for ever. She employed all her grace and eloquence to win over Antony's gallant Legate Canidius, who had raised himself to great importance by splendid victories in Armenia. Canidius, being fascinated and ensnared by her flattery, counselled Antony neither to offend the Egyptians, who constituted the greater part of his navy, nor the Queen, who contributed 20,000 talents to his military chest; and he added, that Antony would not find amongst all his military advisers a mind more fertile in resources than hers, nor a judgment more cool. Antony listened with willing ears. He declared war against Octavianus, revelled with Cleopatra through the winter at Ephesus, Samos, and Athens; and in the spring crowned all his former insults to the Duumvir by divorcing Octavia, and commanding her to quit his house (formerly Pompey's palace) in Rome. He then ostentatiously celebrated his marriage with the Queen of Egypt.

Octavianus was henceforth animated against Antony by feelings of personal injury. He excited a similar feeling in the breast of his soldiers, by informing them that Antony treated Cleopatra as his sovereign and superior, that he followed her chariot on foot, and that he heard unmoved her favourite oath, "As I hope to give law on the Capitol."

Octavianus assembled his fleet, and crossed with extraordinary promptness to Toryne, in Epirus. Antony, meanwhile, collected his forces under Canidius, amounting to 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and sailed with his fleet of 800 vessels to the harbour of Actium, in the vicinity of his enemy. In this fleet 300 of the vessels were Egyptian, of vast size, but clumsy and difficult to manage, besides being only half manned. Antony destroyed them all but sixty, which he placed under the Queen as her guard, and desired not to come into action, except as a reinforcement. The remainder of his ships he strengthened with 20,000 troops, and

made fit for battle. Antony at this time was paramount from Ethiopia to the Euphrates, and had with him the Kings of Mauritania, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Thrace, Media, and several others, besides auxiliary troops from Pontus, Arabia, and Judæa. Octavianus ruled from Illyricum to the Atlantic, and had many Kings and Princes in his camp. During the few weeks that these two mighty potentates remained near each other, Dejotarus, Amyntas, and the Admiral, Domitius Ahenobarbus, deserted from Antony, being disgusted beyond endurance with the pride and levity of Cleopatra. Octavianus had only 250 ships, but they were more skilfully worked and better manned than Antony's. His host consisted of 80,000 foot and 12,000 horse, more effectively disciplined and more united than his adversary's. After a few skirmishes, Canidius perceived the presence of Cleopatra to be so prejudicial, that he entreated Antony to dismiss her, and crossing over into Thrace, to decide his fortunes in an engagement by land, an element upon which he had always been victorious. Unfortunately, Cleopatra's influence was now irresistible, and she persuaded Antony to try the issue of the struggle by sea, that she might escape the easier in case of defeat.

For four days a raging storm prevented any engagement. On the fifth, which fell on the 2d of September, Y.R. 721, Octavianus and Agrippa retreated further from the shore; and as Antony's left squadron advanced, they still continued to entice it out to sea beyond the protection of the land. Antony becoming eager, allowed himself to be drawn into action before he was aware, and ere long found his unwieldy vessels, which were like great floating castles, attacked, surrounded, and overmatched by his wily foe. In the thickest of the fight, when his centre had been thrown into slight confusion, the Egyptian ships advanced. Antony rejoiced in what he believed to be the timely succour; but, lo! with spread sails the whole fleet passed by, and without discharging a javelin, took to flight, and steered towards the Peloponnesus. Overcome with amazement, and stung to the quick, Antony hastily concluded that all was ruined. He left his brave men in the height of peril, abandoned the conflict, and sailed after the woman who had so unfeelingly and selfishly deserted him. His

Battle of  
Actium.

whole conduct in its panic and infatuation is unaccountable. His men fought on, until made aware that they had no longer any chief to fight for. They then submitted, and joined the triumphant navy of Octavianus.

The army under Canidius continued to hold out for eight days, expecting orders, and not crediting the desertion of their chief. But when they found that he had really forgotten them, in order to follow Cleopatra, and that Canidius also had abandoned them and fled to join him, indignation overcame all their other feelings, and they united themselves to the victorious and more manly Octavianus.

The war from this fatal day may be regarded  
Y.R. 722.  
B.C. 81. as at an end: Antony never recovered his position. After a few hours of mad pursuit, he came up with Cleopatra's ship, and was taken on board; but for three days he would neither see nor speak to her, sensible only of the degradation to which he had fallen. He sat with his elbows on his knees, and his head buried in his hands in bitter, moody silence. He felt himself betrayed, and an object of derision as one who had given up the empire of the world for a woman of matchless attractions, but who morally was unworthy of him. Why she fled, is as inexplicable as why he followed. She was not new to the din of battle, and had fearlessly headed an army at seventeen years of age; she did not attempt to join his adversaries; he was at the time not only unconquered, but her firmest defender, and his mighty army was her only sure refuge.

After three sad days, her favourite attendants, Charmion and Iras, effected a reconciliation. Antony forgave her, and they once more considered themselves as King and Queen of Egypt, and resolved to defend the very diminished territories which still obeyed their sway. Cleopatra returned to make arrangements at Alexandria, and Antony landed in Cyrene, where he hoped to find an adherent in the Governor, and to raise fresh forces; but all the Romans in that part of Africa had already declared for Octavianus, and Antony was obliged to retreat precipitately, and shelter himself in Alexandria. Here he found that Cleopatra had been attempting to transport her unfortunate galleys across the isthmus, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, with the intention of

abandoning Egypt, and founding a new empire in the Indian Ocean; but A. Didius, the Roman Governor of Syria, and the Arab Tribes, prevented her. Both rulers now foresaw that, hemmed in as they were, nothing remained but either death after a brave resistance, or the timely propitiation of Octavianus by absolute submission. Canidius, so lately at the head of a countless multitude, joined Antony and perished in his service; but the army was gone, and had taken the oath to his enemy.

In Spain and Gaul, Antony had still many adherents, and might have found succour, but his blind passion for Cleopatra seems to have paralysed his intellects; and he sacrificed recklessly, and without a struggle, all resources in which she did not bear a part.

After the decisive and startling victory of Actium, Octavianus proceeded to Athens, and treated the oppressed Greek cities with humanity. He pursued his course to Antioch, and there received the submission of all the Kings and Princes who had formerly bowed to his rival. With most of them it was a matter of indifference to whom they paid tribute, and one Roman lord was the same as another. Whilst at Antioch the victor was informed of his election to the Consulship for the fourth time. He travelled on to Samos, intending to pass the winter there, but his plans were overturned by the discontent of the Veterans, who were widely dispersed, and who were angry at not having been dismissed and rewarded for their past services with lands, as well as money. Octavianus still required experienced soldiers for his final struggle with Antony. He was, therefore, desirous to retain them under arms until that should be accomplished; but the symptoms of mutiny amongst them in Italy were so strong, that he braved the wintry storms and crossed over to Brundisium, intending, if necessary, to proceed to Rome. Fortunately, the Senators and Equites were as much alarmed as himself. Many had assembled to meet him, and he was waited upon by so numerous a body of the Great and Wealthy, that by their assistance he paid off the most troublesome of the claimants, and assigned to the others lands and rewards which satisfied them all.

From Brundisium, Octavianus sailed to Rhodes, where he was met by Cornelius Gallus, the new Gover-



nor of Cyrene, with whom he arranged the plan of his future campaign. Gallus was to invade Egypt on one side, and Octavianus on the other, simultaneously. Herod, King of Judæa, hitherto the faithful adherent of Antony, waited upon the victor in Rhodes, and tendered his submission. Many months elapsed after the battle of Actium, before Antony and Cleopatra were informed that Octavianus was advancing upon them through Syria. They sent ambassadors to deprecate his wrath. Antony offered, in exchange for pardon, to spend the rest of his days in obscurity and exile. Cleopatra tendered the resignation of her crown, but entreated that it might be bestowed upon her children. Octavianus deigned no answer to his rival, but assured the Queen of favour, if she would merit it by delivering up Antony. Cleopatra never entertained so base an idea, but was distracted between her fears for her children and her passion for her husband. She dreaded the evils which might fall on either, and exerted all her subtlety to avert them. Believing the military force of Octavianus to be irresistible, but hoping that his heart might be touched if she practised the submission she professed, she forbade her strong fortress of Pelusium to offer any opposition. When he appeared before the gates, they were opened, and he quietly took possession. Her fleet, a few days later, joined the hostile armament of Gallus. Antony was thunderstruck, but still believed that Alexandria might be defended, and that his own troops were faithful.

Cleopatra, not knowing how to trust Octavianus, who was her equal in deception, and suspecting his real object, which was to seize her person for his triumph, and her treasures for his empty coffers, built herself a high narrow tower near the temple of Isis. Into the upper story of this, she transported herself, with her inseparable attendants, Charmion and Iras, a quantity of perfumes and flax, all her jewels, and her most valuable effects. She swore that she would not survive Antony, and proposed to perish by burning the tower, if she should fail to modify the stern Octavianus. She at the same time, tried various sorts of deaths upon malefactors and slaves, to ascertain which was preferable for herself. Octavianus presently summoned Alexandria to surrender. Antony, with the coolness of a reckless man, answered by

attacking him at the head of his cavalry, which in a body forsook him in the beginning of the conflict, and galloped over to the other side. He fell back upon his infantry, but they abandoned him in the same manner, and joined his foes. Seeing himself helpless, he drew his sword, and ran in a transport of fury to kill the faithless Queen, but he was told that she was in her tower, already dead. Completely broken-hearted, he called for Eros his slave, placed the naked sword in his hand, and bade him with one sure blow terminate his master's life. The misery of that life was now as unutterable as its disgrace was irretrievable. Eros took the sword, but instead of using it as he was commanded, he plunged it into himself. Antony gazed upon him in despair, drew the bloody, and perhaps blunted weapon from his body, and ran upon it, hoping to fall a lifeless corpse. But his wound, though deep, was not immediately mortal, and he opened his eyes upon hearing that Cleopatra lived, and desired to be conveyed to her. The bleeding General was carried to the foot of the tower, and drawn up by ropes to the window of Cleopatra's room, where she and her attendants received him. He was laid upon her bed, and expired in her arms at the age of fifty-six, recommending her with his last breath to seek mercy at the conqueror's hands, and to trust herself to Proculeius, Antony's former friend, and the only one upon whose disinterestedness he could rely.

Antony left seven children by his three wives, Fulvia, Octavia, and the Queen, and was ancestor to the Emperors of Rome, Claudius, Caligula, and Nero. His gory sword was delivered to Octavianus, who wept over it.

Proculeius was now sent to secure Cleopatra; but she was in her tower, and defied any man to take her alive, except upon her own terms. A second time, Octavianus sent Gallus, the Governor of Cyrene, to parley with her, and to make various offers. Cleopatra descended to the door in order to confer with him, and in the meanwhile Proculeius entered the high window on the opposite side, by means of ladders, and coming down stairs behind, seized and secured her.

Cleopatra was now a prisoner in the hands of her enemies. She was, however, treated with honour and respect. Octavianus declined a personal interview, but

sent to ask if she had any requests to make that he could grant. In answer, she entreated leave to bury Antony. Unrestricted permission being accorded, she embalmed his body, arranged a magnificent procession, and buried him with every testimony of honour and regret in the Sepulchre of the Kings of Egypt.

This ceremony over, Cleopatra became very ill, and Octavianus, thinking that she meant to destroy herself, threatened if she died to slay her children. This roused her, and when she was sufficiently recovered, Octavianus condescended to the flattery of offering to wait upon her. Her hopes now suggested that the same charms of eloquence and intellect which had enslaved Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony, might still avail to obtain her own liberty and the throne for her children. More than this she could not have expected, for she was a sick mourning widow, and older by several years than the cautious and haughty Roman. At their meeting she preferred her requests in her sweet silvery voice and most winning manner, but Octavianus kept his eyes fixed upon the ground, and merely answered, "Cheer up, woman! there shall no harm happen to thee." She then presented him with a list of all her vaunted treasures, and resigned them into his hands. One of her own officers who was present insolently asserted, that it was a false list, and that the most precious of her jewels were not included. "No," she exclaimed, "nor will I be bearded by false traitors. My most costly jewels are not here, because I have reserved them for Octavia and Livia (her conqueror's sister and wife), that they may intercede for me, a fallen unhappy woman." Octavianus, satisfied that he had gained her confidence, dismissed her with the utmost politeness, and ordered every indulgence to be shown her, consistent with her safe keeping. He placed spies about her, who were never to lose sight of her. But Cleopatra had an admirer in his camp, who sympathized with her fallen majesty, and who resolved that she should not be exhibited to the contempt of the Romans in that city where she had once hoped to command. He informed her that in three days Octavianus intended to sail, and would carry her off to Rome.

Shortly after she asked permission to visit the tomb of Antony, and having entered it, she took a last fare-

well, bathing it with tears, and strewing it with flowers. On returning home, she put off her widow's garments, gave a splendid banquet, and habited herself as a Queen. In the midst of the entertainment, a slave brought her a basket of figs. She rose, wrote a note to Octavianus, which she despatched as of immediate consequence, and then retired to her chamber with her favourite women carrying off the figs.

Octavianus read the note with great emotion, for it bore a request, as though she were already dead, that he would bury her in the same tomb with Antony. He dreaded lest, after all his dissimulation, his prey should escape, and he sent in haste to have her more strictly watched and guarded. But it was too late, for she had just expired, and was extended upon a golden bed, and dressed in her robes of state. Iras lay a corpse at her feet, and Charmion, who was arranging the diadem upon her head, was at the point of death. "Is this well?" angrily asked the sturdy messenger. "Yes," answered Charmion, "this is the death that becomes a Queen of Egypt." Cleopatra killed herself by means of an Asp, concealed in the basket of figs. She had wound it round her arm, and the bite of the reptile poisoned her. She was aged thirty-nine, and had ruled Antony fourteen years, and Egypt twenty-two.

Cleopatra was an extraordinary woman, and was all her life placed in such difficult circumstances that it is not easy to judge of her by Christian rules. At the age of seventeen she was an orphan, bound by her father's will and national custom to marry her brother, who was five years younger than herself, and to share with him the Egyptian throne. Deprived of all her rights, and driven out of the country by designing Regents, she raised an army in her own defence, and finally attained the sovereignty, by the aid of Julius Cæsar, freed from the unnatural husband, that had been assigned to her. She had a son Cæsarion by Cæsar, whom she tenderly cherished, and yet was forced to accept as another husband and sovereign her second brother, a boy nine years younger than herself, who was as unequal to her in capacity as in years. She despised and slew him, and afterwards added to this unjustifiable act the cruel murder of her harmless sister Arsinoë.

Out of regard to Cæsar, she espoused the cause of the Triumvirs, and having once won the affections of Antony, she appears never after to have wavered in her attachment to him. The Latin writers paint her in the blackest colours, because they considered her influence as a disgrace to their country, and they could not pardon a woman who aspired to rule in Rome. She spoke an amazing number of languages,\* European, Asiatic, and African, with grace and facility, and she conversed with all the various ambassadors at her court in their own tongues. Her eloquence, and winning graciousness, the refinement of her manners, the raciness of her conversation, and the dazzling splendour of her court, caused her to be adored by all those near her person, and one Egyptian of rank paid Octavianus 1000 talents to save her statues from destruction. Yet we must observe that during her long reign she did not distinguish herself by one great or righteous act. Not one law was made, nor one building erected, for the benefit of her subjects. Antony presented her with the library of the Kings of Pergamus, consisting of 20,000 rolls of parchment (from them called Pergamena), to replace the Ptolemean library burnt by Julius Cæsar; but even these she did not make accessible to the public, as would have been done by her ancestors. She was vain, ostentatious, selfish, capricious, and extravagant; but she was not destitute of loftiness and courage; she was not tyrannical, and she appears to have been constant in her attachment to Cæsar and Antony, and a very affectionate mother. Octavianus himself tried to recover her, and when he found all in vain, he fulfilled her last petition, and buried her magnificently by the side of Antony. Iras and Charmion were also pompously interred, and were probably women of high rank.

Cleopatra strove to save Cæsarion, by sending him to India, a country with whose kings the Ptolemies had always maintained a friendly correspondence. Octavianus allured him back by promises, "false and fair," and put him to death, because he was called the son and heir of Julius Cæsar. The remaining children of Antony and Cleopatra he carried with him to Rome; allowed

\* Tradition says sixteen.

them to be adopted by Octavia, and treated them with unvarying kindness. The only other victim of note whom he sacrificed to his resentment, was his own son-in-law, Antyllus, the son of Antony and Fulvia. Octavianus visited the body of Alexander the Great, and bestowed upon it a crown of gold. He gave orders for cleaning out the channels of the Delta, as the first-fruits of a paternal government, and he appointed Corn. Gallus, to be the first Governor of the Egyptian Province. Thus terminated the nominal independence of Egypt, and the sovereignty of the Ptolemies after having endured 249 years.

Octavianus departed from Egypt, and returned to Rome through Asia Minor and Greece. At Antioch he was met by ambassadors from rival candidates for the Parthian throne, whose contentions changed the complexion of affairs in that country; and he found so much to occupy him that he passed the winter in Asia. Whilst there he entered upon his fifth Consulship, and chose the son of Cicero to be his colleague. The ensuing spring and summer he employed in Greece. Towards the autumn he reached Rome, and celebrated three triumphs, which were decreed him in the month Sextilis, *y.R.* 724. His first triumph was over the Illyrians and Gauls, his second over Antony, at Actium, and his third over Egypt. This last was magnificent. The incredible wealth and costly treasures of Cleopatra were displayed; her children were led in chains before the victor, and as death had rescued her from a similar disgrace, her image in wax was substituted, laid out upon a bed of state, with a golden asp twined round the arm. After the humiliating ceremony was over, Octavia took charge of the children, and educated them as her own.

The Senate placed no limits to the honours, dignities, and applause, which they showered upon the mighty and all-powerful Octavianus. He who had been dreaded as Triumvir at the age of twenty-three, had first become Duumvir by the deposition of Lepidus, and was now left monarch by the death of Antony. He was actual master of the Roman world, and the Senators confirmed his authority. They declared the memory of Mark Antony to be infamous, and forbade any of his *Gens* in future to bear the name of Marcus. They conferred upon

Octavianus the title of "Imperator," as a perpetual rank to descend to his children, and to imply supremacy; and as he declined the office of Dictator, and refused to accept the cognomen of "Romulus," they invented for him the designation of "Augustus," to express their awe and veneration. Finally, as a crowning point to all these honours, they dedicated to him the month Sextilis, which was the month of his triumphs, and changed its name to "August." Thus, in the month of August, Y.R. 724, the Roman *Republic* died a natural death, having long been worn out. Its government was changed. The Roman *Empire* commenced, and after twenty-one years of disastrous civil war, peace was proclaimed throughout its wide domain, and the gates of the Temple of Janus were shut. Octavianus, the heir and adopted son of the Dictator Julius Cæsar, was, by the consent of the Senate, Equites, and people, the priests and soldiers, invested with absolute irresponsible power, and became, under the name of "Augustus," the first sovereign Emperor of Rome.

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#### AFTER CHAPTER XLIII.

WHEN Antony visited Athens with Cleopatra, after his marriage to her, the Athenians were prodigal of the honours they voted, in order to efface from her mind all jealousy of their affection towards Octavia. Antony marched himself as a private citizen, at the head of a deputation, which bore their decree, saluting her as divine. He never appeared in public without her, had a throne erected for her close to his own Tribunal, always addressed her as his sovereign, and often followed her chariot on foot, as one of her attendants.

At one time he was afraid she would poison him, and he refused to touch any dish at her table until it had first been tasted by others. Cleopatra made no remark, but she had the garlands which were brought to crown the guests at the end of a banquet, dipped in poison. These, being produced as usual, she proposed to mix the flowers with the wine. Antony plucked his, threw them into his cup, and raised it to his lips. She stopped him,

warned him of his danger, and said, "Cease your useless precautions, and trust to a woman's affection. See how easy it is for me, whenever I please, to put an end to your life." She had a criminal brought in, made him drink the wine, and looked triumphantly at Antony, whilst the man fell down dead.

During his revels in Greece, the Senators were passing the most violent resolutions against Antony in Rome ; and his real friends despatched Geminius, one of the nobles, to give him information, and beseech him to conduct himself with more prudence. Cleopatra, suspecting that Geminius was an agent of Octavia's, never let him approach her husband. She assigned him the lowest place at the supper-table, and he lingered many days before Antony observed him. At length Antony asked at a banquet the cause of Geminius's mission. The latter replied, "One part of my mission is private, and only for sober ears ; the other is public, and may be communicated even at a revel. It is, that your affairs will never prosper until this Queen returns to Egypt." Cleopatra, in great irritation, replied, "You have done well, sir, to declare this before I put you to the torture." Geminius quitted Athens forthwith ; and many were deterred by his example from giving advice to Antony, whilst others of great authority immediately deserted to his foe.

Antony's grand rendezvous for his Allies, forces, arms, and provisions, was appointed at Samos ; and this assembly was so numerous and gallant, that he may well be excused for believing it invincible. But instead of behaving like the Commander-in-Chief of a mighty host, the whole of whose power was at stake, he still feasted and amused himself with Cleopatra, as if all his preparations were only for peaceful reviews and ostentatious entertainments. He issued orders that singers, dancers, wrestlers, and actors of the lowest description, should congregate to amuse him ; and frequently vessels which were supposed to be galleys of war turned out to be freights of buffoons. Every city, from Egypt to the Euxine, and from Armenia to Illyricum, was commanded to send thither an ox adorned for sacrifice ; and all the Princes and crowned heads rivalled each other in the splendour and expense of their feasts. Whilst half the world was weeping over the impending and inevitable national collision, Samos was one long



scene of revelry and banqueting. A spectator said of it, "The rest of the world is in groans and tears. Samos alone is piping and dancing. If Antony and Cleopatra make such rejoicings at the opening of a doubtful and dangerous war, how will they celebrate a glorious victory?"

The morning of the battle of Actium, when Octavianus left his tent, he was met by a man driving an ass. He asked their names as an omen for the day. The man answered, "My name is Eutychus (Εὐτυχες), or Fortunate; and my ass is Nikon (Νικων), or Victorious." Octavianus hailed the propitious sounds, and after the battle he erected a bronze statue of the man and his ass upon the spot.

Antony was accused of dismembering the Roman empire, and nothing can place in a more striking light the manner in which he threw about crowns and sceptres, than the story of Polemo, King of Pontus. Polemo was the son of Zeno, a Senator of Laodicea, who bravely defended his city against Labienus and the Parthians. Antony rewarded his gallantry by creating him Pontifex Maximus of Olba, and sovereign of half Cilicia. Soon after, he dethroned Darius of Pontus, the grandson of Mithridates, and bestowed his crown upon Polemo. As the talents and courage of this Prince proved very useful in the Parthian invasion, after the execution of Artavasdes, Antony added Armenia to the dominions of his favourite. Polemo subsequently married a Princess of Parthia, and was acknowledged as a friend and ally by Augustus, who created him a Senator of Rome.

One of the last of Antony's friends to join Octavianus was Herod. He did so very reluctantly, and not until he had vainly tried by every means to restore his affairs. Octavianus received Herod with the most flattering distinction, and forgave him both for having slain old Hircanus, the legitimate Jewish sovereign, and for having drowned that Prince's grandson, Aristobulus, whom Cleopatra had presumed to make God's High Priest. Octavianus bade Herod keep the diadem he already wore so royally, and restored to him the lands about Jericho, which Antony had bestowed upon Cleopatra. When Octavianus was on his expedition to invade Egypt, Herod received him magnificently at Ptolemais, supplied his army with provisions, and presented him with 800 talents

in money. He accompanied Octavianus as far as Pelusium, and always rode by his side. On the victor's return, Herod again received him, and was presented with 4000 Gauls, who had formed the life-guard of the Queen of Egypt. These troops strengthened Herod's power, but were unspeakably odious to the Jews.

M. Plancus, the founder of Lyons, and long one of the firmest friends of Antony, followed the Triumvir into the East, and was a servile flatterer of Cleopatra. To please her, he acted with mummers and buffoons, and at a public entertainment he stripped himself naked, painted his body green, to represent Glaucus, a sea-green demi-god, and danced about with a crown of reeds upon his head, and a fish's tail dragging behind him. Being offended by Cleopatra, during her stay at Athens, he deserted to the party of Octavianus, and accused Antony at Rome of so many crimes, and with so much bitterness, that one of the Senators observed, "Surely all these crimes were perpetrated on the evening before your departure, or at least it was then you first discovered them. You would not otherwise have supported so vile a monster." Plancus was Consul along with Lepidus, and both these worthies inscribed their brothers in the proscription-list. Soon after, when they triumphed for some successes in Gaul, the Romans sarcastically said, "These Consuls triumph not over the Gauls, but over the *Germans*:" *Germanus* being the Latin for brother.

Usually associated with Plancus, we find Asinius Pollio. He was an orator and author; but nothing remains of his works, excepting some extracts in Cicero's letters. He crossed the Rubicon with Cæsar, served him faithfully whilst he lived, and kept Spain quiet after he was murdered, defending part of it against Sextus Pompey. Pollio joined Antony when he fled into Gaul, and shared his fortunes afterwards. He saved Virgil, when the lands of Mantua and Cremona were divided amongst the Veterans, and he abdicated the Consulship when he found that his father-in-law was placed amongst the proscribed. When Octavianus was raising forces before the battle of Actium, he pressed a command upon Pollio; but with a spirit widely different from that of Plancus, Pollio answered: "I have served under Antony, and received favours from him; and though I do not

think he has rewarded me as I deserve, I will never fight against him. I shall quietly await the events of the war, and submit myself to the discretion of the conqueror." Pollio was the first Roman who opened a public library, which he adorned with busts and statues: amongst them was a statue of M. T. Varro, his rival and contemporary. Pollio kept a school of declamation in his palace for rising statesmen.

One of the distinguished wits of this period was T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, Cæsar Pompey, Brutus, Cassius, Antony, and Octavianus. His sister was one of Cicero's wives, and to him most of Cicero's letters are addressed. The Annals which he composed are lost. He had a large private library, made up of works copied by his numerous slaves, and he enriched himself by selling the writings of these slaves to others. He lent his money on usurious interest, wealth being more valued in his day than integrity. Atticus also kept an establishment for Gladiators, and hired them out for public and private entertainments,—a truly heathen investment of heathen gold! His daughter, Pomponia, married Vipsanius Agrippa, the friend and Commander-in-chief of Augustus. Her daughter, Agrippina, was afterwards the wife of Tiberius, the Emperor of Rome. Atticus's name was on the list of the proscribed; but after the death of Cicero, Antony erased it along with that of Varro.

Vipsanius Agrippa, equally renowned as a soldier and a statesman, was the early friend and fellow-student of Octavianus. Such was his reputation for talent, prudence, and courage, that all the victories of Octavianus were attributed to his counsels or conduct, though we cannot think with reason. He commanded at the battle of Philippi, in the siege of Perugia, and in all the successful naval fights with Sextus Pompey. For him was invented the crown, with a border shaped like the beaks of vessels, called the "Corona Rostrata," or naval crown, to celebrate his decisive victory over that chief. For the still more important glories of Actium, he was rewarded with the "Vexillum Cæruleum," or sea-blue banner, which, streaming from his mast-head, proclaimed him from afar "Ruler of the waves." His political marriages were with Pomponia, the daughter of Atticus;

Marcella, the daughter of Octavia; and Julia, the daughter of Octavianus. He was thrice Consul, and to him may be attributed all the wisest regulations of the Emperor Augustus. His daughter, by Julia, married Germanicus, and was the mother of the Emperor Caligula.

Agrippa's name has been rendered immortal by his numerous great and useful works. He cleansed the Cloaca Maxima, built the Julian and Tepulan aqueducts, and restored the Marcian and Anien aqueducts, by which Rome is supplied with water. Agrippa adorned the Campus Martius, and constructed the Julian Port at Baïæ. But the grandest and most magnificent monument of his taste and genius, was the erection of the beautiful Pantheon, a temple which, for solidity and classical proportions, still stands unrivalled.

Mæcenas, the other celebrated Italian who contributed so much to the success of Octavianus, and the glory of Augustus, was also his fellow-student at Apollonia, and accompanied him to Rome. He was an Etruscan, descended from the Lucumos, or chiefs of Aretium, and held at first the rank of Eques, and afterwards of Senator, which was tantamount to Prince in Rome. He was the patron of all the literary men of his age. He persuaded Octavianus to pardon and favour Horace, who had served against him at Philippi; and Virgil was indebted to him for the restoration of his property after it had been seized by a veteran colonist. Mæcenas was sickly and indolent, fond of ease and luxury, of jewellery, precious stones, and good eating. But he was a man rich in accomplishments, eloquence, and genius; of refined taste and kindly feeling; and had he lived in the sterner days of his glorious country, he would probably have distinguished himself by his liberality, justice, and political sagacity. He was brave as a soldier, and served with Octavianus at Mutina, Perusia, Philippi, Mylæ, and Actium. He negotiated the marriage of Octavianus to Scribonia, as a bond of union with Sextus Pompey; and of Antony with Octavia, to cement the Triumvirate. He never wavered in his fidelity to Octavianus, and insisted upon his retaining the authority voted to him when proclaimed "Augustus." The name of Mæcenas as a discernor and generous protector of humble merit, has passed into a proverb.

M. Terentius Varro, the contemporary of all these men, lived to the age of ninety, and was the friend of Atticus and Cicero, of Oppius, Hirtius, and Julius Cæsar. He was Plebeian Tribune, Governor of Ulterior Spain, and the favourite Legate of Pompey. In the piratic war, he was the first to board his enemy's ship, and he carried himself so gallantly that Pompey assigned him a crown in honour of his naval feats. He was appointed by Cæsar director of his library, which, however, was never completed. At the age of seventy, Varro's immense wealth tempted Antony to place his name on the proscription-lists. The old man escaped, though he was hid in a house which Antony often visited; but his villas at Reati and Apulia, at Cumæ, Tusculum, Pomptinum, and Casinum, were pillaged and sacked; his curious aviary was destroyed, and the greater part of his books were burnt. On the return of the Proscribed, Varro reappeared, and passed the evening of his days in tranquillity. One small volume of his compositions remains to us, fixing the date of Rome at 753 B.C., and treating of the ancient Latin language, and agricultural affairs. He wrote 500 treatises altogether, some of which were destroyed by Pope Gregory VII. so late as A.D. 1073. He knew of 6000 gods and 300 Jupiters, and his faculties were so vigorous, that several of his treatises were composed in his eighty-eighth year. His "*De Re Rustica*" was written when he was eighty. His statue was placed in Asinius Pollio's library, because he was considered by that accomplished Senator as the most wonderful literary character of his day. His own large and well-chosen library he freely opened to all scholars.

Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius, were the poetic lights of the age. Cornelius Nepos was the most popular Biographer, and Livy the most fascinating Historian.

Many changes were effected in the Government of Rome by Julius Cæsar and Octavianus. Cæsar reduced the number of the Urban paupers, or those who received gratis monthly allowances of corn from the Senate, to one-half, and he transported 80,000 of them to colonise elsewhere. He bound farmers of the *Ager Publicus* to employ one-third of freemen amongst their labourers. No free citizen. between the ages of twenty and forty

was permitted to be absent from his country longer than three years.

All members of the liberal professions, Priests, Lawyers, and Physicians, received the freedom of the city. Those whom Cæsar pleased to honour (chiefly foreigners) were by his authority declared *Patricians*, that is, they were eligible to the Senate, entitled to wear purple robes, and to exercise priestly functions. Lastly, Cæsar abolished all guilds and clubs, excepting those sanctioned by antiquity; and this was the law which, in after years, bore most severely against the Christians, who were represented to the Emperors as a new and unlawful club.

Octavianus lessened the taxes after his Egyptian triumph, because it brought in a superabundance of money. He cleared Rome of the *Grassatores*, or Bandits, who had become so bold, that they walked the streets with their bared knives in open day. He divided the city into Regions, with Magistrates over every division, and a general Prefect over them all; and he appointed a vigilant police to assist in cases of riots, fires, or any other disturbance. They were so useful, that the people were pleased to see them lodged in barracks even within the city.

When Octavianus was Censor, he degraded fifty of the Senators, and raised the Senatorial standard of property to one million of Sesterces. Such of the poorer members as he wished to retain, he generously presented with the sum necessary to make up the requisite amount. During the rule of Octavianus Augustus, the Senate had vacations through September and October; and these two months have remained holidays for the public offices from his time to ours.

A feast was appointed to be kept every Lustrum in honour of the victory of Actium, and the days dedicated to it, in Sextilis or August, were called "*Feriæ Augusti*." They were celebrated until the time of Pope Leo the Great, A.D. 1513, and were then succeeded by the festival of Santo Pietro in Vinculi, at which the same ceremonies are observed, under other names. The assistants in them wear garlands of flowers, and give handsome presents to their servants and dependants, in imitation of the ancient custom between patrons and their clients or freedmen.

Augustus, as master of the Western world, erected buildings which still subsist, made wise laws which are still in operation, and established many customs which have not yet passed away.

As the light of the moon is merged in the early dawn, so the Roman Republic became absorbed in the Roman Empire. The Western half of the civilised world was under the dominion of one people, and one speech, at the time when "the Sun of righteousness arose with healing in His wings, and the Dayspring visited us from on high." Twenty-five years after the proclamation of Augustus in Rome, the Angels announced the birth of the Saviour of the world in Judah, in the sublime terms, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to man."

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